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ALEXANDER II.

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

THE
Life and Times
 OF
 LORD PALMERSTON.



Roschett Hall.

BY JAMES PALMERSTON, ESQ., &c.

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON:

EMBRACING

THE DIPLOMATIC AND DOMESTIC HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

BY J. EWING RITCHIE,
AUTHOR OF "MODERN STATESMEN," ETC.

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PREFACE.

HISTORY or political biography is usually written under unfavourable conditions. The historian's views are tinged with his prejudices; and, like Dr. Johnson (who always took care to give the Whig dogs the worst of it, as he told Boswell), he is bewildered by contradictory statements, and unconsciously, perhaps, prefers the account least correct. Every day we see convincing proofs how utterly impossible it is to arrive at the exact truth. If the queen opens parliament, no two newspaper correspondents can describe the scene alike. Croker somewhere observes, that there are no less than twelve different accounts of the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes; and since then, in Lord Auckland's *Memoirs*, another description has appeared, professing to be the only true and correct one. A reform demonstration is held in Hyde Park. According to the *Standard*, it is little better than a gathering of roughs; while, on the contrary, the *Morning Star* grows eloquent as it dwells upon its imposing numbers, and their respectable appearance. Burke, when he saw Marie Antoinette, the unfortunate Queen of France, in her pomp and grandeur, at Versailles, came back and told us that he never beheld a more delightful vision. "In her features," writes Sir William Wraxall, "she wanted softness and regularity. She had, besides, weak or inflamed eyes." Her unfortunate husband died, say most of the historians, with the dignity of a king. Yet the private accounts of the time indicate "that Louis attempted to resist or impede the executioners, who, impatient to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the guillotine." Of all the statesmen of the Georgian era, few have been sketched by so many unfriendly hands as the old Duke of Newcastle. Yet it is now clear that his talents were above mediocrity; that he was a ready speaker and writer; and that, in many respects, he was far superior to the men of his class and time. Few public men present a more imposing

aspect to posterity than Lord Chatham; yet he was haughty, perverse, impracticable; led away by a love of military renown; and of his pecuniary extravagance in the shape of national debt, we yet feel the results. Again, take George III.: how different are the characters drawn of him by such writers as Wraxall on the one side, or Howitt on the other. Some say actually that he was no gentleman: old Sam Johnson, on the contrary, was enraptured, and swore there never was such a monarch. "Sir," said he, to the librarian at Kew, "they may talk of the king as they will, but he is the finest gentleman I have ever seen." At one time, Louis XIV., Charles II., and George IV., were thought to be types of all that was exalted in deportment. People now are beginning to think differently; and they are discovering Oliver Cromwell, whom our fathers regarded as a monster of hypocrisy and crime, to have been in many ways a remarkable man. In the same way, by the Roman Catholic writers, Luther was regarded as but little better than the father of Evil himself. How men differ in opinion about Governor Eyre or John Bright, about Mr. Bellew or Mr. Spurgeon. Even Mr. Newdegate has been unkind enough to intimate, with respect to his Protestant coadjutor, the fervid Whalley, that he was little better than a Jesuit in disguise. Is Martin Tupper a poet? The critics say no; yet certainly no poet in our day has had a more extensive sale. Who are we to believe when we thus find testimonies so discordant? We regard the Earl of Derby as a great statesman; yet, only a few years ago, the cleverest paper of our time wrote of his lordship thus—"Colonies were to him games, and countries and government a *rouge et noir*. * * * It is only a Lord Stanley who would encourage such a man as Mr. Disraeli to hope for great office. But of all the jokes Lord Stanley had encountered in politics, the joke of presenting Mr. Disraeli as leader of the bigoted Tory and Protestant party, must have struck him as the most uniquely sublime. Mr. Disraeli was a man after Lord Stanley's own heart; and his appointment, despite the consternation and the remonstrances of the Inglises, and the old peers of his new party, does the highest credit to his character as a wag." Really, the more one reads, the more one is puzzled. In history, every man has two faces; and there are, indeed, two sides to every story. No wonder Sir Robert Walpole despised history, or that in many quarters there is a tone of scepticism as to what the papers say. If statesmen would but write their memoirs, or if their friends and survivors

would publish their letters—when we could compare and test them—how much history would gain in truthfulness. As it is, we paint the picture, and put the name underneath. That four-legged, sprawling quadruped yonder is a lion. You doubt it. Look! the artist has written “Lion” underneath. Such is history, more or less. The eye brings with it the power of seeing—a man writes what he sees.

Of a statesman so conspicuous as Lord Palmerston—of one who held office so many years, and had been mixed up with such important transactions in every quarter of the globe—it may be that it is barely the time to write fully yet. He was, undoubtedly, concerned in many affairs, judgment on which cannot be pronounced definitely; inasmuch as the materials, by means of which alone a true judgment can be formed, are at this time inaccessible. However, for popular purposes, enough is known to warrant the publication of such a Work as the present. It may be that, after the living generation has been gathered to its fathers, there may appear the Palmerston despatches, full of startling revelations. We, however, must do the best we can; and, with this end in view, the Author has endeavoured, as much as possible, to write the story of his lordship’s life and times. It is we—the men of to-day—not our grandchildren, who will take an interest in the matter.

The Author has not aimed at writing history, so much as at finding materials for history. He has endeavoured to preserve a fair amount of impartiality. At the same time he is free to confess that he sides with those who have faith in the future, and in man, rather than with those who contend for the wisdom of our ancestors—who believe abuses enhance the beauty of our constitution in church and state—who oppose improvement under the plea of innovation, till, in their panic, they throw down their arms, surrender at discretion, and support innovation when it has ceased to be improvement. With this latter class of politicians Lord Palmerston was at war all his life; and in asking the reader to study his career, on the principle that, in the language of one of the old translators of Plutarch, “it is better to see learning in noblemen’s lives than to read it in philosophers’ writings,” the Author trusts the political opinions of many on the side of progress will be strengthened and sustained. The study of a career so lengthy as his lordship’s, cannot but show how vain are the fears of those whose faith is in the past—in the good old times when George III. was king.

Lord Palmerston is, of course, the principal figure in the following Work ; but his contemporaries, whether politicians or authors, or men of fashion or wit, are not forgotten. Considerable space has also been devoted to the progress of the nation in science and art, in education, in commerce ; indeed, in every possible way, whether in Great Britain and Ireland, or in the colonies and dependencies more or less remote. To a certain extent, also, the LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD PALMERSTON must necessarily be a history of Europe and her revolutions. Little more than a bird's-eye view could be sketched in such a Work as the present ; but the general reader, it is hoped, will here find as much information as he may require.

The Author would add a few more words. His aim has been completeness rather than originality. To authors past and present he is under innumerable obligations. In every case he believes, however, he has indicated the source whence his information has been drawn ; and he now makes this general acknowledgment, and gratefully returns his thanks.

Finally, the Author would say, that, in a Work composed under such circumstances as the LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD PALMERSTON, there must be many imperfections. Conscious of them, the Author can only say he has done his best ; and must now trust himself to the kind indulgence of his readers.

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

CHAPTER I.

PALMERSTON JUBILANT.

THE troubled years, the history of which we have just condensed, were, in many quarters, supposed to have been mainly caused by the intrigues of the English Foreign Minister, who, considered almost a Tory at home, was regarded as a revolutionary firebrand abroad.

Certainly his lordship loved to carry matters with a high hand.

For instance, there was that little affair in Greece. The government of King Otho, trusting in the protection of the Emperor Nicholas, had presumed to treat with the most contemptuous indifference the remonstrances of the British ambassador. His Hellenic majesty had never forgotten the advice which England gave him when he thought of freeing himself from his professional engagements. The plain representations which both Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston had made to him, rankled in his heart; and under the skilful diplomatic surgery of Russia, festered into a positive hatred of England, and everything English. The system of brigandage (the curse of the Turkish rule) continued even under the reign of King Otho. The most barbarous tortures were inflicted; the laws violated; the judges corrupted; and outrages of every kind committed, with the connivance, sanction, and encouragement of the Court of Athens. Though the Greek subjects of King Otho were treated with great cruelty, and though the condition of his little kingdom was most disgraceful, the Ionians and Maltese, and all who had any right to be considered subjects of the British crown, were peculiarly the marks for insult and oppression. They were whipped, and tortured with thumb-screws; they were robbed and pillaged: the unarmed boat's crew of a British ship of war was beaten by the Greek soldiers, and taken into custody. Mr. Finlay, a gentleman of Scottish origin, could get no payment for some land of which the king had taken possession to build a palace upon, and lay out a garden. M. Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew, had his house broken into, and his furniture destroyed by a mob, in open day, and within a short distance of the guard-house. For all these multiplied and manifold injuries redress was demanded: for none of them could any reparation, or even any apology, be obtained. Yet all these men were British subjects; and all of them, however humble in their condition, had, therefore, claims which a British minister was justified, nay, imperatively required, to urge. Emphatically, to support the just claims of his countrymen is the duty of a Foreign Minister. So does he best secure and maintain the honour of his flag.

On the 29th of December, 1849, the English minister at Athens informed the Greek government that it would act unwisely, if, counting on the forbearance of England, it neglected to satisfy the demands which had been made. The threat was no unmeaning one, as King Otho and his little Court soon learnt, to their

surprise and dismay. The English squadron appeared off the coast. Twenty-four hours were specified as the time in which, if no negotiations were entered into for the purpose of settling the claims, a formal demand would be made. No satisfactory answer was given. A formal demand was made by Mr. Wyse, and other twenty-four hours were allotted as the period of compliance. The Greek minister, strong in the support of France and Russia, refused to yield, and appealed to those two guaranteeing powers of the new kingdom. King Otho's government was informed that none of their vessels would be allowed to leave the Piræus. The steamer *Otho* ventured out, and was soon in the power of the English admiral. "Reprisals" were now made against the humble navy of Greece. There was, of course, no resisting the huge line-of-battle ships which now appeared upon the scene. King Otho and his ministers protested against such violence, and confessed their weakness. An embargo was next laid upon the mercantile marine—so stern and unyielding was now the English minister, and so bold his defiance of Russia. The French government having offered its good offices, they were accepted by Lord Palmerston, though he carefully guarded himself from surrendering, in any degree, the principle of his claims. Baron Gros went to Athens for the purpose of amicably arranging the business; but M. Pacifico's demands were a sad stumbling-block in the way of a satisfactory settlement.

On the 18th of April, 1850, a convention was signed in London, between Lord Palmerston and M. Drouyn de l'Huys, by which the differences were arranged upon much easier terms for the Greek government, than those demanded at Athens by Mr. Wyse. Baron le Gros, the French ambassador at the Greek capital, was duly advised of the terms of this convention; but Mr. Wyse was left in ignorance of them, and, of course, acted up to his previous instructions, which enjoined him, if the terms demanded were not complied with, to order the British squadron to appear before Athens, and enforce them. The Greek government, assenting to the terms of the London convention, refused to yield to those demanded by Mr. Wyse. The British squadron accordingly anchored off the Piræus; and coercive measures were only avoided by the submission of the Greeks. When information of these events reached Paris, the government was highly indignant at what appeared to be a violation of the agreement entered into with M. Drouyn de l'Huys. On the 16th of May, General Labitte announced that the French ambassador was recalled from London, M. Mareschalchi being accredited as *charge d'affaires*; and, for a short time, a rupture with England appeared imminent. However, Lord Palmerston gave explanations as to the cause of the delay in forwarding the convention of April 18th to Mr. Wyse; and as instructions were immediately sent to that minister to carry out its stipulations, the diplomatic intercourse with England was resumed, and the relations between the two countries assumed their usual character.

In the opinion of the opposition, the time had now come for the downfall of Lord Palmerston.

In February, Count Nesselrode had favoured the British government with a despatch, really intended, by the Emperor Nicholas, to produce in the minds of Lord Palmerston's political opponents that indignation which they so keenly expressed. It was not so much Greece as Turkey that he was thinking of; and he therefore placed as the head and front of Lord Palmerston's offending, the entrance of our ships into the outer portion of the Dardanelles, and concluded with a threatening sentence about England abusing the advantages of her position; pursuing an isolated policy; and freeing herself from her engagements to the other cabinets. All these strong reproaches might justly be thrown back upon their author, and the great military governments of Europe. The three allied powers, and not England, had abused the advantages of their position, and had set themselves free from their engagements to her. It was not England that was to blame. It was because the holy alliance systematically propagated despotisms that England was compelled to support a more generous system. The

same people who now blamed Lord Palmerston, in 1822 blamed Mr. Canning, and for similar reasons.

The Conservatives might well be anxious to get rid of a Foreign Minister ready to aid the cause of constitutional government on the continent. The Emperor Nicholas was also of a similar opinion.

In the Lords the victory was easily won. All Palmerston's political adversaries combined against him; and the House of Lords passed resolutions by which his policy in general, and his conduct to Greece in particular, was emphatically censured. The only defender of Lord Palmerston was the Marquis of Lansdowne, who commenced his remarks by saying—"That in the House of Commons, where his noble friend had a seat, none of his opponents durst trust themselves with bringing forward such a motion." Earl Grey, who was usually forward enough to speak on the policy of the government, was silent on this occasion; and it was generally understood, from personal disapprobation of the policy of his colleague. On the other hand, the whole force of the opposition, Protectionites and Peelites, voted in favour of the censure; and the government, in consequence, was put in a minority. In curious coincidence, however, with what Lord Lansdowne had said, none of the protectionists ventured to follow up their victory by proposing a similar motion in the House of Commons; and it was left for an admirer of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy to introduce the question. He asked Lord John Russell, the leader of the House, what the government intended to do in consequence of the adverse vote of the Peers? Lord John Russell replied, "That they meant to do nothing. That the vote of the House of Lords would have no effect upon them, one way or another;" and then, bursting out into a tribute to his colleague, which was eloquent in its manly tone of admiration, he reminded the House of the position in which his honourable and noble friend stood; that he was not the minister of Austria or of Russia; but that he was the minister of England. When the hearty cheers that spontaneously greeted this declaration had subsided, Mr. Roebuck said—"That he was not quite satisfied with the constitutional ground of the doctrine which the noble lord had laid down; and that therefore he would give the House of Commons an opportunity of declaring whether they agreed with, or dissented from, the views of the Lords; for he would move a vote of approbation of the noble lord's policy." As M.P. for Sheffield, Mr. Roebuck was a man of mark: he was not a party follower. In many respects he was an Ishmaelite; and his hand, or rather his tongue, was against every one. The course which he took was, therefore, the more valuable; and, as regards Lord Palmerston, the more complimentary.

In many quarters it was thought a majority of thirty-seven against the government was fatal to its existence. "On referring to history," said Lord Russell, "it would be found that, 140 years ago, the House of Lords passed a resolution, which they embodied in an address, declaring that it would not consist with the honour and safety of the country to make any peace with France that would leave Spain and the Indies in possession of any branch of the House of Bourbon." The executive government, notwithstanding that address, proceeded to negotiate a treaty. In 1833, another instance occurred. When an address, moved by the Duke of Wellington, had been carried against the government, Earl Grey continued to act on the policy previously adopted; from which, in the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston had declared he would not swerve. Ministers, Lord John Russell intimated, were not disposed to give the reins of power out of their hands in consequence of the course adopted by the Lords.

Yet the attack, led on by Lord Stanley in the upper House, was of the most vehement description. He condemned, *in toto*, the conduct of Lord Palmerston. On a claim made, of £20 each, for two Ionians, the speaker commented with much severity. He said—"If the British flag is insulted, the Secretary of State does not think it necessary to ask for an apology. If a boat's crew is plundered, a sum of money is demanded. All we want is the money. Is a boat-hook lost? Put it

down in the bill. It is really difficult to speak seriously on such a question. It would be too absurd, too ridiculous, too foolish to make it the subject of recital in your lordships' House, were it not for the momentous fact, that it is upon such fooleries the peace of Europe is made to depend. The noble lord reminds me of a story where a man is thrown out of the window of an inn, and the assailant, when charged with the offence, exclaims, 'Put it down in the bill.' Whatever is done, put it down in the bill. Here is £20 for this, and £10 for that; and when we present our bill to King Otho at last, his treasury not being in an overflowing condition, we will show him what it is to insult Great Britain. Now, I ask your lordships, I put it to any rational man, whether this is a case upon which we are justified in going to war; in which we are warranted in employing a more powerful fleet than that which won the battle of the Nile, to threaten a friendly sovereign, and demand a certain compensation, just or unjust?" He criticised several demands; but the case on which his lordship dwelt most, was that of an individual, known as Don Pacifico, which he described to present such "an astounding combination of mendacity and audacity, of all that was ridiculous and disgusting," that he was ashamed to bring it before their lordships. The circumstances under which that person made his claim were these—"The Athenian mob take great delight, on Easter Sunday, in burning a representation of Judas Iscariot; but on Easter Sunday, 1847, in consequence of the presence in Athens of the Baron C. M. de Rothschild, the government, out of compliment to that gentleman, took measures to prevent the assemblage of the people. It is clear, then, his lordship inferred, that the loss M. Pacifico has sustained, is traceable to the presence of Baron de Rothschild in Athens. If the baron had not been in Athens, the figure of Judas would have been burnt; and, possibly, M. Pacifico's house would not have been plundered. An opinion, however, arose that M. Pacifico had obtained the discontinuation of this annual celebration, and a mob assembled, and most indefensibly made an attack upon M. Pacifico's house, and destroyed what furniture there was in it; and, indeed, according to his statement, everything else. The rapidity with which the mob effected this destruction appears to have been wonderful; but, no doubt, they did great injury to the house, and caused considerable alarm to M. Pacifico and his family." His lordship continued—"As I do not wish to exaggerate or over-state anything, I will say, that, looking at those papers, it does not appear that there was any great activity manifested by the Greek police, either in putting a stop to the riot itself, or endeavouring to identify the rioters. It seems, indeed, that the police were deterred from taking such steps in consequence of persons who had high connections in the state being concerned in these outrages—a circumstance which entitles M. Pacifico to compensation. But when we come to the gentleman's bill of costs, it is really one which passes credibility. Mr. Wyse states that M. Pacifico's circumstances were insufficient to afford him the power to redeem some plate lodged with the Bank of Athens as security for £30 advanced to him for the purpose of lending out small weekly loans to poor people at exorbitant interest; and yet he claims more than £31,000 for his losses, nearly £5,000 of which is demanded for furniture destroyed. But, my lords, either M. Pacifico must be a man of extraordinary powers of memory, or else, amidst the universal destruction declared, the plunderers must have been obliging enough to leave behind them a precise inventory of every item of furniture, and the value of each. No upholsterer's catalogue can be more complete, enumerating, in the minutest detail, every article in the house, from the sofas and chairs in the drawing-room, to the stew-pans, the jelly-moulds, the skimming-ladles in the kitchen. Every article, too, in its proper place; in such a box, so many coats, and other articles of M. Pacifico; in such a cupboard, so many gowns of Mrs. Pacifico; so many silk stockings of Miss Pacifico; with all the minutiae of male and female apparel. Why, the house of this petty usurer is furnished—is represented to have been furnished—as if he had been another Aladdin, with full command of the genii of the ring and the lamp. For

one couch, the enormous sum of £170 is charged; and, for a *lit conjugal*, £150." In conclusion, expressing great regard for the noble lord at the head of the foreign department, he felt bound to speak of him on this occasion as a minister, not as a man; and thus feeling, he continued—"I must, in this case, express my deep regret at the conduct which, as a minister, he has felt it his duty to pursue; and call upon your lordships to recollect that this is no case in which personal feeling ought to be indulged. I must call upon you to remember that you are here in the discharge of a great public duty; that you are here acting in a judicial capacity; that you are here acting, possibly, as the means of reconciling differences between contending nations: at all events, that your judgment to-day may go forth to the world, and vindicate you from the stigma and opprobrium which, as I think, must attach to that great and mighty power which prostitutes its undoubted superiority by enforcing unjust or exorbitant demands upon a feeble and defenceless ally. My lords, I beg to move your lordships to resolve, that while the House fully recognises the right and duty of the government to secure to her majesty's subjects residing in foreign states the full protection of the laws of those states, it regrets to find, by the correspondence recently laid upon the table by her majesty's command, that various claims against the Greek government, doubtful in point of justice, or exaggerated in amount, have been enforced by coercive measures, directed against the commerce and peace of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with other powers."

Mr. Roebuck, after such a powerful censure had been endorsed by the Lords, might well think that an appeal should be made to the Commons; and that if that appeal were not successful, then the path which ministers ought to take would be clear. With this feeling he gave notice to the House that he would move, "That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of the country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world."

The whole nation was excited at finding ministers thus put upon their trial. The debate lasted four nights, and excited unexampled interest. It commenced on the 24th of June.

Mr. Roebuck, after alluding to the condemnation of the administration by the House of Lords on their foreign policy, said—"It became the duty of the House of Commons to declare their opinion in similar unmistakable language. He believed that, as regards individual wrongs and rights, with reference to foreign nations, the object of the noble lord had been to extend the protection and the shield of England to her wandering sons, who were carried by commerce or otherwise to the various regions of the world. With regard to the interests of this country," he proceeded, "I believe his policy has been to maintain the peace of the world—not by truckling to despotism, but by teaching all foreign communities with whom we have any relations, that in so far as she is permitted to do so by the rules regulating internal communication, she will maintain peace by warning foreign governments to make ready and proper concessions to the increasing enlightenment of the people. In 1789, broke out that grand result of the increasing enlightenment of Europe—the first French revolution. The whole result depended upon England. What were called the legitimate governments of Europe banded together; and, unfortunately, England supported them. The consequence was a contest the most terrible that the annals of mankind record. In that fearful lesson we read a rule for our guidance in future. The Duke of Wellington was at the head of the English councils when that mighty conflict of the people of France resulted in again dispossessing the Bourbon family of the throne. The Duke of Wellington commenced a new foreign policy on the occasion, and at once acknowledged the government which the new revolution in France had established." After praising Lord Palmerston's policy with regard to Belgium, Mr. Roebuck continued—"On a sudden this House is surprised by a resolution

of the other House, embracing an alliance with France, Russia, and the protectionist party in this country, formed to overwhelm the noble lord. To find in Greece a monarch coming from Bavaria—a man educated at a small German Court, and with all the feelings that such an education must create—and acting, in everything, under the instruction of Austria and Russia, I must confess that, with such a council and such diplomacy, I feel somewhat degraded when I hear the name of England being mixed up in any of these discussions. We have seen evinced at Athens a constant sympathy with Russian diplomacy, which still looks forward to the possession of Constantinople as her portion of the spoil of the world, contemplated by Napoleon. Austria is Russia's implement and slave; and woe and shame to France for suddenly forgetting the great guiding principles of her conduct; and, truckling with the Russian despot, she has joined in this attempt to insult the greatness of England. Well, at this time what has occurred? The people of England are suddenly informed, through their Foreign Minister, that the fleet of Admiral Parker has been ordered to the Piræus. At once Englishmen erect their ears. They do not like the idea of it; and that power which is always ready to oppose anything like liberal government, which can give a majority against freedom, suddenly interferes. They do not like prodigally to use their power. I have heard many threats, and often, of the ministry being left in a minority in the House of Lords; but there was one very curious thing which I learned just before these occurrences took place; and I would ask this House seriously to bear it in mind. The people of Hungary had risen against the despotism of Austria, but had succumbed to the united power of Austria and Russia. The patriots escaped, and were afforded shelter by Turkey. With bloodhound pertinacity they were instantly demanded by the two despots. The noble lord worthily represented England on that occasion, and said, 'It shall not be.' Our fleet told those two despotic powers that such a violation of the rights of nations should not take place. England stopped those wretches. It was shortly after that circumstance that Count Nesselrode, writing to M. Brunow, said—'It is painful that this should have occurred just as Admiral Parker has been to the Dardanelles on his very disagreeable mission.' Now the charge brought against the noble lord is, that his demands are unreasonable; the amount claimed insignificant or exaggerated; and the time for making the demand inopportune or improper. There is first to be considered the question as regards the demands made on the Grecian nation. The next question is, how the French people have acted in the business? I will begin with France. We are told that this sort of proceeding was altogether unknown until originated by the noble lord, the Foreign Secretary, in the case of Greece. The cases in which the noble lord interfered were five or six. Now, I believe it is well known that, in 1831, a French fleet appeared in the Tagus to insist on reparation for injuries done to French subjects during the reign of Don Miguel. The mediation of England was offered, and refused by France. They demanded that a Frenchman, subjected to a severe imprisonment for a serious offence, should be liberated, and the sentence pronounced against him annulled by a special act, and that the judge should be dismissed. That was in times when we heard of 'our dear Aberdeen.' They further demanded that several French subjects should be indemnified; that a rule against arrest without a judicial decree should be observed; that the chief of the police should be dismissed; and that all sentences on French subjects for political offences should be abrogated. It is urged, in France, that this affair of Greece was a petty affair. I think I can find one as petty. In 1842, the French government felt that injuries had been done to some French subjects at the small and insignificant port of San Salvador, amounting, in the whole, to one thousand dollars. A French ship went in immediately, and the captain said—'If you do not pay I will at once bombard the town.' The people refused: the French consul retired, got on board the French ship, and immediately raised the demand to two thousand dollars, and the poor people were obliged to pay the money."

Mr. Roebuck quoted various cases to show that, in the judgment of other enlightened nations, a course similar to that which had been used by the British government on the present occasion, was justifiable. He spoke disparagingly of the conduct of France on this occasion, and treated lightly the idea of war being likely to arise from it. Finally, he expressed anxiety that there would be no cavil on the question at issue—no half approval. There must be so broad, so clear, so strong, and so positive an approval, that there could be no doubt ministers had maintained, and would continue to maintain, the dignity of the country in the face of the world.

On the second night of the debate Lord Palmerston spoke in his own defence. The interest created by the debate was intense, and the House was crowded in every part. Referring to the resolution passed by the Lords, he said it involved the future as well as the past. The country was pledged by the resolution; and, so far as foreign nations were concerned, the future rule of government was to be, that in all cases, and under all circumstances, British subjects were to have that protection only which the law and the tribunals of the land in which they might happen to be would give them. That proposition he denied, and he declared it was a doctrine upon which no British minister had ever yet acted, and on which the people of England would never suffer a British minister to act. His lordship continued—"If our subjects abroad have complaints against individuals, or against the government of a foreign country, if the courts of law can afford them redress, then, no doubt, to those courts of justice the British subjects ought, in the first instance, to apply; and it is only on a denial of justice, or upon decisions manifestly unjust, that the British government should be called upon to interfere. But there may be cases in which no confidence can be placed in the tribunals. I will take a transaction that occurred not long ago as an instance. An inn-keeper of Catania was brought before a court-martial, accused of having concealed arms in his possession, contrary to a recent decree, declaring that a person found guilty should be shot. Some police officers declared that they found, in an open bin in an open stable in his yard, a knife, which they denounced as a concealed weapon. Witnesses having been examined, the counsel for the prosecution stated, that he gave up the case, as it was evident that there was no proof that the knife belonged to the man, or that he was aware that it was in the place where it was found. The counsel for the defendant said, that such being the opinion of the prosecution, it was unnecessary for him to go into the defence, and he left his client in the hands of the court. The court, nevertheless, pronounced the man guilty, and the next morning he was shot. Now what would the English people have said if this had been done to a British subject? Yet everything was the result of a law, and the man was found guilty of an offence by the tribunal of his country. Owing to the absence of constitutional institutions, the whole system of the government of Greece is full of every kind of abuse. Justice could not be expected where the judges of the tribunal were at the mercy of the advisers of the crown. And with regard to the police, I have here depositions of persons who have been subjected to the most abominable tortures which human ingenuity could devise—tortures inflicted on both sexes, most revolting and disgusting; and that the parties guilty of such practices, instead of being punished, are held in great favour in quarters where they ought to have received nothing but marks of indignation. Well, this being the state of things in Greece, we have to do our best to afford protection to the Maltese, Ionians, and a certain number of British subjects, whom we have bound ourselves to aid. The Greek police, however, made no distinction between their treatment of the Maltese and the Ionians, and that of their own subjects, whom they were permitted to torture as I have described; and I saw the necessity of putting a stop to the extension of those abuses to British subjects by demanding compensation, scarcely more than nominal in some cases; the granting of which would be an acknowledgment that such things should not be done towards us in future."

With regard to the case of Pacifico, against whose character many accusations had been brought, his lordship continued :—

“ If the man were guilty, punish him if you will ; but do not pursue him as a pariah through life. His case was this. In the middle of the town of Athens, in a house which, I must be allowed to say, is not a wretched hovel, but which, in the early days of King Otho, was, I am told, the residence of Count Armanseperg, the chief of the regency—a house as good as the generality of those which existed in Athens before the sovereign ascended the throne—M. Pacifico, living in this house, within forty yards of the great street, within a few minutes’ walk of a guard-house where soldiers were stationed, was attacked by a mob. Fearing injury when the mob began to assemble, he sent an intimation to the British minister, who immediately informed the authorities. Application was made to the Greek government for protection. No protection was afforded. The mob, in which were soldiers and *gens d’armes*, who, even if officers were not with them, ought, from a sense of duty, to have interfered, and to have prevented plunder—that mob, headed by the sons of the minister of war—not children eight or ten years old, but older—that mob, for nearly two hours, employed themselves in gutting the house of an unoffending man, carrying away or destroying every single thing the house contained, and left it a perfect wreck. Is not that a case in which a man is entitled to redress from somebody ? I venture to think it is. I think that there is no civilised country where a man, subjected to such grievous wrong—not to speak of insults and injuries to the members of his family—would not justly expect redress from some quarter or other. Where was he to apply for redress at Athens ? The Greek government neglected its duty, and did not pursue judicial inquiries, or institute legal prosecutions, as it might have done, for the purpose of finding out, and punishing some of the culprits. The sons of the minister of war were pointed out to the government as actors in the outrage. The Greek government were told to search a particular house, and that some part of M. Pacifico’s jewels would be found there. They declined to prosecute the minister’s sons, or to search the house. But, it is said, M. Pacifico should have applied to a court of law for redress. What was he to do ? Was he to prosecute a mob of 500 persons ? Was he to prosecute them criminally, or in order to make them pay the value of his losses ? Where was he to find his witnesses ? Why, he and his family were hiding or flying during the pillage, to avoid the personal outrages with which they were threatened. He states that his own life was saved by the help of an English friend. It was impossible, if he could have identified the leaders, to have prosecuted them with success. But what satisfaction would it have been to M. Pacifico to have succeeded in a criminal prosecution against the ringleaders of that assault ? Would that have restored to him his property ? He wanted redress, not revenge. A criminal prosecution was out of the question, to say nothing of the chances, if not the certainty, of failure in a country where the tribunals are at the mercy of the advisers of the crown ; the judges being liable to be removed, and being often actually removed, upon grounds of private interest and personal feeling. Was he to prosecute for damages ? His action would have been laid against individuals, and not, as in this country, against the hundred. Suppose that he had been enabled to prove that one particular man had carried off one particular thing, or destroyed one particular article of furniture, what redress could he anticipate from a law-suit which, as his legal advisers told him, it would be vain for him to undertake ? M. Pacifico truly said—‘ If the man I prosecute is rich, he is sure to be acquitted ; if he is poor, he has nothing out of which to afford me compensation if he is condemned.’ The Greek government having neglected to give the protection they were bound to extend, and having abstained from taking the means to afford redress, there was a case in which we were justified in calling on the Greek government for compensation for the losses, whatever they might be, which M. Pacifico had suffered. I think that claim was founded in justice. The amount we did not pretend to fix. If the

Greek government had admitted the principle of the claim, and had objected to the account sent in by M. Pacifico—if they had said, ‘This is too much, and we think a less sum sufficient,’ that would have been a question open to discussion, and which our ministers, Sir E. Lyons at first, or Mr. Wyse afterwards, would have been ready to have gone into, and, no doubt, some satisfactory arrangement might then have been effected with the Greek government. But the Greek government denied altogether the principle of the claim. Therefore, when Mr. Wyse came to make the claim, he could not but demand that the claim should be settled, or placed in a way of settlement, and that within a definite period, as he fixed it, of twenty-four hours. Whether M. Pacifico’s statement of his claim was exaggerated or not, the demand was not for any particular amount of money. The demand was, that the claim should be settled. An investigation might have been instituted, which those who acted for us were prepared to enter into, fairly, dispassionately, and justly.” His lordship further stated, “that M. Pacifico had only met with a positive refusal of his claim, or with pertinacious silence; and at length it came to this, that the demand must be abandoned altogether or enforced. Oh, it was said, what an iniquitous proceeding to employ so large a force against so small a power. But did the smallness of a country justify the magnitude of its evil doings? Was it to be held, that if your subjects suffered violence, outrage, plunder, in a country which was small and weak, that compensation must not be claimed? The sufferers would answer, that the weakness of the offending power made it so much more easy to obtain redress. No, it was said, generosity was to be the rule; we were to be generous to those who have behaved ungenerously to our countrymen; and we were to say to the sufferers—‘We cannot give you redress, because we have such ample means of enforcing it.’” His lordship then fully explained the course which had been pursued; the policy he had uniformly acted upon; and the differences with France, which had, however, been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. He vindicated the government on all the points which had been assailed; and especially the sending of a squadron, under Sir William Parker, to the Dardanelles, that the Turkish government might not be coerced, and forced to give up the Hungarians, who had sought a refuge in the dominions of the Porte. That, he insisted, held out no threat to any power: it could only be a symbol, and a source of support to the sultan.

The eloquent conclusion of the noble viscount’s five hours’ speech was as follows:—

“The government of a great country like this is undoubtedly an object for fair and legitimate ambition among men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy and the destinies of such a country; and if ever it were an object of honourable ambition, it must be more than ever so at the moment at which I am speaking. Whilst we have seen, as has been stated, Europe rocking from side to side, thrones shattered, institutions overthrown and destroyed—when almost every country of Europe has been a scene of conflict, which has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England, and worthy of the admiration of the world. We have shown that liberty is compatible with order; we have shown that individual freedom is reconcilable with obedience to law; we have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned it; whilst, at the same time, every individual is constantly striving to raise himself in the social scale, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct, and unremitting application of those moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him. I say, to govern such a people as this, is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land; and therefore I find no fault with those who may have endeavoured to place themselves in so distinguished a position.

We have not done anything in our foreign policy to forfeit the confidence of the country. I contend that, whether in this matter or in that we may have acted up to the opinions of one person or another—and we know by experience that we do not find any number of persons entirely agreeing on any matter—making allowances for those differences of opinion which might fairly be expected amongst those which generally concur, yet I maintain that the principles which can be traced throughout foreign nations as the rule and directing course of our proceedings—I say that those principles are such as deserve the approbation of the country. I fearlessly challenge the verdict which the House may give on the question now before it—whether the principles which have governed the foreign policy of the government, whose duty it was to afford protection to our subjects abroad, which we have considered the guide of our conduct, are proper and fitting; and whether, as in the days of the Roman, who held himself to be free from indignity when he called out '*Civis Romanus Sum*,' an Englishman shall be considered protected by the vigilant eye and strong arm of his government, against injustice and wrong?"

The debate was brought to a close on the 28th of June. On that night Sir R. Peel delivered a most able and argumentative speech: it was the last time his voice was heard in that House. Differing from Lord Palmerston, he frankly confessed, "We are all proud of him." In this his last speech, Sir Robert, as usual, uttered language well worthy of remembrance. We transcribe a few of its sentences. "The honourable and learned gentleman, Mr. Roebuck, says there shall be no mistake as to the purport and import of my vote; that it is not a resolution simply of approval of the policy of the noble lord, but a resolution the meaning and intention of which is this—we are to tell the people of all foreign countries with whom we have any relations, that our power, so far as it is physically concerned, is not to be employed to coerce their rulers; but, in so far as the moral influence of this country and this government is concerned, the world shall know we are friendly wheresoever we find a large endeavour on the part of any body of men to vindicate to themselves the right of self-government. * * * * I am asked what is the antagonistic principle? I have been challenged again and again to declare it. I will declare it. The principle for which I contend is the principle for which every statesman has contended for the last fifty years—namely, non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries, without some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of your own country. That is the antagonistic principle for which I contend. I affirm, that the principle for which you contend is the principle contended against by Mr. Fox, when it was employed in favour of arbitrary government, which was resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning at the congress of Verona; the principle which was asserted by the Convention of France on the 19th of November, 1792, and was abandoned by that same Convention on the 13th of April, 1793, because France found it utterly impossible to adhere to it consistently with the maintenance of peace. * * * * It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken; you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate; you will invite opposition to government: and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts; you will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference."

Many were the brilliant speeches delivered during the course of the debate; and the triumph for the ministry, in spite of the combination of Peelites, protectionists, and the Manchester party, was of the most emphatic character. Mr.

Roebuck's motion was carried by a majority of forty-six; the numbers being—ayes, 310; noes, 264. There can be no doubt that the main contributor to this triumph was the noble lord himself. His speech exhausted the question. During the whole time, the attention of a crowded House was maintained unflaggingly: the historical details of his policy, which, in other hands, would have been a dry narrative of facts, served with him as the vehicle, at times, of lofty sentiment, of genuine patriotism, of brilliant repartee, and of broad and irresistible humour. It was universally admitted to be one of the greatest triumphs of parliamentary eloquence that age had listened to. An M.P. walking home that night, said to another M.P., "I have heard Canning, and Plunkett, and Brougham in their best days, and I never heard anything to beat that speech." Undoubtedly his lordship surpassed himself, and exceeded all expectation. Out-of-doors the enthusiasm in favour of Lord Palmerston was as great as within the walls of St. Stephen's; and with a peculiar and delicate courtesy, within four days of the address which he delivered, a portrait of himself, painted by an eminent artist, at a cost of 400 guineas, was presented to Lady Palmerston by a deputation, consisting of members of the House of Commons, who represented many more of his legislative admirers.

On the Greek question public opinion is yet divided. The weakness of Greece has pleaded strongly in her favour with some politicians, who thought, and justly thought, that the necessity for undertaking offensive measures against such a humble state ought to have been obvious to all mankind; that every effort should have been made to effect a pacific settlement; and that full warning should have been given, not to Greece alone, but to France and Russia, as protecting powers, before the strong arm of England had been raised, even in a just cause, against such a puny member of the commonwealth of nations. There was no glory to be gained in coercing Greece.

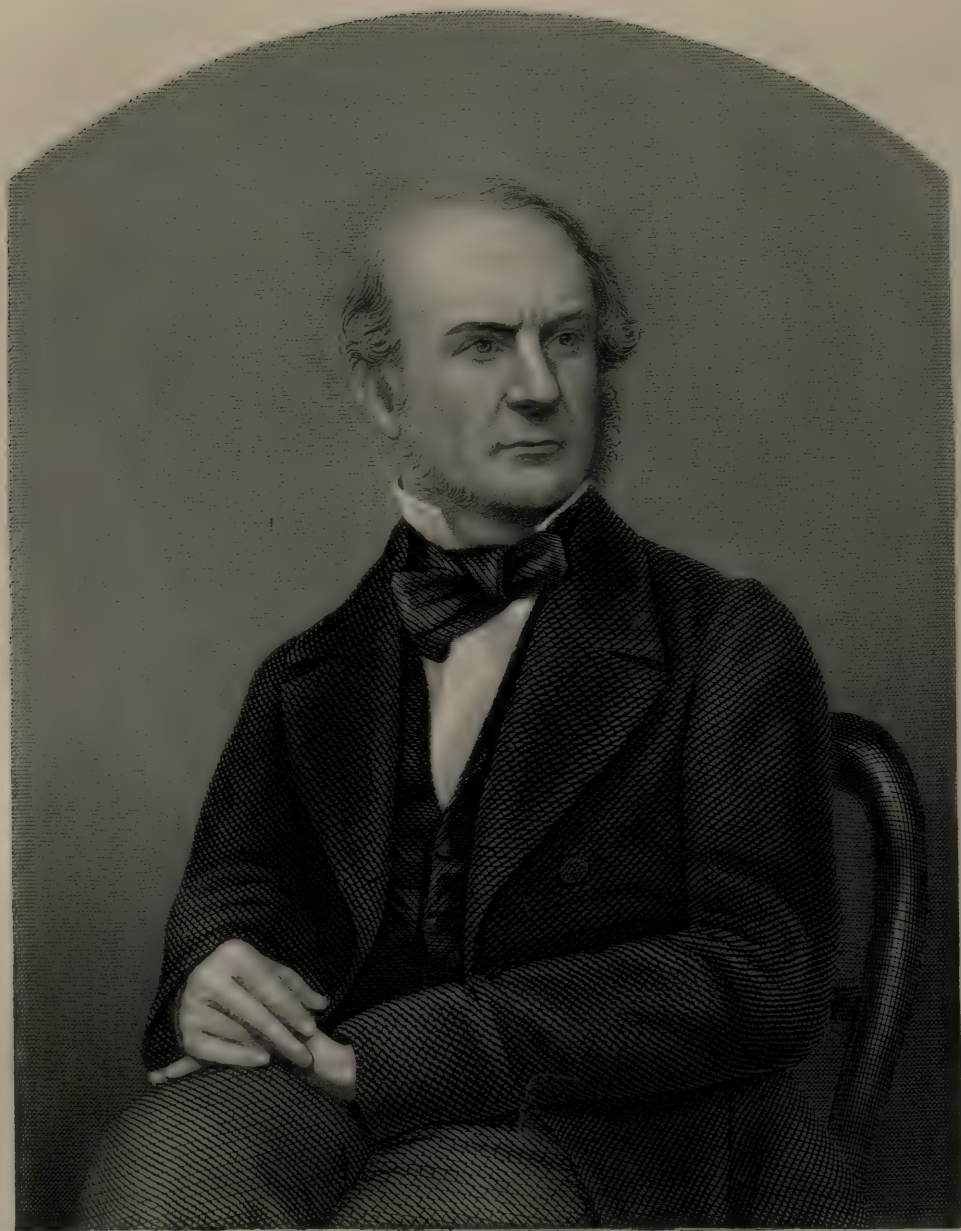
Unquestionably, British subjects, when residing in foreign lands, are entitled to protection; and if that protection cannot be afforded them by the legal tribunals of the country, they have a right to look for it at the hands of their own government. But before their claims are endorsed by the Foreign Secretary, he ought to be sure that they are not exaggerated, and that they are, in every respect, honest. If an Englishman makes a fool of himself abroad, he must take the consequences of his folly. It is not enough that the offending power should disprove the accusations of an alien: it is the duty of the injured person to prove, to the satisfaction of his government, before calling upon it for assistance, that his demands are strictly just. If this reasoning be sound, it is impossible to approve, in every respect, of the manner in which M. Pacífico's claims were adopted and enforced. In this demonstration against Greece, there were certainly, especially as regards French mediation, many errors committed; but it is not clear that Lord Palmerston was to blame. Accidents will occur in the best regulated families; the best schemes are liable to miscarriage; the best diplomatic agents sometimes err; and Lord Palmerston never was the man to extricate himself from a false position by accusing his subordinates.

The doctrine of Roman citizenship is more plausible than sound. Undoubtedly, at the time, it made Lord Palmerston intensely popular. John Bull, even now—when an adventurer, and the son of an adventurer, with an audacity almost sublime, has climbed up the steep ascent of empire, and with his armed legions bids all Europe tremble—flatters himself that England sustains the same relation to the modern, that Rome sustained to the ancient world. Under the broad sun of heaven he sees no more exalted personage than himself: he insists upon his rights in the remotest corners of the globe. In the presence of the pope, whom he considers as little better than one of the wicked; under the shadow of the gigantic despot, who holds France in his mailed hand; before Austrian kaiser, Russian czar, Yankee backwoodsman, or astonished citizen of Timbuctoo, he exclaims, "*Civis Romanus Sum!*" In his own opinion, it is his proud prerogative,

wherever he wanders, to break all laws; to violate all customs; to pour contempt on all prejudices; and to run all risks. Now Lord Palmerston was supposed to aid and abet all this; and in 1850 this idea culminated in a triumph, which must have satisfied even his ambition. Englishmen were astonished and enraptured. All swore by Lord Palmerston. Even the professors of the refined science of gastronomy—the disciples of Ude—Carême Soyer—caught the enthusiasm, and a Palmerston sauce became *en vogue*. In the four quarters of the globe his name was a terror, and a tower of strength. Vienna illuminated when Lord Palmerston left office. In the troubled years of 1848–'9, a German popular couplet intimated, that if the devil had a son, that fortunate individual was England's Foreign Secretary. "*Suda Palmerston Seechas*" (hither Palmerston forthwith), was, we were told, during the Crimean war, the cry with which the Cossack of the Ukraine stilled his steed when restive, or urged it on when weary. Nay, more; at dinners at Damascus, Mr. Disraeli makes an Eastern emir exclaim—"I cannot endure this eternal chatter about Palmerston: is there no other statesman in the world besides Palmerston?" Actually when the Harper Ferry affair broke out on the other side of the Atlantic, we read in an American paper, that the act of Brown and his followers was owing to Palmerston alone. The public were pleased. The conclusion naturally was—if the Foreign Secretary was thus great and potent, how great and potent must be the country of which he was the minister.

The ablest opponent of Lord Palmerston was Mr. Gladstone, who repudiated, in the debate, the *Civis Romanus Sum* doctrine, which, after all, was never advanced by Lord Palmerston in the mischievous sense his opponents affirmed. In another matter Mr. Gladstone did his lordship injustice; and that was in the distinction he drew between the intervention of Mr. Canning and his lordship. Mr. Gladstone affirmed, that the earlier statesman had been successful in his interference in Portugal and South America; while the Foreign Secretary of the Whigs had been, in almost every instance, unsuccessful and inexcusable in his meddling with the affairs of other countries. Mr. Gladstone even selected for panegyric, Mr. Canning's extraordinary sentence about calling the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old; and considered such intervention as a perfect model of wisdom and success. But, in fact, Mr. Canning's South American republics were decided failures; and the British troops had scarcely been withdrawn from Portugal, when the constitution which he virtually, though not directly, attempted to save was subverted. It seems, then, almost impossible to believe that, if Mr. Canning's intervention in Portugal and South America was quite right, Lord Palmerston's intervention in Portugal and Belgium was quite wrong. The latter was blamed for perilling our relations with the great monarchical powers by his constitutional propagandism. Mr. Gladstone argued, with much force and eloquence, that if England set about diffusing her political opinions and institutions, other states would take the same course; that the name of each government would be the symbol of a party, and a system would ensue destructive to the peace and happiness of the world. Well, actually this was the case. What was the holy alliance but a scheme of propagandism of the most universal character? Lord Palmerston only did what others had done before him. His offence was, that he had, wherever practicable, lent the aid and the arm of England to constitutional, in preference to despotic governments. If his lordship was a sinner in this respect, it was a sin which surely an Englishman should be ready to forgive. In the upper House, where Liberal principles are always viewed with dislike, we cannot wonder that his lordship's policy had been emphatically condemned: but we should have been surprised if that verdict had been ratified by the Commons and the public at large.

Perhaps the best vindication of the Palmerston policy may be found in the following fact:—After the great issue had been decided, and the session of 1850 closed, Mr. Gladstone went in the autumn to Italy, and found himself at last in Naples. He was travelling with no political object. Private reasons alone had



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taken him to the continent. He was a highly distinguished member of a party which was considered opposed to all revolutionary disturbances, and strongly prepossessed in favour of established governments. He had censured Lord Palmerston for his measures in Italy; and had expressed himself powerfully against the contemplated separation of Sicily from Naples. He might be regarded as a friend of King Ferdinand, and disposed to view, with a favourable eye, the exertions which this sovereign and his ministers had made to preserve the rights of the Neapolitan monarchy. But Mr. Gladstone beheld scenes that struck him with horror; he saw in action such a brutal tyranny, without aim or purpose, except for simply increasing human misery, that, shocked by all he had witnessed, Conservative and Englishman as he was, he felt it to be his sacred duty to attempt to stop the further committal of such crimes. He visited the persecuted patriots in their dungeons. With his own hands he grasped their chains, and endeavoured to administer consolation to those whose heads were bowed down in despair. On his return to England he communicated the results of his humane investigation to Lord Aberdeen, in the hope that that nobleman's great influence might induce the King of Naples to unlock the fetters he had fastened on his victims. Months, however, passed away, and no relaxation of this miserable persecution was experienced. Mr. Gladstone then reluctantly sent his letters to the press, and solemnly impeached, before the great bar of public opinion, the official miscreants who, violating every divine and human law, revelled in the wretchedness they inflicted on their fellow-creatures. These letters created a great sensation throughout Europe and the civilised world. The Neapolitan ministers found themselves arraigned as criminals. They were obliged at last to reply to these grave accusations; and there were Englishmen not ashamed to countenance their feeble rejoinder, and make a show of holding the balance even between the accuser and the accused, as though Mr. Gladstone's simple testimony was not of more weight than the rambling assertions of any kind apologist for such atrocities. The letters of Mr. Gladstone not merely vindicated his own character, but they were a noble testimony to the excellence of the policy pursued by our British minister. In no person did Mr. Gladstone's denunciation of Neapolitan tyranny find more hearty sympathy than in Lord Palmerston; nor did he, in his high official position, merely praise the letters in the House of Commons, and excite the cheers of his countrymen. He sent copies of the work to the different embassies abroad; and charged the ambassadors to bring them to the knowledge of the governments to which they were accredited, that the world might see what a hideous tyranny was that of King Ferdinand. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets produced political consequences. His appeal to the common sentiments of mankind against a barbarous system of injustice and oppression had united politicians who admired Lord Palmerston and the friends of Lord Aberdeen. It began to be asked whether the principles of these statesmen were quite irreconcilable; or whether they could not unite in one powerful government for the honour and welfare of England?

And thus, for the present, Lord Palmerston has become the most popular man in all England. Of his John Bullism the nation was proud. "It is a grand country this," exclaims the enthusiastic but grumbling Briton, while he abuses its laws, its character, and its institutions; and nothing pleased people better than to hear his lordship repeating this cry for the edification of foreign Courts. England, with her press and parliament, was the model which he held up to the admiration of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Japan; to say nothing of countless smaller principalities and powers. No matter the differences of religion, climate, custom, race, his lordship had a panacea applicable to all. That he did not precipitate the nation into war, argued not so much his discretion as his luck: but the people who did not see the danger, admired the pluck; and pluck rules the world. Witness Louis Napoleon, Count Bismarck, and Professor Holloway. Thus the national enthusiasm placed Palmerston on the very topmost pinnacle: he was the mainstay of the cabinet. As long as he was Foreign

Minister they were safe in their seats. Abroad, the cry was, "Palmerston and constitutional government!" At home, "Palmerston and the vindication of the national honour!" Surely, if any man had reason to be satisfied with his lot, and to be certain of his continuance in office, it was England's Foreign Secretary at the end of 1850.

It had been the reproach of Englishmen that they took little or no interest in foreign affairs. That reproach had been uttered even by Lord Palmerston himself. When a deputation from the inhabitants of Finsbury waited on him with an address of thanks for his zealous services in the cause of humanity, in having aided to procure the liberation of Kossuth—in acknowledging the compliment, his lordship remarked, that the people of England generally viewed the subject of continental liberty with indifference; and he invited them to back him in his future efforts on its behalf. His lordship knew that, to be forcible and successful, he must have public opinion on his side. He felt, with that in his favour, he could do much for liberty; that without it, his fiercest reproach, or most indignant denunciation, would be a voice, and nothing more.

And thus feared abroad, and admired at home, no one ever dreams of the fall from place and power of England's Foreign Secretary.

Just now all England is enthusiastic on foreign affairs. Kossuth had recently landed on our shores. His reception by the corporation and people of Southampton was such as had never been accorded to a Foreign Secretary before. The ancient city of Winchester was not backward in its welcome to the illustrious stranger; and London even was moved as but rarely is the case. The court of aldermen and common council adopted an address, which Kossuth was invited to receive in the Guildhall. His progress thither, on the day appointed, from his temporary residence in Pimlico, was a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm. From Piccadilly to Cheapside business was suspended for several hours; the people of nearly all ranks blocking up the thoroughfares in their eagerness to behold and honour the man who had but narrowly escaped the death of a rebel. Twice the hero of the hour was compelled to stop, and address a few words to his enthusiastic admirers. In Manchester and Birmingham, the only towns which the state of his health enabled him to visit, his reception was equally gratifying and enthusiastic. The Manchester Free-Trade Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity to hear him; and 90,000 applications for tickets were made in vain. At Birmingham it was estimated that half a million of persons assembled to greet him on his arrival in that town. At the banquet which followed, he delivered one of his most remarkable speeches in this country.

Our reproach had been wiped away. All England was interested in foreign affairs.

CHAPTER II.

THE CAPE AND FOREIGN ADVENTURE.

IN 1851, the following letter appeared in the *Times*, from the pen of Sir William Napier to Mr. Samuel Gurney, chairman of the Peace and Aborigines Society:—

"Respectable Friend,—The *Times* has made thee assert, at a meeting of the above society, as follows:—

"That, since 1837, there has been at the Cape a constant reference to the sword.

"That it was a bad principle to have all governors sent to the Cape military men. That where military men were employed, they would only have recourse

to the sword. That men of commerce, men of Christian principles, should be employed instead of military men. That Lord Glenelg's policy was a Christian one, and the only sure and just one."

"Now Friend, Justice, which is the favourite child of Christianity, should have deterred thee from this vilification of all the Cape governors. There was one of them, at least, who acted according to thy own views of what is deemed fitting to be done. Sir George Napier succeeded a governor who had just terminated a war, and was succeeded by a governor who instantly commenced a war; but his government of nearly seven years was one of peace with the Kaffirs, and it began in that very year of 1837, which thou hast fixed as the epoch for a constant reference to the sword. Moreover, it was a government conducted on Lord Glenelg's Christian policy, which, be it said, did not fail in Sir G. Napier's hands, though Lord John Russell has thought fit to assume the contrary in the House of Commons. How is it that these things were unknown to thee, Friend?"

"Sir G. Napier had no recourse to the sword, because he deeply felt the awful responsibility of an appeal to arms without absolute necessity; and because he judged that one month of hostilities would be more costly and more hurtful to the colonists than ten years of Kaffir depredations. Yet he did not supinely neglect those depredations; he always sought, and generally obtained redress, but peaceably; and often he found the savage more reasonable and just than the civilised man. And whilst he thus staved off war, he was active in peaceable legislation.

"He enforced the abolition of slavery without commotion.

"He reduced the paper-money debt from £200,000 to less than £100,000; and, coincidentally, he abolished all taxes relying for revenues on import duties only.

"He gave municipal government to all the towns and villages; and he earnestly urged the home government to give a representative to the colony.

"He found the public schools languishing, with only a few hundred scholars: he revived them, nourished them, reformed them; and left them flourishing, with upwards of 12,000 attending pupils.

"Here, then, Friend Gurney, we have, instead of a constant recourse to the sword, peace, education, reduction of debt and taxes, self-government by municipalities, and an effort to obtain general representation: and if thou wouldst know what he was thought of personally, I answer, that the coloured people looked on him as their friend and protector; that the Kaffirs respected his authority; that men of all political opinions gave him a farewell dinner; and his most active opponent there bore testimony to the integrity, the purity of his government, its freedom from all jobs and favouritism; and when he embarked, the humbler classes attended him in crowds to the shore, and even in boats to the ship, with all demonstrations of attachment.

"In behalf of an absent brother, then, I say that these things, Friend Gurney, thou shouldest have known before thy sweeping assertion—that, from 1836, constant recourse was had to the sword, and that all military governors would appeal to this weapon.

"And now, Friend, one word as to thy comparison of military and commercial persons.

"What manner of men be they who have supplied the Kaffirs with the fire-arms and ammunition to maintain their savage and deplorable wars?

"Assuredly they were not military."

The Kaffir war here referred to has never been fairly put before the British public. As much injustice has been done to the colonists, we will here briefly tell its story.

In 1817, the Kaffirs and a few Dutch and English colonists held conjoint possession of Eastern Africa, nearly as far west as Algoa Bay. The European residents were, however, regarded as the nominal lords of the soil to the Great Fish River, and had about thirty military posts established in that country, which is now known as the districts of Albany and Uitenhage. Along this district

frequent Kaffir inroads took place, the Kaffirs being always the aggressors: the farmers, in their turn, uniting to visit the haunt of the Kaffir robber, and compel him, by force of arms, to disgorge his plunder.

In 1819, the Kaffirs became so bold as to venture upon war against the colony; in which, after an attempt to carry Graham's Town (then the headquarters of the military), they were discomfited, and compelled to retire to the east side of the Great Fish River, along the right bank of which a strong chain of forts was, at the time, maintained.

The same year the British parliament voted £50,000, and sent out 4,000 emigrants, to occupy the country from which the Kaffirs had just been expelled. These emigrants formed the Albany and Uitenhage original settlers; and being men of stern mould and indefatigable temperament, soon began to plant the seeds of a flourishing settlement. At this time, Graham's Town contained twenty-two houses, and 150 inhabitants. Fourteen years of peace and prosperity ensued; when, in 1834, the second Kaffir war burst like a thunder-cloud over the peaceful and prosperous community. The assegai and the torch did their deadly work most effectually. The British territory was completely overrun and despoiled; numbers of lives lost; and £300,000 worth of the settlers' property wasted or driven off. This war had been originated by the Kaffirs; and the result was, their expulsion to the eastward of the Keiskamma river. This result was only what they must have expected. Two powers go to war; one is beaten; the conqueror dictates his terms, which, in this case, were the forfeiture of a considerable and valuable tract of country.

A new governor, Sir Andreas Stockenstrom, now appeared upon the scene; and a new policy, one of concession, was adopted. That portion of the country which the Kaffirs had lost in the war—that lying between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma rivers, which now took the name of the Ceded Territory—was given up to them. This concession proved a most complete failure. All along the frontier line, wherever it happened to be, there was a constant state of warfare: but this new conciliatory policy augmented the daring of the enemy a hundredfold, and robberies of cattle and other stock were multiplied to a ruinous extent. A strong military force managed to keep things quiet till 1846, when a third war deluged the country with rapine and with blood. Sir Harry Smith was sent out to close the struggle at all hazards, and to stop the heavy military expenditure which the war had occasioned. He found it terminated on his arrival; but he released those chiefs who ever afterwards were a thorn in his side. The Kaffirs lost much in this war. The ceded territory had again become colonial; and was now portioned out in the districts of Victoria, Fort Peddie, part of Beaufort, and Albert. The colonists might well expect some compensation for the war. Their loss in crops and stocks alone was estimated at about £500,000. In addition to the forfeiture of the ceded territory, another penalty was exacted from the Kaffir people, by the nominal annexation of a large and valuable tract of country to the British crown—a tract of about 4,000 square miles in extent, extremely beautiful and fertile, watered by numerous streams, possessing forests of valuable timber, and accessible by means of an excellent seaport. This accession was entitled British Kaffraria. It was subdivided into the counties of Lincoln, Bedford, Cambridge, Middlesex, Sussex, Yorkshire, and Northumberland; the whole being apportioned to the respective chiefs and followers who came forward and declared themselves willing to bear true allegiance to the British crown.

It may be needful to repeat, that this last accession of territory—British Kaffraria—was not wrested from the Kaffirs *in toto*; but they were suffered to retain certain divisions, apportioned out to each tribe by government proclamation, under their own laws, modified, in some degree, by British rule. A system of forts was established, garrisoned by British troops; towns and villages were laid out by British settlers; stations were established by British traders: in short, a conjoint occupancy of the district was the system adopted. Here an Englishman,

there a Kaffir; here a kraal, there a fort; here the residence of a chief, there the dwelling of a missionary, and the store of a trader. The natives who occupied this district, in common with the British, were known as Gaikas and H'ambies, with the Tambookies in the north. A policy was adopted, in case of theft, to make the first chief's kraal to which the spoor or trail was followed, afford restitution, and pay the fine, leaving him to seek redress from the actual offender. This system worked most admirably. Depredations diminished, and, comparatively speaking, ceased. The power of the chiefs over their people was gradually being weakened by the government dealing out equity and justice to every man alike, and by preventing the chiefs eating up and despoiling their serfs. British commissioners adjudged all wrongs; and the Kaffirs were practically taught that the laws of civilised men were much more just than the capricious wills of their hereditary rulers. All Kaffirland was fast becoming Christianised and civilised. Means were taken to improve and instruct the people. Some possessed waggons, oxen, and other property; seeds, and implements of husbandry, were placed at their disposal. Stations, schools, and churches, were rising up throughout the land; and all seemed bright and fair. The admirable and just policy of Sir Harry Smith was most vigorously carried out by Colonel Mackinnon and the sub-commissioners. It was a system in which civil privileges and military enforcements worked harmoniously. Two divisions of native police, of 200 men each, performed all the duties of the civil power. The Kaffirs, seeing that the plunder of a colony was a loss rather than a gain to themselves, began to devote their time to a more careful cultivation of their lands; and having amassed a little property, soon began to appreciate those laws which protected the honest, and punished the rogue.

But the chiefs were jealous of all these fine proceedings. Their power was in jeopardy, and they knew it. They could no longer, on a flimsy pretence, pounce upon one of their serfs, and rob him of his cattle, to enrich their kraals. Wardances, witchcraft, and other mummeries were strictly forbidden. Had the system of Sir H. Smith been continued a few years longer, undoubtedly the happiest results would have ensued.

To all appearance, the greatest contentment prevailed throughout British Kaffraria; and yet, amidst this outward calm, there was a secret conspiracy at work. The notorious Sandilli was instigating his chieftains and followers to unite in driving the colonists out of the country. He sent the following message in June, 1850:—"Arise, clans of the Kaffir nation! the white man has wearied us: they are depriving us of our rights, which we inherit from our forefathers; we are deprived of our chieftainship, and the white man is the chief to whom we are obliged to submit. Sandilli will die fighting for the rights of his forefathers." Pato, to whom this message was sent, replied—"I was instigated to join you in the last war, but it shall be the last; it shall never more be said that Pato has joined in a war against the colony." Some of the other chiefs were willing to join with Sandilli; but contended that the time had not come. The Kaffirs who were in the colonial service were told to keep their eyes open. A monstrous birth—a child with two heads—was said to have taken place in Kaffirland, or Tambookieland, about two months after this. The infant was represented to have spoken immediately after birth, and to have predicted the overthrow of the English; and then died. Towards the end of September, another witch-doctor, or prophet, sprang up, whom Sandilli speedily made subservient to his purpose by working upon the superstitious feelings of the natives. The name of this impostor was Umlanjeni, a young Kaffir of the Gaika tribe. He made himself notorious by standing up to the chin in a pond of water for several hours without food. He next ordered a general purification of all the Kaffir warriors, which took place upon the top of a mountain. This madman soon began to exercise an extraordinary influence over the minds of the people. He was visited by the chiefs of the Kaffir tribes first, and afterwards by those of the H'ambies; and, finally, by the Tambookies. At this time there were hundreds of Kaffirs—men, women, and children—at service

in the colony, or living in sufferance upon the farmers' lands. Secret and mysterious messages from their respective chiefs caused servants to desert their masters. A toil-worn messenger would arrive at a location of native huts during the night, and before dawn on the following morning they had all disappeared, together with their movable effects; whilst the courier passed on to warn others of his countrymen, or gave over the "word" to a comrade, by which means it was passed from hut to hut, and farm to farm, in a manner, as has been remarked, strikingly resembling Roderick Dhu's assembling his clansmen, in Scott's tale of the *Lady of the Lake*.

"Fast as the fatal symbol flies,
In arms the huts and hamlets rise;
From winding glen, from upland brown,
They poured each hardy tenant down;
Nor slack'd the messenger his pace:
He showed the sign, he named the place;
And pressing forward like the wind,
Left clamour and surprise behind.
The fisherman forsook the strand,
The swarthy smith took dirk and brand;
With changed cheer, the mower blithe,
Left in the half-cut swathe the scythe.
The herds, without a keeper, strayed;
The plough was in mid-furrow staid;
The hunter left the stag at bay;
The falconer tossed his hawk away;
Prompt at the signal of alarms,
Each son of Alpine rushed to arms;
So swept the tumult and affray,
Along the margin of Achray."

Many of these servants possessed cattle, which they abandoned; others had wages due: but they cared not to stop for money. The Gaikas were called first, then the H'lambies, and, lastly, the Tambookies, being the order in which their respective chiefs had presented themselves before the prophet. To such an extent was this desertion of servants carried, that the farmers and their families had not only their household work to do, but the herding, in many instances, of extensive flocks had to be performed by children, in a bushy and intricate country, infested by beasts of prey. When the deserting servants reached Kaffirland, they were received by the prophet in common with the other tribes. At these meetings the impostor spoke of his immense power, his ability to drive all the English out of the country, to discomfite the military, and to turn the fire of artillery into water. He would not receive any offering from his devotees; but said that he was sent as a deliverer, and did not want to enrich himself at the expense of his people. This assembly of the servants in Kaffirland was regarded as extremely ominous by those who were well acquainted with the native character; and many openly expressed their opinion that mischief was brewing.

Mr. George Cyrus, superintendent of natives in Graham's Town, an indefatigable and vigilant officer, obtained so much information through his office, as led him to believe that the Kaffirs were meditating a movement against the colony; and, on the 15th of August, he laid his views before the civil commissioner for Albany (the leading frontier district), who forwarded the communication to Sir Harry Smith, in Cape Town; but, at that time, everything in Kaffraria wore so peaceful an aspect, that Mr. Cyrus was looked upon as a groundless alarmist.

During September, the notes of war and peace were alternately in the ascendant. More thefts than usual were committed; but this was ascribed to the fact of an universal and trying drought oppressing Kaffirland, by which the Kaffirs were reduced to great straits—almost to starvation, as the cattle afforded no milk, and the corn was not then available. Towards the middle of October, however, the plot began to thicken. Some of the Kaffir servants had returned to tell their masters to flee as fast and far as they could; that war was inevitable. A few of

the frontier stockmasters attended to the admonition, and moved off their cattle and sheep towards Algoa Bay, and the western part of the division of Uitenhage. Confidential messengers were sent into Kaffirland, by traders and others, to ascertain the exact position of affairs. These men returned, and the general tone of their advices was, that war was probable, but not yet. Great differences now prevailed upon the subject; some being confident of war; others assured of peace. The British commissioners among the Kaffir tribes scouted the idea of war; and entrenching themselves in a conviction that the number of their spies, countless sources of intelligence, and means of personal observation, precluded the possibility of a movement taking place in Kaffirland without immediate notice being given of it, reposed in fanciful security, and endeavoured further to allay the alarm of others, who had less chance of watching the state of affairs so narrowly. No blame is attached to those officers, who discharged their duties faithfully and nobly. They believed that all was working harmoniously; but in that belief they were imposed upon, and deceived.

The frontier inhabitants, however, were not thus blinded. One of them wrote, October, 1850, as follows:—"Last year Sandilli made a tour through the country, and laid before the several chiefs the position they stood in, not only with the prospect of losing their country, but, by degrees, also their power as chiefs. Since which, communications have continually been passing between the several chiefs, on the same subject. After the removal of the people from Blackwater, Macomo made a *personal* visit to Pato, Umhala, Kreli, Malpas, and Umtuara (the Tambookie chief), showing to each chief the necessity of combined attack, for the purpose of regaining their country. With this reasoning he prevailed upon them to assemble, either personally or by representative, to consult the great prophet Umlanjeni, and abide his decision. The result was, that Sandilli sent all the minor chiefs of his clan: there were also present Pato's son; Umhala, by deputy; Kreli, by ditto; Malpas, by Koos, his brother; Umtuara's sons, and also one of Jan Hermanus's sons. The most serious aspect of the matter is, that the Gona Kaffirs are likely to join against us in this great struggle. The question to the prophet, by all the great chiefs, was, what they were to do under present circumstances? The English had their land, and were treating them like dogs; drying up the country with the sun; and, if left alone, would starve them all to death. The prophet replied, he had talked about the matter with the spirit (Umothlo), before they came, and would tell them in the morning what the spirit said. Accordingly, in the morning, he pronounced that war was in the land, and requested them to assemble in two parties; those with guns on one side, those with assegais on the other. The gun party represented the English; those with assegais, the English. He placed them opposite, and requested the gun party to fire, and the others to lie flat on their faces; then arise, run suddenly upon their foes, and seize them with their hands—which was done. He told them that was the way in which they were to fight the English. He then invested Macomo and Umhala as the two great commanders. No other chief was to give orders but those two. He was then asked what they were to eat? He produced two sheepskins, and one goatskin, saying he would provide those animals for them during the war. The signal for the outbreak was to be an attempt on our part to seize him, which he predicted would be when the present moon became bright. They were then to make a general rush into the colony, occupy Bushman's River, and Sunday River, Poorts, and a portion of the Kroome and Fish River: Kreli to move down, and occupy British Kaffraria. After the meeting, messengers were sent to all in Kaffirland, and to all the Kaffirs in the colony, recalling them, their wives, and children; with an injunction that they were not to steal, or they would break the spell, and also to preserve the utmost secrecy."

By this time, it was felt that the affairs of the frontier had become critical. Numerous representations determined the governor to visit the unsettled locality in person. Accordingly, he sailed from Simon's Bay, with a portion of his staff,

on the 17th of October, in the steamer *Hermes*. A wide-spread alarm had, by this time, seized the colonists, and a meeting was held in Graham's Town, to present the governor with an address on the subject. In his reply, he deeply regretted to learn that so many farmers had left their homes. He added—"With respect to the supposition that the Kaffir chiefs have actually plotted to attack the colony, I have, as yet, been unable to trace any direct evidence that such has been the case. The present excitement is marked by a very peculiar feature. While the colonists expect an inroad from the Kaffirs, the latter are under the same apprehension with regard to the colonists.

"You are right, gentlemen, in considering that the Kaffir chiefs ought not to be permitted to exercise authority; the fact that they have been deprived of this power is the very cause of the present excitement. All that I have hitherto been able to discover is the existence of a restlessness on their part, while confidence in the British rule prevails among the people. The power of the chiefs is nominal; and if they have endeavoured to test it, the result is most favourable to ourselves." In his postscript, Sir Harry Smith added—"I am happy to acquaint you, gentlemen, that reports this day, throughout British Kaffraria, are most satisfactory; and I am in great hopes of being able to arrest some of the Kaffirs who, within the colony, have spread alarming reports."

After Sir Harry Smith had been a few days in Kaffirland, he issued a government notice, advising the farmers who had fled, to return to their homes, assuring them that no danger was to be anticipated; and pledging himself for their protection. The suddenness of his excellency's movements had evidently a startling effect upon the Kaffirs, who were apprehensive of punishment. They all came to quiet him except Sandilli, who was deposed in consequence. The commissioner of the Gaikas assembled that tribe at Fort Cox, on the 2nd of November, to explain to them the reason for, and nature of, their chief's deposition. The "Pokati," or chief men, stated that Sandilli owed everything to Smith (meaning the governor); and that his offence was one of which he must take the consequences. About 350 Kaffirs were present at this meeting; and the official account stated, that "the feeling manifested was extremely good, and that matters were in a most satisfactory state." Yet, all the while, it was clear to many that no dependence could be placed upon the pacific professions of a people who, a few days before, had been holding monster meetings of warriors, armed with guns and assegais. Colonial opinion was much divided: the governor believed in peace; but many believed in the certainty of war.

On the 7th of December, 1850, a local newspaper thus wrote:—"The time has arrived when the people of this frontier should be told that the danger of war is imminent, if not inevitable." An affray had taken place near Fort Cox, respecting the levy of a fine for a theft of cattle. The Kaffirs had refused to make restitution: and this was looked upon as a sure sign of war. Half the fine was ultimately offered, but refused; and was never paid, as more weighty matters now began to engage the attention of both parties. When the Kaffirs eat meat it is a sure sign that they intend war; and, at this time, the prophet Umlanjani, whose command they obeyed, now ordered them to slay and eat. Feasting became the order of the day; frantic dances formed the interlude; and a species of intoxication was brought about, which prepared the Kaffir youth for any act of devilry. All Kaffirland was in a state of ferment; and the governor-general, who had only returned to Cape Town, was recalled to the frontier. On the 10th of December, a proclamation was published, calling on the inhabitants to arm. Not much apprehension was felt as to the safety of the towns; but the isolated farmers began to flee in all directions.

On the day before Christmas the Kaffir war commenced. The commander-in-chief had received certain information that Sandilli had taken up a strong position in the Keiskamma Hoek, to which point it was determined to detach a strong patrol of 600 men, under the command of Commissioner Colonel Mackinnon.

This officer moved forward accordingly up the bushy valley of the Keiskamma, when suddenly, in a woody neck, he found himself entrapped and attacked. The affair was the signal of war for Kaffirland, and, unfortunately, resulted in the defeat of our troops. There is too much reason to believe that the Kaffir police led the patrol into this ambushade: they formed the advanced party, and were suffered to pass unmolested; but as soon as the infantry moved up, a murderous fire of small arms was opened upon them. The police rewarded this leniency, on the part of their fellow-countrymen, by subsequently deserting from the British ranks, and going over to the enemy, taking with them their arms and ammunition. Another feature in the Keiskamma affair was likewise regarded with great suspicion: the privates of the Cape-mounted Rifles escaped unhurt; and these being chiefly Hottentots, it was considered, at the time, that this was also an allurements, on the part of the Gaikas, to win this race of people over to their cause. Subsequent events proved the correctness of this idea, and the craftiness with which the enemy had laid his plans.

About the same time, three men of the 45th regiment, having been sent on escort duty from Fort White, were murdered by Kaffirs. Twelve of their comrades, who were sent out to seek them, were also murdered in a similar manner.

On Christmas-day martial law was proclaimed throughout the frontier districts; and on that day many of the military villages were pillaged and burnt, and several of their male inhabitants cruelly butchered.

It appeared now evident to all that the enemy was determined on war to the knife. This was made clear. A force under Colonel Somerset left Fort Hare, on the 29th, to escort a few provisions to the commander-in-chief, shut up in Fort Cox. The royal force had to retreat with a loss of twenty-two killed, and nearly as many wounded.

The commander-in-chief managed, though with difficulty, to reach his headquarters in King William's Town; but he saw the actual danger of the colony, and determined to hold, with the grasp of death, his military positions. Irritated at the treachery of the savages, he issued a proclamation, calling upon all. It proceeded—"His excellency does most ardently hope that the colonists will rise *en masse* to aid her majesty's troops, and the reinforcement of men and guns, which will shortly arrive at East London, to destroy and exterminate these most barbarous and treacherous savages, who, for the moment, are formidable. Every post in British Kaffraria is necessarily maintained. The abandonment of one of them would have been the signal to every H'lambie chief. They are well provisioned for six weeks, and form a nucleus for an invading army of patriots. The Gaikas must be driven out of the Anatas, and expelled for ever. However great the inroad into the colony may have been, it is consoling to his excellency to know that the maintenance of these posts, which, indeed, could not have been abandoned, occupies the attention of thousands of Kaffirs, who, otherwise, would have gone into the colony. The line of the Buffalo must be maintained *coûte qui coûte*. It involves the safety even of her majesty's troops, which is paramount."

One of the first measures adopted at this exigency was to confer upon Colonel Somerset the temporary rank of major-general—a distinction which he had well earned by his able, zealous, and arduous services on the frontier, where he had served for the long period of thirty years. Another important step was to communicate with the government of Natal, and to request that a force of some 3,000 Zulu warriors might be moved towards the borders of the Tambookie and Galeka countries, so as to threaten those tribes in the rear. A third measure was the enrolment of the Hottentots upon very liberal terms.

The enemy at this time were the Gaikas, to the number of 5,000, under Sandilli, Macomo, and minor chiefs. To these must be added some of H'lambies. The Tambookies, about 7,000 strong, under Mapassa and Nyila, were engaged. Umzeki, a chieftain at the head of 2,000, also had allied himself to them. The

accoutrement of all these warriors was of the simplest description: a sheepskin kaross formed their uniform; a musket and powder-horn, or a bundle of assegais, as the case might be, formed their arms. Those of them having muskets were well trained to the use of them; others had assegais, which, by practice, they could hurl with deadly precision at thirty yards. Thus lightly equipped they possessed numerous advantages for the species of bush-fighting which characterises Kaffir warfare, and had, in this respect, a great advantage over the regular troops. Another thing in their favour was the rapidity of Kaffir movements, and the stealth by which they can insinuate themselves into a district. "To-day," as it is remarked in a very useful work, to which we are indebted for the contents of this chapter (*A Narrative of the Kaffir War of 1850-'51*; by R. Godlinton and Edward Irving), "not a Kaffir is to be seen or *smelled out* within eighty miles. To-morrow the country is overrun with them. The word is given to go forth and despoil; the numerous signal-fires speedily show how implicitly the command has been obeyed."

The enemy now numbered 14,000 warriors; but this combination was further increased. The Hottentots of the Kat River, a settlement of the London Missionary Society, became affected, and many of them joined the rebel band of Hermanus, and stood prominently forward as instruments in the devastation and ravages which followed in the Wenterberg district. Emissaries were sent by these Hottentots to their friends throughout the frontier, urging them to unite with the Kaffirs in exterminating the white man. Kreli, the paramount chief of Kaffirland, was, at this period, keenly watched and much suspected. He had 10,000 warriors, of whom the colonists stood in awe. It was also well known that a single reverse of the troops would be the signal for all the remaining tribes of the H'lamabies, still numbering 5,000 men, to precipitate themselves into Lower Albany—a rich and flourishing district, abounding with corn and cattle.

Meanwhile matters were not progressing very favourably with the rebels. Hermanus attacked Fort Beaufort, and lost his life in the attempt. Other disasters followed. Numbers of Kaffirs having been slain in the engagement at Fort White and the Chumie, the prophet Umlanjeni was asked, "Why he had not been able to turn the Englishmen's bullets into water, as he had stated himself to be able to do?" The wily impostor replied, "That the Kaffirs had commenced the war, whereas his instructions were that they were to await the commencement of hostilities by the English." But with a view of remedying the error, and of rendering his native warriors invulnerable, he directed two colonists' heads, slain at the Blinkwater, to be roasted on a fire of mimosa bark. These being burnt to cinder with the ashes, he sprinkled his Kaffir dupes, bidding them go forth and conquer. And it might be fancied the dust thus scattered by the prophet contained the seeds of evil, as, in one missionary or other settlement after another, the Hottentots rose up against the government, to which they owed their all. An effort was made by the Kat River missionaries to save the Hottentots from revolt; but, unfortunately, it was too late. The Rubicon had been passed, and the seeds of disaffection to the local government, and dislike to the English settlers, had been too deeply and successfully sown to be easily eradicated. Efforts to reclaim them were unavailing. Before the attack by Hermanus on Fort Beaufort, the natives of the Kat River settlement had been joined by numbers of their countrymen, who had deserted and robbed their masters.

The Hottentots had formed the most ambitious schemes. The younger Read—a missionary of Hottentot lineage, on the maternal side, and born and brought up among the Hottentots of Kat River—attended a meeting of the rebels at the Blinkwater, and reported, that in what was said, "there was the essence of agrarian equality, of French socialism, liberty, equality, fraternity, radical destructiveness and levelling, and the uprooting of existing social arrangements. Politically, some were for independent government in this country, and which was only to be inhabited by Hottentots, Boers, and Gaika Kaffirs, on this side of the Kei

and Great rivers, to the sea, east and west. Hottentot-land was to extend from Gaikas Peak, round by Shiloh, the Kei, Bavian's River, across the Zuurbergen to the Sunday River; bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, and thence across the country to Chumie hills. They stated, that they were ready to fight under his excellency, if only the Saxon (as the Irish would say), the settler or *gwee* (scum of the sea; for so they styled the English), could be got to leave the land. To attempt to recover, or put into shape, all the complaints that were made against the English, would be supererogatory and endless. Some there were who spoke of the election of a chief as first magistrate. Others thought it would be a treasonable act, and would have nothing to do with such a measure. Some young aspirants, and other friends, spoke of secretaryships; others of judgeships, and all the other paraphernalia of rank and office. Fancy seemed fairly on the wing, and, mounted on Pegasus, was soaring above the present political and social order of things. With some, the founding of a Hottentot monarchy or republic, seemed as easy a thing as it was for the winged horse, by the striking of his hoof, to raise a fountain in the wilderness: to re-mould and re-classify society; to re-build destroyed cities, and drive the English into the sea, as facile a thing as for Amphion to move stones, and raise the walls of Thebes by the melody of song." In one respect, the calculation of the leaders of the rebels was not misplaced. They trusted to the sympathies of the natives. If they were told that levies were arming from every part of the colony, to subdue the Kaffirs, and suppress rebellion, they would only reply—"Let them come; they will soon understand the rights of our case." Whatever amount of loyalty there might be in the settlement, it was soon clear it was insufficient to stem, or in any way to counteract, the tide of rebellion.

The horrors of colonial warfare cannot be sufficiently dwelt on. The land is peaceful; smiling homesteads are filled with plenty; flocks and herds increase; and of a sudden, comes the foe, and all is desolation, and ruin, and death. During the progress of the events which we have narrated, the Kaffirs, in conjunction with the rebel Hottentots, were most active in their attacks upon other parts of the colonial border, which was crossed, and the colony penetrated as far as the Addo bush. The whole line of country between Graham's Town and the Orange River, comprising the richest part of the eastern province, embracing an extent of not less than 250 miles in length, dotted with farm-houses, and teeming, a few weeks before, with flocks of fine-woolled sheep, troops of horses, and herds of cattle, was described as desolate; nearly every homestead being abandoned, and every flock and herd either swept off by the enemy, or driven by the owner, with immense loss, to such a distance as might appear to afford him hope of immunity from the spoliation and murder then so rife on that unfortunate frontier.

A correspondent, writing from Lyndoch, states—"As far as we could discern with the naked eye, the valleys and low parts in the direction of Fort Beaufort, seemed enveloped in smoke. The volumes of smoke issuing from the locality of Mr. Abraham Botha's residence, led us reluctantly to suppose that his homestead, and other dwelling-houses in that vicinity, had been submitted to the firebrand of the irreclaimable savages who had been passing to-and-fro in those parts. I have lately heard that Botha's place, with the exception of one dwelling-house, has been totally destroyed, and a large portion of the Mancanzana post burned down.

"At the village of Somerset, the Dutch church is fortified, and a parapet constructed along the roof, behind which the defenders may take their stand, and fire upon any assailant. The sacred edifice is likewise converted into a guard-house. What would the people of our native land say if they were compelled to convert their beautiful village churches into castles of defence, and if every one of the parishioners was compelled to mount guard every third night, in fearful and hourly anticipation of a hostile attack taking place."

Accounts from the village and district of Cradock ran thus:—"All hands here have enough to do; high and low, rich and poor, have to turn out day after day.

The most urgent calls for help, for men and ammunition, come in, this being the only point from which they can get either. Yesterday we had two expresses from Bavian's River, imploring help. The Hottentots, in great numbers, have assembled in those parts, and, with the Kaffirs, are devastating the country. The whole of the country of Upper Bushman's River, Mancanzana, Kaga, and Koonap, is laid waste, and plundered. The frontier line is now, in this direction, within thirty miles of Cradock. Numbers have already fled, and the whole of the district is dotted over with houseless farmers, wandering to-and-fro.

"Never have, in any former inroad of the Kaffirs, the horrors of warfare been so universal as at present. The district of Cradock used always to be resorted to by the farmers, who fled hither from the lower districts for protection; and the capital, which bears the same name, had, ever since its founding by Sir John Cradock, in 1811, been regarded as a position of the most complete repose and security. In this instance, however, we are an outpost. This is chiefly owing to the circumstance of the Tambookies having so committed themselves to the war party; and, further, by the rebellion of the Kat River and Blinkwater Hottentots, by which means alone a tract of country, seventy-two miles long, and sixty-one broad, is desolated, which, in previous wars, had formed the pasture-ground of refuge flocks."

Colesberg, also far removed from the seat of any previous war, was at this time convulsed by the most serious alarms. The inhabitants patrolled the town from the hour the constables' duty ceased till daylight. It was divided into three provisional wards, and the time of duty apportioned into three watches. The powder-magazine was particularly guarded, as large supplies are generally kept there. It being the last north frontier town that the traders and sportsmen pass through *en route* to elephant shooting, and other pursuits in the far interior, supplies of ammunition are generally well laid in, and carefully replenished; and thus the frontier was overrun, and alarm and desolation reigned everywhere. At the most, there were not 3,000 British soldiers in the colony; and, with Hottentots and Fingoes, Sir H. Smith had never more than 12,000 men at his disposal.

Notwithstanding the direful sufferings that the Kaffirs, as a nation, had inflicted upon the colony from time to time, the leniency of a civilised state was fully extended to them. On the outbreak of the war, the farmers had become suspicious of their servants; and many plots and conspiracies having been detected, great numbers of Kaffir domestics were placed in the district gaols; but as no overt acts had been directly laid to their charge, the governor ordered the liberation of all belonging to the friendly tribes, after an imprisonment of about two months. On the day of release, they were each supplied with three days' rations, to enable them to reach their own tribes. On the 27th of February, fifty-two women and fifty-two children were thus set free; and two days later, forty men and boys were liberated from Graham's Town. Certain prisoners of war, however, of the hostile tribes were still detained in custody. No act of state oppression nor individual cruelty was thus permitted towards any of the Kaffir nation who fell into the hands of the colonists. Every one was ready to meet the foe in the field, but unwilling to take any undue advantage out of it. Yet the whole land was at this time utterly prostrate, and men seemed solemnly called upon to consider attentively the terror of their position, and not only to avoid what might evoke a continuance of their sufferings, but to humble themselves before the fearful scourge which had appeared. In unison with this feeling, a day of general humiliation was proclaimed by government, and was reverentially observed by every Christian church throughout the colony. The places of worship were thronged; and the whole population joined in fervent prayer that the visitation might be removed from the land by the special interposition of Providence—it being felt that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, vain was the help of man.

The rebellion of the Kat River Hottentots was now complete; and the settle-

ment having been vacated by the European residents, and by the resident magistrates, became the focus of the revolutionary acts of the frontier Hottentots. Their crimes had here been bred and nurtured; and here, it appears, were to be still further propagated, and to reach their climax. Here it seemed determined to plant that imaginary Hottentot republic, which was to overthrow British rule. To effect this, accessions of strength had been sought for from every source. The whole of the north-east border had sent its aid; and the inner localities of Oliphant's Hook, in Uitenhage, and Theopolis, in Albany, were tampered with, and fully won over to the mad cause of their race; but the two latter were, through the vigilance of the local authorities, incapacitated from rendering any assistance. Uithaalter, the rebel leader, was now at Fort Armstrong, surrounded by several hundreds of his followers, subsisting upon the plunder of the colonial farmers. The fort, being a place of considerable strength, seemed to have been chosen as the head-quarters of this rebel commandant, who appeared ever active in proposing plans of robbery and incendiarism, for execution within the colony. This notoriously bad character enforced the most implicit obedience to his commands, and issued his orders "with the air of a general." Licentiousness was, however, unchecked; and the Hottentot population appeared to have become utterly negligent of that moral law, for whose observance they had been so often applauded in the reports of the London Missionary Society. The whole of the parent community of the Kat River settlement, and every bud and branch thereof, seemed to be seeking, with headlong haste, to rush back again to that barbarism from which many years of patient teaching had, in some degree at least, reclaimed them. The progress of demoralisation, however, seemed to be much more rapid than that of improvement. Half a century had been spent, though not judiciously, to attain the latter, whilst a few weeks had well-nigh perfected the former. Revelling in their newly-revived heathenism, and gluttled with the spoils they had won from the plundered colonists, the Hottentots refused all offers of peace and pardon. At length their conduct became unbearable. They were attacked and defeated by a miscellaneous force under Major-General Somerset. The success of the operation was speedy and complete.

Matters being thus unsatisfactory, Sir Harry Smith was superseded, though not before he had received, July 29th, 1851, an address from the despoiled burghers respecting their inability to protect their property. The memorial stated, that within the preceding six weeks, the enemy had swept off, from the district of Somerset alone, 20,000 sheep, 3,000 head of cattle, and 200 horses. Sir Harry, in his answer, reproved them for their past conduct; but sympathising with their present distress, expressed a hope, when reinforcements arrived, which were then daily expected, that "it would be in his power to make a more extended disposal of the force under his command."

Skirmishes were of frequent occurrence, in which the superiority of British discipline was constantly manifested; but the advantages resulting from them were not very great. On the 31st of July, the draft of a constitution for the colony, transmitted by Earl Grey, reached the Cape. It was read with great joy by the colonists; and a petition, expressive of their gratitude, was voted at a public meeting in Cape Town, praying that it might be put in force without delay, and that no alterations suggested by the legislative council of the settlement might be attended to, as that body did not possess the confidence of the colonists.

General Cathcart having arrived, no time was lost in acting with vigour and comprehension against the enemy. One of his first official acts was to issue a notice, declaring his determination to expel the refractory Gaika Kaffir tribes for ever from the country between the Keiskamma and the Kei; at the same time, promising protection to those who remained friendly, and submitted to his authority. The whole of the troops, and other forces, were disposed in strong bodies across the entire country, for the purpose, by combined operations, of carrying this sentence into execution. A general order was also issued to the troops, directing that, in

future, all cattle taken by them from the enemy, should be at once destroyed, reserving only what might be required for immediate supplies, in order to avoid the harassing and dangerous duty of guarding and driving the captured herds, and, at the same time, to convince the Kaffirs that the object of the war was not the acquisition of booty. Measures were promptly adopted to cut off their supply of ammunition; and it was soon perceived that this began to be severely felt by the marauders; but still no disposition to submit was manifested. Their ravages were continued, and stragglers were frequently surprised and murdered. They maintained themselves in a stronghold known as the Waterkloof, but were thence expelled by General Cathcart on the 15th of September. To effect this, he led against them a force of 3,000, with four guns. Two redoubts were thrown up on the 13th, and the troops were so posted as to command every accessible outlet from the intended scene of operations. Some 250 women and children were captured, who were found in a state of great emaciation. A number of huts were fired. The Kloof was traversed in all directions, and completely cleared of its late occupants. The chief, Sandilli, and his associates, escaped; and though submission was still deferred, it was now confidently expected the war would soon reach its termination. To the government at home the questions thence arising were painfully embarrassing. From the peculiar character of the country, it had been found most difficult to conquer, or effectually repulse, a race of desperate barbarians. The civilised inhabitants of the settlement were accused of being unwilling to defend themselves. They yielded reluctant obedience to the parent state, while they looked to it for support. Adequate military aid it was not easy to supply, but at an exorbitant cost; while to abandon South Africa to premature independence, would have been to assign it to endless wars, in which Europeans, Africans, Hottentots, Kaffirs, Dutchmen, and Englishmen would have fought with each other. Had England adopted such a course, it would have been the first step in her decline and fall.

Sandilli, at length, was driven into submission. In the month of February, 1853, he sent two messengers to Colonel Maclean, the British commissioner, begging a cessation of hostilities, and desiring to know what district would be assigned to him and his tribe. General Cathcart then sent Mr. Brownlee to meet Sandilli, and the subordinate chiefs, at a spot of ground within the territories of a chief who had remained at peace with us during the whole of the war. The interview took place on the 27th of February; and, on the 2nd of March, an official proclamation was issued by General Cathcart, stating that, as her majesty's authority had been sufficiently vindicated, he extended the royal mercy and pardon to the chief Sandilli, and the Gaika people. It then defined the country in which the Kaffirs were to live; bound Sandilli to deliver up a hundred guns, in addition to those stolen by the Kaffir police; and to become responsible for the good conduct of the Gaika people. It commanded that each minor chief lately in rebellion should deliver up his arms, in token of submission, and bind himself to obey her majesty's commands; failing in which he was to be dealt with as an outlaw.

Sandilli, on being made acquainted with these terms, complained that the territory assigned to his tribe by the governor was not sufficiently large; and he desired General Cathcart to send a petition on their behalf to the Queen of England, that their lands might be restored to them, or they "would be obliged to go to war with each other for grass." The conditions were, however, accepted by the Kaffir chiefs generally, and confirmed in an interview which General Cathcart had with them, on the 9th of March, at a place called the Yellow Woods, seven miles from King William's Town. Peace was now restored, and the Gaika tribe was compelled to retire 200 miles to the north of its former frontier; and the Kei and Orange rivers became the undisputed boundaries of British Kaffraria to the north and east. Since then, the lesson read has not been forgotten, and there has been peace between the Kaffirs and the colonists, who desire only to be let alone.

The peace party, the missionaries, the humanitarians, were up in arms. Some asserted that the result of a parliamentary inquiry would make the Christian people of this country shudder when they saw how British honour had been polluted, and the laurels of the hero of Aliwal trailed in shame. There seems to have been no ground for this latter invective. But, at any rate, it was felt that a stop must be put to the Kaffir war; that no honour could be got from it. Men asked—if we conquer savages, as we termed them, and as they were, where was the glory? It was evident that we could not conquer them; that, in their mountain fastnesses they were a match for us. It was felt that peace and fair dealing alone could conquer them—that they could be won by kindly and generous treatment. It was felt that if we would preserve our colonies, it is not by issuing bombastic proclamations, or insolent demands; not by violating or setting aside treaties, and trampling on the bent heads of chiefs; not by seizing coveted land, or extending our military force. It was felt it was better, if possible, to civilise, rather than subdue the proud, and ignorant, and independent Kaffir. The missionaries had been deceived; the Kaffir converts failed in the hour of trial; but that was no reason that such should ever be the case.

In Jamaica, there had been a terrible attack of cholera, in consequence, chiefly, of the bad habits of the blacks.

About the same time, an impetus was given to colonisation by the discovery of gold-fields, of the most extensive character, in California and Australia.

Some indignation was excited at this time by news of outrages on British subjects. On the 27th of January, 1852, the English barque *Victory*, belonging to Messrs. Wilson and Cook, of Singapore, arrived there, in charge of the chief officer, Mr. Vagg, with intelligence that the master and some of the crew had been foully murdered by the Chinese passengers on board; and that, for several weeks, they were complete masters of the vessel. It appears the *Victory* left Cum Sing Moon with 350 Chinese, the very refuse of the streets of Canton and Hong-Kong. Four days after sailing the captain was seized and murdered by a party of Chinese; the second mate, in the endeavour to rescue his master, also lost his life. The crew were chiefly in the forecabin, and were hemmed in by the Chinese. The chief mate was commanded to sail the vessel for the nearest land, when the greater portion of the Chinese left, taking with them as much plunder as they could carry away. Many fights took place among the mutineers themselves, and several lives were lost, including the ringleader, a desperate character. The crew navigated the ship along the coast of Cambodia, where the remainder of the Chinese were landed. The *Victory* was the fourth vessel, bound to South America, which had been cut off by Chinese coolies proceeding as passengers.

Another more atrocious case occurred shortly after. The English barque, *Herald*, Captain Lawson, left Shanghai on the 26th of August, with a valuable cargo of silk, teas, &c., for Leith, with a crew consisting of European, Portuguese, and Manilla men. The *Herald* passed through the Straits of Sunda on the 22nd of October; and, three or four days afterwards, a mutiny broke out. During the chief mate's watch at night, he was seized, murdered, and thrown overboard; the second mate and carpenter shared the same fate. The captain, with his wife, was asleep below: one of the crew went down with a hatchet, and despatched him; and Mrs. Lawson, after giving up every little article of value to induce the villains to spare her life, was most brutally outraged; and, under the treatment to which she was subjected, became deranged. The gunner took command of the vessel, which was then about a hundred miles from the coast. At daylight, an awful scene was displayed; but the thirst for blood was not allayed. In a few days after the ship was scuttled, and Mrs. Lawson was among the drowned. The mutineers reached the coast of Bantam, with the plunder taken from the vessel. Suspicions were aroused at the account they gave of themselves, and in consequence of the amount of luggage in their possession. The Dutch resident sent them to Batavia, whence, in close custody, they were passed on to Singapore, and lodged in gaol.

The story of Mr. Boyd, also, at this time created considerable excitement and sympathy. The unfortunate gentleman, a member of the Stock Exchange, was making a tour, in his own yacht, from California to Sydney, and had visited the Solomon Islands, in the South Pacific. The natives came in their canoes to trade with the people on board the yacht. One morning in October, Mr. Boyd, having risen early, went on shore to shoot game, taking with him one native of Ocean Island. The boat was seen to enter a small creek, and was then lost to view from the ship. Mr. Boyd fired one shot soon after. A little while after, another shot was fired, but it aroused no suspicion. During the morning, several natives were very persevering in their attempts to get on board the ship, or to induce the sailors to go on shore: but, happily, without success. Breakfast having been ready for some time, the gong was sounded for Mr. Boyd, but no answer was returned. At this moment, a native, having stolen a handkerchief, and pulling off some distance, held it up for the crew to go and get it. They sent Godong, a native of Byron Island, to swim for it; but as he approached the canoe pulled off, and he was recalled. Two natives followed him, and attacked, with a club, a fellow-islander. The alarm was now raised; but the crew were quite unprepared. The deck-guns were neither loaded nor run out; their small arms were below; but in five minutes they were all armed, the four white men with muskets, and the crew with boarding-pikes and cutlasses. At this time, upwards of 200 natives were around the ship. Three canoes came up from the starboard quarter, from one of which the first spear was thrown. A gun was fired over their heads; but this seemed to give them confidence; for, uttering fearful yells, and blowing on war-conches, they pulled up to the ship, with the intention of boarding. The canoes were driven from aft, but they tried to board forward. So determined were they, that some of them climbed up the martingale back-ropes, and were coming in the face of the boarding-pikes and cutlasses, when they were shot down. The pirates, at length, began to retreat, and one or two shots more decided the battle. The victors did not cease firing until the neighbouring village was deserted: they then manned the boat to seek for Mr. Boyd. They went to the village, where a number of natives, concealed in the bush, set up hideous noises. The sailors, going to the beach, found a belt belonging to Mr. Boyd. They searched in vain for the bodies of Mr. Boyd and his attendant, but discovered the wadding of Mr. Boyd's gun; from the situation of which, it seemed that he was attacked as soon as the boat got out of sight of the ship, and was killed after a struggle in the water, as was also his companion. The next morning the whites manned the boat, and went round to the village, to the east of their anchorage. As they approached the shore, about a hundred natives were seen on a hill to the right. The sailors moved up to the village; and, posting a watch on the natives, searched the houses, and then set them on fire. They also laid waste their plantations, and destroyed a couple of canoes. A strict search was made for the remains of Mr. Boyd, but in vain. His crew contented themselves with revenging his memory; it was all that it was in their power to do.

Nearer home, also, a foul indignity had been committed on a British subject. Mr. Erskine Mather reported, that being in Florence on a certain day, a detachment of the infantry regiment, Kuisky, was marching down the Via del Martelli, preceded by its band. He and his brother were walking in the crowd; that he accompanied the soldiers, and was between the band and the troops, when an obstruction was caused, in a narrow part of the street, by a carriage; in consequence of which, Mr. Mather came accidentally in the way of the commander of the detachment, Lieutenant Forsthubers; and he admitted that he might, possibly, have touched the officer, who then gave him a blow with the flat of his sabre. Upon that, he turned round to expostulate, when he received a blow in the face from another officer's fist; and, while staggering in consequence, he was cut at by Lieutenant Forsthubers with his sabre, and wounded so severely that his life was in danger. Mr. Mather was carried to the hospital of Maria Nuova, where, for

some time, he remained in a very precarious state. Reparation being demanded from the Grand Duke of Tuscany by the British government, the duke replied that he ought not to be considered responsible for the outrage, as it had been committed by an Austrian officer. This assurance was, of course, not satisfactory to the English minister, who held that, as the duke called himself an independent sovereign, he was responsible for wrong done to a British subject in his dominions. In many quarters, a suspicion was entertained that the attack on this gentleman was sanctioned by the Austrian authorities, in a spirit of retaliation for the attack made on General Haynau when he visited England.

A long and acrimonious correspondence took place on the subject of compensation. It was, at length, announced that the Tuscan government consented to atone for the outrage by the payment of 1,000 francsconi (about £220). The father of Mr. Mather disdainfully refused to accept such a sum. He was of opinion that it was quite inadequate in a case where the British nation had been insulted by an outrage like that of which his son had had to complain. He had declined to make the affair a personal question; but Lord Malmesbury, having thought it a case in which personal reparation should be made, and asked Mr. Mather's opinion on the point, the latter, taking into consideration the injury done to his son's health; the uncertainty of the future; remembering that the party who did the mischief was the officer of a government which had been implicated by his act; and the probability that an appeal to an impartial court would have procured a large amount of reparation in such a case, named £5,000, as "what appeared to him just and proper, and not over-valuing the injury, and its probable consequences, to his son." From the first, it was said Mr. Mather did not wish to make it an affair of personal consideration. The sum he named was regarded by ministers as enormous. Eventually, the Tuscan government paid an insignificant sum of money; compelled their officer to make an apology to the aggrieved party; restored to life and liberty two young Englishmen, who had been guilty of a political crime in Tuscany, and were, accordingly, sentenced to death.

In parliament, there was some fierce condemnation of the conduct of government in this particular case. "Look," said Lord John Russell, "at the wrong done to Mr. Mather. He stood in the position of a man saying—'My son has suffered a serious injury. I put my case in the hands of my country. I submit my case to my government, to do what they think fit.' And then the Secretary of State, Lord Malmesbury, has no better means of obtaining the redress that is expected, than asking him how much he thinks his son's wound is worth in money, which the noble lord says is tangible; and then, having procured the estimate, he sends it out to Florence, to be published about there, that Mr. Mather is a man who has made an exorbitant demand." Thus Lord Russell contended that the character of Mr. Mather had been injured by the very minister who ought to have undertaken his defence, and obtained redress for him.

Lord Palmerston said he had read the papers relating to Mr. Mather with anything but satisfaction. "I must own," said he, "it seems to me that it was not a comedy, but a tragedy of *All in the Wrong*. I must say, that I find much to criticise in the conduct of almost all the parties concerned, except Mr. Mather and his son. I think the late government took a wrong view of the case. I think, also, the present government took a wrong view of it; and, I am sorry to say, that our *charge d'affaires* at Florence took a wrong view of it too. What is the course which, in the case of a personal outrage upon a British subject abroad—what is the course which I think the British government ought to have pursued? Why, it is the first duty of the government to ascertain clearly the facts of the case—to ascertain clearly the character of the injury which the British subject has sustained, and how far he was in the wrong; or, if not in the wrong, how far those by whom the injury was committed were unjustifiable aggressors. Upon these points it has always been the practice of the Secretary of State to consult the

Queen's Advocate; to lay the facts of the case before him, and to ask him what, according to his view, and his knowledge of the habits of courts of justice in other countries, might be a fit sum to demand for pecuniary compensation; and how far, according to international law, the government would be justified in asking for the punishment of the wrongdoer? That does not appear to have been done by either government in this case. But the first question which arises is, what was the injury inflicted? or, was there any injury inflicted? I think, no man who has read these papers, can hesitate one moment in acknowledging that a grievous injury was committed; that a British subject was exposed to a most violent, a most cowardly outrage, for which no adequate—in fact, no provocation whatever was given. A British subject was accompanying a band of music in the streets of Florence; he was struck, first with a sword by one officer, then with the fist by another, and then, in a cowardly manner, cut down by the sword of the officer who first insulted him. Now, what is the feeling of different countries with regard to an attack by an armed, against an unarmed man? Why, sir, we all know the old anecdote of the English butcher, who, while employed in his avocation, was struck by a man with whom he had words, and whom he reproached with the good old English sentiment—'Why, what a mean, cowardly fellow you must be to strike a man who has a knife in his hand, and who cannot return the blow.' That is the English feeling. What is the French feeling? Why, sir, many of us know that there was a distinguished officer in the British service (in the cavalry, Colonel Harvey), who had lost an arm, but who served in the Peninsular war, mutilated as he was. In one action in which he was engaged, he got into the *mêlée*, and a French officer rode up to him with sabre uplifted, and was going to cut him down. But the Frenchman saw that his opponent had only one arm; and, seeing that, he dropped his sabre-point, and passed on to seek an adversary with whom he could do battle on equal terms. That is the French feeling. Then I shall be told that this case is a proof of the Austrian feeling in such matters. I don't believe it is. My conviction is, that the cowardly conduct of the lieutenant who cut down, without provocation, an unarmed British subject, has met with as much disapproval and disavowal on the part of his comrades in Tuscany, as they, in their service, dare show by their conduct towards their officers. I am persuaded, that if Marshal Radetzky had known the true facts of the case at the time when he said the officer was fully justified in what he did, I am fully convinced that such a brave man would have sympathised with Prince Schwartzberg, who, when appealed to by the Earl of Westmoreland, that nobleman saying to him, 'We are both soldiers; and we, I am sure, never raised our sword against an unarmed man,' replied, 'No; such a thing could never have happened to either of us.' I am persuaded that if Marshal Radetzky had known the truth, he would never have written the despatch which appears among the papers on the table."

In conclusion, Lord Palmerston pithily put the case thus:—"We demanded payment of a sum of money from the Tuscan government, as a compensation for Mr. Mather. They said, 'We will give you a sum; but we give it as an act of generosity on our part, denying our responsibility, and denying that, in any similar case, we should be liable to make good the injury done to a British subject.' I think, if the government were not satisfied with the amount which the Tuscan government offered, the more handy way of dealing with the case would have been to say—'We take the money in our sense; and, remember, if ever the same thing happens again, we will compel you to give us what we think ample compensation; and we don't care a pin for what you say about non-responsibility; we will make you responsible.' It might, however, have been better to apply to the stronger power—to Austria, which had garrisoned Tuscany, and whose officer had committed the outrage."

On behalf of the government, it was contended, by Mr. Disraeli, that the course pursued by Lord Malmesbury was the correct one. He had never lost sight of the principle on which the demand for reparation was made—that an independent state

is responsible for every outrage committed within its territory. What ministers had done was to require that the Tuscan government should acknowledge the principle of their absolute responsibility: and thus the matter dropped.

In Ireland, of course, there were troubles. No matter who are in office, Ireland is always in a state of discontent, and ready for revolt. Numerous assassinations took place. In every case, the difficulty of bringing offenders to justice, whose guilt was of the blackest die (more especially if it were in any way connected with politics), was great in the extreme. It was even supposed that, in the upper classes of society, terror restrained many from furthering the ends of justice. When a special commission was issued, to bring to trial Francis and Owen Kelly, for the murder of Mr. Thomas Bateson, in Monaghan, the evidence most clearly brought the crime home to Francis, who was first tried: but the jury wanted courage to convict; and, after sitting for thirty-six hours, were discharged. The next day he was again put upon his trial, with a similar result. Even while the commission was sitting, a fresh notice of assassination was served on a bailiff; and the parties implicated were discovered and punished: but we are told that generally speaking, the alarm of the jurors was such, that the crown officers did not think it prudent to put any more prisoners on their trial. Clearly, Ireland was in a bad way. How to rule her was a secret not yet mastered by Saxon statesmen.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANNUS MIRABILIS.

IN 1851, England learnt two lessons. The marvellous exhibition of the industry of all nations, was an argument utterly impossible to withstand in favour of peace and free trade among all the nations of the earth; and the failure of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill revealed the utter impotence of parliament in religious matters.

Let us take the latter case first.

The pope had heard much of the extension of Roman Catholicism in England. There had been many conversions; and the Puseyites were preparing the ground for many more. It seemed to him that the time had now come to win over England to the true faith. Accordingly, Cardinal Wiseman was despatched hither; and, at the same time, was published a bull, dividing England into sees: in short, doing here what all our missionaries are constantly doing abroad.

The celebrated bull, of which so much has been said, was given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, the 24th of September. It begins with asserting the deep desire ever felt by the Roman pontiffs for the conversion of the world, and especially for the noble kingdom of England; as instances of which, are mentioned the efforts of St. Augustine, and the steps taken by the papal see in consequence of the great schism of the sixteenth century. The cause of apostolic vicars having been appointed to watch over the interests of Catholicism in England by Popes Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent XI., Benedict XIV., and, finally, Gregory XVI., is stated to have been that determined hostility to papal institutions which would not allow of the presence of bishops: but now the times are altered. Pius, the reigning pontiff, considering the present state of Catholicism in England, and the enormous number of persons daily converted, judges the former hindrances to have been removed, and considers the present moment most propitious for the re-establishment of the ancient form of ecclesiastical discipline in England, the church there enjoying free exercise, as in other countries, and no longer requiring the extraordinary mission of apostolic vicars. The earnest desire and petition

of the English apostolic vicars themselves, with many noble and estimable church and laymen, are adduced as an additional motive for the hastening of this measure, which his holiness resolves upon, after having implored the aid of God, the intercession of the blessed virgin and the saints, and the advice of his venerable brethren the cardinals of the sacred propaganda congregation. Then follows the list of the new dioceses. London and its district are to be divided into two—the archbishopric of Westminster, whose occupant will be Catholic Primate of England, and the bishopric of Southwark; the spiritual jurisdiction of the former extending north of the Thames to Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire; whilst that of the latter reaches the southern counties of Berks, South Hants, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and the Channel Islands. In the provinces, there will be one bishopric in the northern, and one in the York district, the see of the latter being fixed at Beverley. In the Lancashire district there will be two bishops residing—one at Liverpool, and the other at Salford. North Wales will form one bishopric, and South Wales another. In the western district, the Bishop of Clifton will preside over Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire; whilst he of Plymouth will extend his sway over Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall. The sees of Nottingham and Birmingham will flourish in the central district, Oxford coming under the jurisdiction of the latter. Finally, in the eastern district, the Bishop of Northampton will foster the growing spread of the church. “Thus,” in the words of the bull, “there will be one sole ecclesiastical province in the flourishing kingdom of England, formed by a metropolitan archbishop as chief, and twelve bishops as his suffragans, by whose endeavours and pastoral care we trust that God will abundantly amplify the Catholic church.” The document then proceeds to order the new archbishop and bishops to transmit, from time to time, to the propaganda congregation, an account of their spiritual labours and progress; encouraging them with the assurance that they will enjoy, in England, the same rights and faculties as in other Catholic countries—viz., those laid down by the sacred canons and apostolic constitutions; and that they will be bound by the same obligations to the church as other bishops and archbishops. Concerning which point, his holiness, by the fulness of his apostolic authority, expressly does away with, and abrogates, in the next sentence all peculiar customs, whether induced by ancient tradition of English churches, or by the state of the country; since, “*Mutata nunc temporum causa*,” they are now unnecessary and unlawful. Respecting those things which are of doubtful jurisdiction, the archbishop and his bishops are to decide. The pope repeatedly promises to watch over the progress of the whole establishment, and assures the new prelates that they will be no losers by their advancement in a pecuniary point of view, since he shall warmly exhort his beloved children in England to increase the liberality of their contributions, so that the splendour of the temples, the support of the clergy and the poor, as well as other ecclesiastical purposes, may be amply provided for. The bull concludes with invoking the aid of the Almighty, through the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, with the rest of the heavenly patrons of England, and especially St. Gregory the Great.

Never was so great a storm raised about so little a matter; and never did such a mountain bring forth such a mouse. Churchmen were alarmed and terrified beyond description; even dissenters, who ought to have known better, shared in the common and discreditable panic. The angry feelings created by the details published from time to time, caused public meetings to be held all over the country, at which the most furious denunciations were breathed against papal tyranny, and the bitterest censures were levelled against Cardinal Wiseman and the pope.

To avail himself of this rising bigotry, and, by means of it, to strengthen and perpetuate, as he blindly thought, his power, was the aim of Lord John Russell.

His letter to the Bishop of Durham produced an immense effect. It was as follows:—

“My dear Lord,—I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the

pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious; and I therefore feel as indignant as you can upon the subject. I not only promoted, to the utmost of my power, the claims of Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who, without such help, would have been left in heathen ignorance. This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as we have now seen. It is impossible to confound the recent measures of the pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan conference. There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome; a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel that we are strong enough to repress any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been allowed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion—civil, political, and religious. Upon this subject I will only say, then, that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power deliberately considered. There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own church, who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged, in implicit terms, the queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints—the claim of infallibility for the church—the superstitious use of the sign of the cross—the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written—the recommendation of auricular confession—and the administration of penance and absolution;—all these things are pointed out, by clergymen of the church of England, as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince, of no great power, compared to the danger, within the gates, from the unworthy sons of the church of England herself? I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their invidious course: but I rely with confidence on the people of England; and I will not bate a jot of heart or life so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation, which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.—I remain, with great respect, &c.

“Downing Street, Nov. 4th.

“J. RUSSELL.”

Lord John Russell, as soon as parliament met, proposed his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; or, rather, a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom. It consisted of four sections, re-enacting that clause in the Catholic Relief Act which forbids the assumption of ecclesiastical titles identical with those of the established churches of England and Ireland (a provision which had not been violated), and extending the prohibition to titles derived from any other place in the United Kingdom; enforcing the prohibition by a penalty of £100; and declaring forfeit to the crown, property left in trust to persons using these forbidden distinctions. The first reading was carried, after four nights' debating, by a majority of 332 (395 for; 63 against); but of this immense majority, there was scarcely one who did not object to the measure, as paltry and inefficient. In the course of the debate,

Viscount Palmerston confessed, that since he had had a seat in that House, he had never listened to discussions with greater pain than to that upon which the House was now engaged. He had hoped that those angry discussions and controversies concerning doctrinal points, and of Catholics and dissenters, would never again be heard within the walls of parliament; for he declared that the principles that had been established were not the principles of toleration merely, but the greater principle of religious freedom, which was so perfectly identified with the institutions of the country, that he had hoped no more of such discussions would be heard within these walls. But whose fault was it? It was not ours; but we had been forced upon it by an act of aggression from a foreign authority, an aggression of a political character; and in that respect only would he address himself to the question—an aggression upon the independent sovereign of this country, which he thought it was their bounden duty to repel. (Hear, hear.) People said it was partly the fault of members of the government that certain indulgences had been shown to the Catholic episcopacy of Ireland; that courtesies had been shown to the clergy and priesthood of Ireland; that opinions had been expressed in debates in parliament; that silence was observed by a noble friend of his three years ago at Rome, when a supposed paper was said to have been shown him which regarded England: and from these things, it was said, they had no right to be surprised at what the pope had done, because he had a right to expect that they would meet it with indifference. He denied that any of these grounds were sufficient to justify the measures which had been adopted. Either the pope thought the measures he proposed would not be agreeable, or not disagreeable, to the government and the people of this country, or he did not care whether they were agreeable to the government and the people of England. If he attached any value to the effect of his measures in this country, why did he not, in the three years that had elapsed between the period of the alleged conversation with his noble friend at Rome, take steps to ascertain that? Where was Dr. Wiseman? Was he not in England? Had he not an opportunity of having personal intercourse with his noble friend at the head of the government, and ascertaining whether the measure which the pope contemplated would, or would not, give offence to the government and the people of this country? And therefore, he contended, that as that course of proceeding was studiously avoided, it was impossible for the papal authorities, or for those who advocated their cause, to shelter themselves under the pretext that things had taken place which justified the papal government in supposing that the steps taken would not be offensive to the people of England. Well, then, this being an aggression of a foreign authority, what was the authority by which that aggression was made? It was an authority of an ecclesiastical nature, which had a double action upon the minds of men. (Hear.) The characteristic of the Catholic church was—not as contradistinguished to, but in accordance with, the character of all other churches—a perpetual attempt to encroach upon the temporal power, and to mix itself up with temporal government. He did not acquit other churches of the same thing. Churches were corporate bodies, and corporate bodies were naturally progressive. But there was this difference between the Roman Catholic church and the British church—that the British church began and ended in the realm of England, while the church of Rome endeavoured to spread its authority in a circle, ever-widening, all over the Christian world. Well, then, what was the action, the temporal and political action, of that church? Look to those countries in which the Catholic church was predominant. Look to Portugal, to Spain, to Italy—look, he was concerned to say, also to Austria—and they would find, that wherever the Catholic church was allowed to seize hold of temporal authority, its influence was painfully exerted in suppressing the political power and privileges of the people. His lordship then referred to the recent agitation on the subject, describing it as a great movement of the Protestant people of England. With respect to the suggestions of the last speaker, he (Lord Palmerston) thought it would have been unbecoming in this

country to meet an act of unprovoked aggression by sending an envoy to sue for conditions at Rome. He thought the dignified and proper course for the country to take was to legislate for themselves. He denied that the bill was a penal act—it was merely a complement of the act of 1829. It would be no restriction on the Catholic hierarchy, which would interfere with their sacred duties; and whilst it would not be inoperative, it would be adequate to the circumstances of the case.

The fates were against the bill, however. Before its second reading Lord John Russell had resigned, and been again installed in office; and three out of the four clauses of the bill had disappeared. It was not till the middle of May that the bill got into committee, where it was resisted, word by word; and no less than thirty-five divisions were taken. Finally, the third reading was carried by accident, and by a large majority, from which, however, the names of Gladstone and some of the best men in the House were absent.

Nor were the Catholics inactive; nor did they labour in vain. Almost immediately after the publication of Lord John Russell's letter, Dr. Wiseman published his promised appeal to "the manly sense and honest heart of a generous people." The document is one of great length.

The cardinal commenced with a review of the history of the Catholic church in England during the last hundred years, under the government of vicars apostolic—that is, as bishops with foreign titles, having jurisdiction as the delegates of the pope.

The only constitution possessed by the English Catholics, up to the year 1847, was one issued as far back as 1743, by Pope Benedict XIV., which had grown obsolete by lapse of time, and change of circumstance. At the latter time, for instance, the penal laws had been repealed; English colleges for the home education of the priesthood were sanctioned; religious houses founded, and churches or chapels much increased. In fact—

"The Catholic church in England had so much expanded and consolidated itself since the Emancipation Act, and its parts had so matured their mutual relations, that it could not be carried on without a full and explicit code." A remedy was therefore prayed for; and it was suggested that it could only be in one of the two following forms:—

"Either the holy see must issue another and full constitution, which would supply all wants; but which would be necessarily complicated and voluminous, and, as a special provision, would necessarily be temporary:

"Or, the real and complete code of the church must be at once extended to the Catholic church in England, so far as compatible with its social position: and this provision would be final.

"But, in order to adopt this second and more natural expedient, one condition was necessary, and that was—the Catholics must have a hierarchy. The canon law is inapplicable under vicars apostolic; and, besides, many points would have to be synodically adjusted; and without a metropolitan and suffragans, a provincial synod was out of the question.

"Such was the main and solid ground on which the hierarchy was humbly solicited by Catholics from the holy see. It was one that referred to their own internal organisation exclusively. Thoughts of aggression never entered the heads of the petitioners or of the petitioned; nor were the bishops moved by stupid ideas of rivalry with the established church in what forms its weakness, nor any absurd defiance of national prejudices. They knew that they violated no law in asking for what was needful for their religious existence, and they acted on an acknowledged right of liberty of conscience."

Other motives of a secondary nature existed; but this was the chief, and the holy see kindly listened to the petition. The inferences drawn from this historical review are two: first, that the act is not sudden, wanton, or aggressive in its character; and secondly, that the blame, if any, rests not with his holiness—

"the best, and here the most calumniated, of men"—but with Dr. Wiseman and his colleagues.

The cardinal thus described the unparalleled agitation which the constitution of a Catholic hierarchy in this island has raised:—

"Its violence has been that of a whirlwind, during which it would have been almost folly to claim a hearing. After the news reached England of the measure being completed, a pause of a few days ensued, as if the elements were brewing for the storm. Then it burst out with absolute fury; every newspaper (with a few honourable exceptions) seemed to vie with its neighbour, of the most opposite politics and principles, in the acrimony, virulence, and perseverance of its attacks. Liberal and Conservative, Anglican or dissenting, grave or light, as their usual tone and character might previously have been, the energies of all seemed concentrated upon one single point—that of crushing, if possible, or denouncing, at least to public execration, the new form of ecclesiastical government, which Catholics regarded as a blessing and an honour. For this purpose, nothing was refused, however unfounded, however personal, even by papers whose ordinary tone is courteous, or at least well-bred. Anecdotes without a particle of truth, or, what is worse, with some particles of distorted truth in them, have been copied from one into another, and most widely circulated. Sarcasm, ridicule, satire of the broadest character, theological and legal reasonings of the most refined nature, bold and reckless declamation, earnest and artful argument—nothing seemed to come amiss; and every invocable agency, from the Attorney-general to Guy Fawkes, from *præmunire* to a hustling, was summoned forth to aid the cry, and administer to the vengeance of those who raised it."

An excitement, somewhat similar, was caused, some years ago, by the increased grant to Maynooth; but the tide of popular feeling was then nobly stemmed by a great statesman. In striking contrast with the conduct of Sir R. Peel, the then head of her majesty's government astonished Europe by a letter, which left but little hope that any appeal to the high authority which rules over the empire would be received with favour. A still graver power in the state, too, has allowed itself to be swayed from its impartiality. The Lord High Chancellor of England has delivered "his award against us from behind the tables of a Mansion-house banquet."

The avenues to public justice thus closed up, and the press, too, having raised its "death-whoop," the cardinal's trust is in the "love of honourable dealing and fair play, which, in joke or in earnest, is equally the instinct of an Englishman."

After this point the appeal is divided into sections, the first of which treats of royal supremacy. By the "supremacy" of the sovereign is meant the headship of church in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters, as well as in civil and temporal. This the Roman Catholic has always denied. Down to 1829 his denial subjected him to disabilities; but the Emancipation Act freed him from all obligation of acknowledging the "royal ecclesiastical supremacy," the belief in which was purposely excluded from the oath of allegiance framed for him.

"A Catholic, therefore, before 1829, in the eye of the law, was a person who did not admit the royal supremacy, and, therefore, was excluded from full enjoyment of civil privileges. A Catholic after 1829, and therefore in 1850, is a person who still continues not to admit the royal supremacy, and nevertheless is admitted to full enjoyment of those privileges."

In denying the royal supremacy, the Catholic is in the same category as the Scotch kirk and the English dissenters, who equally fail to recognise in the bishops appointed by the queen any authority to teach or rule them.

"When, therefore, the sovereign appoints a new bishop to a see, the Catholic, and I suppose the dissenter, divides the act between two distinct powers. As sovereign, and as a dispenser of dignities, the king or queen bestows on the person elected dignity, rank, and wealth. He is made a lord of parliament; receives a designation and title; becomes seised of certain properties which entitle him to

finer, rents, and fees. To all this they assent. They may protest; but they do not refuse the honours due to one whom the king is pleased to honour. The title is accorded, be it 'his lordship' or 'his grace;' his peerage is admitted, with all its consequent distinctions, and his fines and fees are paid as to any other landlord.

"But further, in virtue of the spiritual supremacy, the same sovereign confers on that person spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and this, in fact, is acknowledged only by those who are members of the church of England. Thus, if, in virtue of this commission, the bishop publicly teaches or denies, as the case may be, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a Catholic no more heeds his teaching than he does that of a dissenting minister. If he comes into a town, and invites all to come and be confirmed by him on a given day, no Catholic takes more notice of the call than he does of the parish beadle's notices, among which it is fastened on the church door. If he appoints a triennial visitation for correction of abuses and hearing of complaints, no Catholic troubles himself about his coming. And what the Catholic does in regard to these functions of an Anglican bishop, the Independent does just as much.

"It follows that a marked distinction exists between the authority possessed by a bishop and that of any other functionary named by the queen's excellent majesty. If she appoint an admiral, or commander-in-chief, or governor of a colony, or judge, every one is bound to obey that person in all that belongs specifically to his office, and any one would be punishable if he refused. But in regard to a bishop it is exactly the contrary. Precisely in those very matters which appertain to his office we are not bound to obey him. No one is obliged to seek doctrine from his teaching, sanctification from his ministrations, or grace from his blessing. This anomalous difference arises from the circumstance that the commission given to civil and military officers flows from the temporal sovereignty, which none may impugn; while that to the ecclesiastical functionaries proceeds from the spiritual jurisdiction, which may be, and is, lawfully denied.

"When a dissenter denies the royal supremacy (always meaning by this term the spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction attributed to the crown), he substitutes, perhaps, for it some other authority in some synod or conference, or he admits of none other to take its place; but when the Catholic denies it, it is because he believes another and a true ecclesiastical and spiritual supremacy to reside in the pope, or bishop of Rome, over the entire Catholic church. With him the two acts resolve themselves into one—denial of the royal supremacy, and assertion of the papal supremacy. And as it is perfectly lawful for him to deny the one, so it is equally lawful for him to assert the other."

In support of this position Dr. Wiseman quotes a judgment delivered by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, in the House of Lords, May 11th, 1846.

The second section considers—"What was the extent of religious toleration granted to Catholics? Have they a right to possess bishops or a hierarchy?"

Catholic emancipation was deemed an act of justice, conferring full religious liberty. But the full exercise of the Catholic religion could not be enjoyed without holy orders, and holy orders require bishops to administer them. Hence the Catholic church is necessarily episcopal. This government by bishops may be of two kinds—the ordinary form of a local hierarchy, and the temporary expedient of vicars. The former is the only "full and perfect" form; and a toleration that disallows this is really a "denial of liberty of conscience." The Emancipation Act contained no such restriction. Nay, more—it foresaw and provided for the substitution, some day, of regular bishops for vicars. First, the declaration of Lord Lyndhurst shows this to have been the spirit of the legislation; and, secondly, the actual restrictions imposed by the Relief Act, implied that, on this point, there was liberty:—

"There is an axiom in law, '*Exclusio unius est admissio alterius*;' that is, if you specifically exclude or deny the use of one particular thing, you thereby admit the lawful use of that which is not denied. To take the instance above

given; if I had said, in my agreement with the householder, that he might not, in building, make any use of sandstone, this would have implied that he might employ granite or limestone, or any other stone but the one excluded. Now, if the law of emancipation did make one exclusion and prohibition respecting the titles of Catholic bishops, it thereby permitted, as perfectly within law, whatever in that respect came not under that exception. The Act of Emancipation forbids any one from assuming or using the style or title of any bishopric or archbishopric of the established church in England or Ireland. From this it follows that they are allowed to assume any other titles."

The third section inquires—"How could Catholics obtain their hierarchy?" And contends that if the Catholics were ever to have a hierarchy, it could only be through the pope, and the pope could only legislate by a bull.

"Lord John Russell, in his speech in the House of Commons, August 6th, 1846, thus sensibly speaks on the subject:—"There is another offence, of introducing a bull of the pope into the country. The question is, whether it is desirable to keep up that or any other penalty for such an offence. It does not appear to me that we can possibly attempt to prevent the introduction of the pope's bulls into this country. There are certain bulls of the pope which are absolutely necessary for the appointment of bishops and pastors belonging to the Roman Catholic church. It would be quite impossible to prevent the introduction of such bulls.'"

Next comes the question—

IV. "Does the appointment of the Catholic hierarchy trench on the prerogative of the crown?"

This is described as a "delicate question," the more so from the address signed by the English bar, which says that—

"A foreign potentate has interfered with her majesty's undoubted prerogative, and has assumed the right of nominating archbishops and bishops in these realms, and of conferring on them territorial rank and jurisdiction."

There is gravity in such a statement coming from men "learned in the law." But, the cardinal argues, to speak so is "to recognise an efficient act of power" on the part of the pope. To those who do not acknowledge his authority, his "ecclesiastical acts are mere nullities." "It is (to them) as though the pope had not spoken, and had not issued any document."

"It will be said that no limitation of jurisdiction is made in the papal document—no restriction of its exercise to Catholics; and hence Lord John Russell and others conclude that there is, in this brief, 'a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway.'" Every official document has its proper forms; and had those who blame the tenor of this, taken any pains to examine those of papal documents, they would have found nothing new or unusual in this. Whether the pope appoints a person vicar apostolic or bishop in ordinary, in either case he assigns him a territorial ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and gives him no personal limitations. This is the practice of every church which believes in its own truth and in its duty of conversion. What has been done in this brief has been done in every one ever issued, whether to create a hierarchy or to appoint a bishop.

V. "Has the mode of establishing the hierarchy been 'isolent and insidious?'"

The argument under this section consists of a reference to ministerial acts, by which Catholic bishops have been recognised in the British colonies, as affording no reason to anticipate that the erection of an English episcopate would occasion offence; to the conduct of the English government in erecting bishoprics abroad, as at Jerusalem; and to "the positive declarations and public appearances" of the present and former administrations.

Under the last head the speeches of Lord John Russell are specially alluded to. In the debate on the Catholic Relief Bill, July 9th, 1845, Lord John Russell, then in opposition, spoke to the following effect:—

"He, for one, was prepared to go into committee on those clauses of the

act of 1829. He did not say that he was at once prepared to repeal all those clauses, but he was willing to go into committee to deliberate on the subject. He believed that they might repeal those disallowing clauses, which prevented a Roman Catholic bishop assuming a title held by a bishop of the established church. He could not conceive any good ground for the continuance of this restriction." It must be observed that there is nothing in the context which limits those sensible and liberal words to Ireland. They apply to the repeal of the whole clause, which, as we have seen, extends equally to both countries.

"What his lordship had said in 1845, he deliberately, and even more strongly, confirmed the following year. In the debate on the first reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, February 5th, 1845, he referred to his speech, just quoted, of the preceding session, in the following terms:—

"Allusion having been made to him (by Sir R. Inglis), he wished to say a few words as to his former declaration, 'that he was not ready at once to repeal these laws without consideration.' Last session he had voted for the committee, but had reserved to himself the right of weighing the details. It appeared to him that there was one part of the question that had not been sufficiently attended to: the measure of government, as far as it was stated last year, did not effect that relief to the Roman Catholics from a law by which they were punished, both for assuming episcopal titles in Ireland, and for belonging to certain religious orders. That part of the subject required interference by the legislature. As to preventing persons assuming particular titles, nothing could be more absurd and puerile than to keep up such a distinction. He had also the strongest objection to the law which made Jesuits in certain cases subject to transportation; the enactment was as intolerant as it was inefficacious, and it was necessary that the law should be put on an intelligible and rational footing."

Dr. Wiseman re-asserted that a copy of the papal brief was shown to Lord Minto in Italy:—

"The circumstances may have escaped his memory, or he may not at the time have attended to it, having more important matters in his mind; but as to the fact that his attention was called to it, and he made no reply, I can have no doubt."

The sixth and concluding section treats of the title of Westminster.

According to the discipline of the Catholic church, sees must take their titles from cities or towns, not districts. In re-establishing a Catholic hierarchy, it was natural that the metropolitan should take his title from the metropolis. But London was a title inhibited by law. Southwark was to form a separate see. To have borrowed a title from Islington or Finsbury would have invited ridicule. Besides, they were not towns. Hence the selection of "Westminster."

"But I am glad, also, for another reason. The chapter of Westminster has been the first to protest against the new archiepiscopal title, as though some practical attempt at jurisdiction within the abbey was intended. Then let me give them assurance on that point, and let us come to a fair decision and a good understanding.

"The diocese, indeed, of Westminster embraces a large district; but Westminster proper consists of two very different parts. One comprises the stately abbey, with its adjacent palaces, and its royal parks. To this portion the duties and occupation of the dean and chapter are mainly confined; and they shall range there undisturbed. To the venerable old church I may repair, as I have been wont to do. But perhaps the dean and chapter are not aware that, were I disposed to claim more than the right to tread the Catholic pavement of that noble building, and breathe its air of ancient consecration, another might step in with a prior claim. For successive generations there has existed ever, in the Benedictine order, an abbot of Westminster, the representative, in religious dignity, of those who erected, and beautified, and governed that church and cloister. Have they ever been disturbed by this 'titular?' Have they ever heard of any claim or protest, on his

part, touching their temporalities? Then let them fear no greater aggression now. Like him, I may visit, as I have said, the old abbey, and say my prayer by the shrine of good St. Edward, and meditate on the olden times, when the church filled without a coronation, and multitudes hourly worshipped without a service.

"But in their temporal rights, or their quiet possession of any dignity or title, they will not suffer. Whenever I go in I will pay my entrance-fee, like other liege subjects, and resign myself meekly to the guidance of the beadle, and listen without rebuke when he points out to my admiration detestable monuments, or shows me a hole in the wall for a confessional.

"Yet this splendid monument, its treasures of art, and its fitting endowments, form not the part of Westminster which will concern me. For there is another part which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact, with this magnificence. In ancient times, the existence of an abbey on any spot, with a large staff of clergy and ample revenues, would have sufficed to create around it a little paradise of comfort, cheerfulness, and ease. This, however, is not now the case. Close under the abbey of Westminster, there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally, at least, Catholics; haunts of filth which no sewerage committee can reach—dark corners which no lighting board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim and to visit as a blessed pasture in which sheep of holy church are to be tended, in which a bishop's godly work has to be done, of consoling, converting, and preserving. And if, as I humbly trust in God, it shall be seen that this special culture, arising from the establishment of our hierarchy, bears fruits of order, peacefulness, decency, religion, and virtue, it may be that the holy see shall not be thought to have acted unwisely when it bound up the very soul and salvation of a chief pastor with those of a city where the name indeed is glorious, but the purities infamous; in which the very grandeur of its public edifices is as a shadow to screen from the public eye sin and misery the most appalling. If the wealth of the abbey be stagnant and not diffusive, if it in no way rescue the neighbouring population from the depths in which it is sunk, let there be no jealousy of any one who, by whatever name, is ready to make the latter his care without interfering with the former."

Some caustic remarks upon the Anglican clergy, and thanks to the "noble-hearted people" who have refused to join in the "no-papery" cry, and to the "docile and obedient children of the Catholic faith," who have been meek amidst reviling, closed the lengthy document.

We proceed now to speak of the memorable Exhibition—an Exhibition which, according to Colonel Sibthorpe, was to overrun London with foreigners, and fill the land with plagues.

The fairy building, as we all know, was erected by Messrs. Fox and Henderson, from the design of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton, gardener to the Duke of Devonshire. It was opened on May 1st, and closed October 15th. Its extreme length was 1,851 feet; the width 408, with an additional projection on the north side, 936 feet long, by 48 wide. The central portion was 120 feet wide, by 64 feet high; on either side of this was another portion, 72 feet wide, by 44 high; and the north and south portions were 72 feet wide, by 24 feet high. The entire area was 772,784 square feet, or about 19 acres, nearly seven times as much as St. Paul's Cathedral. The entire ground-area was divided off into a central nave, four side aisles, and several exhibitors' courts and avenues. There were three entrances, with eight pay-places to each, and eighteen doors for exit. There were four galleries running lengthwise of the building, and others around the transept; and access was gained to these galleries by ten double staircases. Of iron columns there were about 3,300 in the building; and there were 1,074 base-pieces beneath

the columns, on which the whole structure rested. The girders were nearly 3,500; and, altogether, there were about 4,000 tons of iron built into the structure. Besides the seventeen acres of glass for the roof, there were about 15,000 vertical glazed sashes. The ground-floor and the galleries contained 1,000,000 square feet of flooring. There were 200 miles of sash-bars, and twenty miles of Paxton gutters. The total wood-work in the structure was estimated at 600,000 cubic feet.

In the building, 2,182 persons were employed; but in this list are not included the workmen employed by Fox and Henderson, nor the persons connected with the catalogue department, nor the extra police employed outside the building. About eighty persons were in the building all night—viz., fifty policemen, twenty-four sappers and miners, and six firemen: the latter had the command of an abundant supply of fire-engines, hydrants, and buckets. The sweepers were employed six hours in the morning, sweeping the building before the visitors arrived. There was no end of committees, beginning with the twenty-five royal commissioners, with Prince Albert at their head. There was an executive committee, a finance committee, a building committee, a medal committee, a committee to communicate with the local committees; and then there were committees of sections, to determine on regulations for the classification and admission of specimens. These seventy-three committee-men comprised nearly all the royal commissioners, and a fine array of the most talented men in the country.

It appears that there were about 15,000 exhibitors; and how to reduce the goods exhibited into something like order was an Herculean task. Dr. Lyon Playfair's classification of the objects admitted, was, perhaps, the most elaborate analysis of industrial and productive art that has yet been made. There was not the formality of classes, orders, genera, species, &c., as in natural history; but there was a somewhat analogous subordination adopted. There were, in the first place, four great sections, devoted to Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and the Fine Arts. The first of these was subdivided into four; the second into six; and the third into nineteen; so that the whole made twenty-nine classes. These classes were then subdivided into (on an average) about eight portions each; there being 251 portions, each designated in its own class by a letter of the alphabet. Each portion, or letter, was next subdivided into smaller sections, designated by numerals; and these smaller portions were, lastly, subdivided into species, minute enough to need no further classification. For instance, *Section 3* comprised Manufactures; one *class* of this was devoted to manufactures in animal and vegetable substances; the letter A of this class was manufactures in caoutchouc. No. 1 under this letter was impermeable articles (as distinguished from elastic); and particular species under this numeral are boots, beds, life-buoys, air-cushions, &c. In the final analysis, there were not much less than 2,000 headings, under which products were classified in this remarkable list. The jury council, in their report to the royal commissioners, said that the duties of the jurors had involved the consideration and judgment of at least a million articles.

Nor must we overlook the difficulties connected with the preparation of the *Official Catalogue*. The contractors were dependent, not simply on one, or a dozen, or a hundred persons, but on 15,000, or more, all of whom had to supply the materials with which the catalogue was to be constructed. So overwhelming were the obstructions to be surmounted by the compilers and printers, that at ten o'clock at night, on the 30th of April, within fourteen hours of the opening of this splendid pageant, not a single complete copy was printed.

The Exhibition was open twenty-three weeks, and fragments of two other weeks. The total visitors were 6,007,944. Mean daily average, 43,536. Besides the above, there were the six exceptional days, if we may so term the opening day, the two days at £1, the two exhibitors' days, and the closing day: these gave an aggregate of about 160,000 visitors. The total was thus, in round numbers, 6,170,000, or about 43,000 per day, for 144 days.

The different days of the week had some peculiar characteristics. Monday was, as it always is, the great day for London shopkeepers and operatives of the humbler class: on no other day did visitors of this rank congregate so largely at the Crystal Palace.

Tuesday was the great day for country visitors. The Monday's excursion-trains brought them up by thousands; and after a good night's rest, they were ready for the Hyde Park campaign on the morrow.

Wednesday was the quietest and least numerically strong of the shilling days: the high pressure of Monday and Tuesday seems to have led to a kind of exhaustion on the following day. This was the most satisfactory of the shilling days to those who wished to proceed systematically with their visits.

Thursday being the last shilling day of the week, numbered higher than Wednesday; while the visitors were generally of a somewhat higher grade than those of Monday and Tuesday.

Friday was the favourite day for those who wished to see everything, and to see it well, and who also thought half-a-crown well bestowed on a visit. It was the special day for season-ticket holders, of the scientific, or professional, or business turn of mind.

Saturday was the day for satin *visites* and trailing dresses, and Erard's piano, and *eau de Cologne*, and *aqua d'oro*, and Bath chairs. These Bath chairs were not the least among the curiosities of the Exhibition; never before did invalids have such a privilege of being wheeled along aisles and naves, and galleries thronged with the beautiful and the wonderful, with comfort to themselves, and with scarcely a shade of discomfort to others. Those who were present on the 4th of October, the last Bath chair day, will well remember what a formidable array of these vehicles made their appearance.

Never before, in any age or country, was such a sight presented as that at two o'clock on October 7th, when 93,000 persons were estimated to have been under one roof at one time; not merely in an open area, like a Roman amphitheatre, but in a windowed, and floored, and roofed building. The greatest number who entered the doors in any one hour, was between eleven and twelve o'clock on the 6th of October, when 28,853 persons were admitted.

The total receipts, from all sources, made up half a million sterling, as follows:—

Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	£67,000
Season tickets	...	...	...	...	68,000
Single admissions	...	...	...	...	337,000
Refreshment contract	...	...	...	...	5,500
Catalogue contract	...	...	...	...	3,200
Royalty on medals	...	...	...	...	900
Washing, retiring, and umbrella rooms	...	...	...	...	3,700

On the last shilling Monday, the silver coin received at the doors required two cabs to convey it to the bank: it weighed nearly 15 cwt.

There were 166 council medals, 2,876 prize medals, and 2,042 honourable mentions; making a total of 5,084 honorary distinctions of all kinds. If we take the exhibitors at the estimated number of 15,000, about one-third were thus deemed worthy of some kind of recognition. Of the total number, 2,039 were absorbed by the United Kingdom, and 3,045 by foreign exhibitors. Our foreign guests occupied about two-fifths of the space, and took off three-fifths of the honours. The greatly-coveted council medals were awarded in the ratio of seventy-nine to British, and eighty-seven to foreign exhibitors; the prize medals, 1,244 British, and 1,632 foreign; the honourable mentions, 716 British, and 1,326 foreign.

In relation to different classes of exhibited articles there were a few striking and instructive facts. In machinery, in manufactures, in metal, and in glass and

porcelain manufactures, the British exhibitors gained more prizes than all the foreigners combined. In textile fabrics, in fine arts, and in miscellaneous manufactures, the foreign exhibitors took off the honours in the ratio of about three-fifths to two-fifths British. But in the section of raw materials for food and manufactures, the foreign exhibitors gained nearly four times as many prizes as the British. It would appear from that that Britain is a manufacturing, and not a producing country. Be this as it may, the fact here stated is worth remembering.

The great honours of the council medals were very unequally distributed in respect to the class of exhibited articles; for out of the whole number of 166, no less than eighty-eight (more than one-half) were awarded for machinery alone. This is a significant fact, showing that the juries, or rather the council of chairmen, were not deterred, by the gorgeous display around them, from doing justice to the great working agencies by which wealth is produced.

The post-office arrangements were excellent. There was a regular post establishment within the building, in connection with all the separate departments, British and foreign. The daily despatch of letters averaged 500, and the daily receipt, 300.

The losing of personal property in the Exhibition, the finding of the lost articles by the police, and the plan for restoring them to their proper owners, form a curious chapter in the history of the Crystal Palace.

The total number of articles thus suddenly deprived of owners was enormous. In the two months from May 1st to June 30th, they amounted to upwards of 1,000. Pocket-handkerchiefs took the lead, to the number of 271; parasols were 118; bracelets, brooches, and shawl-pins together, made up 255; veils and falls, and neck-ties, and bonnet-shades, figured at 94; ladies' cuffs, and gloves, and goloshes numbered together 39; shawls and victorines were 30. The minor articles, or articles in smaller number, were most miscellaneous, and combined every imaginable thing which could reasonably be taken to an exhibition—umbrellas, shirt-studs, catalogues, books, bunches of keys, lockets, camp-stools, slippers, great-coats, card-cases, chains, knives, pin-cushions, walking-sticks, spectacles, eye-glasses, opera-glasses, pencil-cases, rings, fans, watches, toothpicks, thimbles, reticules, baskets, boxes, scent-bottles, &c. Purses were not wanting to fill up the inventory, containing sums varying from £0 0s. 0d., to £5 4s. 9d.; while the sum of £2 10s. 0½d. was picked up in loose coins. One of the articles secured by the police, and made to figure in their report, must ever take rank among the marvels of the Great Exhibition—it was one petticoat! Pope says of flies in amber—

“ The things themselves are neither rich nor rare;
The wonder's, how the devil they got there.”

And so we may say of this particular garment, under the circumstances. A second and a third list of the same kind was made public. The final list of totals, brought down to October 24th, figured at 5,167; of which 3,318 were still waiting for claimants—materials here for supplying a tolerably good store. It is said, no less than 1,849 lost articles were recovered by application to the police, whose admirable conduct in and around the building was above all praise. Nor were lifeless things the only ones that went astray. Many a luckless child got separated from its parents in the vast building; but the police-station at Prince's Gate became an asylum for the little wanderers, the whole of whom were ultimately restored to their proper quarters.

In this Exhibition, the mere supply of refreshments assumed a character of immense magnitude—a magnitude that ceases to astonish us now, but which was thought very astonishing then. Not only was the sum of £5,500 given for permission to sell refreshments within the building, but the contractors candidly acknowledged that they made large profits by the venture. The central refresh-

ment court was farmed by, or leased by, one firm; the eastern and western courts by another. In round numbers, their sales were as follows:—

Bread	52,000	quarters.
Small loaves, rolls, and biscuits	120,000	
Plain buns	870,000	
Bath buns	930,000	
Banbury and other cakes	220,000	
Cake, sold per pound	50,000	lbs.
Meat patties and rolls	80,000	
Ham	70,000	lbs.
Beef, tongue, &c.	260,000	"
Rough ice	800,000	"
Salt	80,000	"
Milk and cream	65,000	quarts.
Tea, coffee, and chocolate	21,000	lbs.
Lemonade, soda-water, ginger-beer	1,090,000	bottles.

These enormous quantities were not consumed wholly by the visitors; there was an exhibitors' dining-room, where sometimes 2,000 cold dinners were disposed of in a day.

The amount of money taken for these eatables and drinkables is an item of statistics on which no information was afforded; and a guess would be of little value, except from one who is professionally cognizant how many sixpenny cups of coffee may be made from a pound of the berry, or how many sandwiches may be carved out of a pound of ham. One little fact, however, may give the reader an idea of the large sums taken in the refreshment department. It appears that buns, with ginger-beer, and similar bottled liquids, brought a round sum of £30,000. If the reader reckons other articles in a similar proportion, he can easily understand how the contractors lost little by their payment of £5,500 for the privilege of serving refreshments.

All were fascinated with the Exhibition of 1851. There never was such an exhibition, and there never can be such another: that of 1862 was nothing like it. It differed as much from that of 1851 as moonlight from sunlight, or as water from wine. Banquets were the order of the day. The foreign commissioners dined at Richmond, Lord Ashburton in the chair. A grand entertainment was held at the Guildhall in celebration of it. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert honoured the city of London with their presence on the occasion. The line of her majesty's approach, from the palace to the Guildhall, was brilliantly illuminated. All things pointed to peace and friendship. The orators of the human race met, and declared that the millennium was about to come. France and England were connected by the telegraphic cable. A peace congress sat at Exeter Hall. Females made their appearance in the Bloomer costume. A grand banquet was given at Bangor, in honour of Mr. R. Stephenson, M.P., the eminent engineer, on the completion of the Britannia Tubular Bridge; and, as if to show that the New World was getting ready to compete with the Old, at the Cowes regatta, in the match round the Isle of Wight, for a cup worth £100, open to all nations, an American yacht, the *America*, schooner-built, of 173 tons, started last, and came in first, by nearly eight miles. So philanthropic, indeed, had the country become, that, in the House of Commons, Mr. Cobden's motion for disarmament between France and England received the sanction of the government. Lord Palmerston confessed himself ready to subscribe to Mr. Cobden's views on this subject, but objected to the motion, because it aimed at divesting this country of her means of defence, without waiting till other countries had placed themselves in a similar position. And thus, amidst universal approval, the motion was withdrawn. Nevertheless, all England was jubilant and holiday-making, this wonderful year of 1851. What the people felt and thought is, however, best told in Thackeray's

"May-day Ode," which appeared on the opening of the Exhibition, and in which it was felt that, like the poet, he had set to music the spirit of the age. We reprint it, as a fitting close to this chapter.

MAY-DAY ODE.

"But yesterday a naked sod,
The dandies sneered from Rotten-row,
And cantered o'er it to and fro;
And see, 'tis done!
As though 'twere by a wizard's rod,
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun!

"A quiet green but few days since,
With cattle browsing in the shade,
And lo! long lines of bright arcade
In order raised;
A palace as for fairy prince,
A rare pavilion; such as man
Saw never, since mankind began,
And built and glazed.

"A peaceful place it was but now,
And lo! within its shining streets
A multitude of nations meets:
A countless throng,
I see beneath the crystal bow,
And Gaul and German, Russ and Turk,
Each with his native handiwork
And busy tongue.

"I felt a thrill of love and awe
To mark the different garb of each,
The changing tongue, the various speech
Together blent.
A thrill, methinks, like His who saw
'All people dwelling upon earth,
Praising our God with solemn mirth,
And one consent.'

"High sovereign in your royal state!
Captains, and chiefs, and councillors,
Before the lofty palace doors
Are open set,
Hush! ere you pass the shining gate;
Hush! ere the heaving curtain draws,
And let the royal pageant pause
A moment yet.

"People and prince a silence keep!
Bow coronet and kingly crown,
Helmet and plume bow lowly down:
The while the priest
Before the splendid portal step,
While still the wondrous banquet stays,
From Heaven supreme a blessing prays
Upon the feast!

"Then onwards let the triumph march;
Then let the loud artillery roll,
And trumpets ring and joy-bells toll,
And pass the gate.
Pass underneath the shining arch,
'Neath which the leafy elms are green—
Ascend unto your throne, O Queen,
And take your State!

"Behold her in her royal place;
A gentle lady—and the hand
That aways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!
Soft is the voice, and fair the face;
She breathes 'Amen,' to prayer and hymn:
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

"This moment round her empire's shores
The winds of Austral winter sweep,
And thousands lie in midnight sleep
At rest to day.
O! awful is that crown of yours,
Queen of innumerable realms,
Sitting beneath the budding elms
Of English May!

"A wondrous sceptre 'tis to bear;
Strange mystery of God which set
Upon her brow yon coronet—
The foremost crown
Of all the world on one so fair!
That chose her to it from her birth,
And bade the sons of all the earth
To her bow down.

"The representative of man
Here from the far Antipodes,
And from the subject Indian seas
In congress meet;
From Afric and from Hindostan,
From western continent and isle,
The envoys of her empire pile
Gifts at her feet.

"Our brethren cross the Atlantic tides,
Loading the gallant decks which once
Roared a defiance to our guns,
With peaceful store;
Symbol of peace, their vessel rides!
O'er English waves float star and stripe,
And firm their friendly anchors gripe
The father shore!

"From Rhine and Danube, Rhone and Seine,
As rivers from their sources gush,
The swelling floods of nations rush,
And seaward pour:
From coast to coast, in friendly chain,
With countless ships we bridge the straits,
And angry ocean separates
Europe no more.

"From Mississippi and from Nile—
From Baltic, Ganges, Bosphorus,
In England's ark, assembled thus
Are friend and guest.
Look down the mighty sunlit aisle,
And see the sumptuous banquet set,
The brotherhood of nations met
Around the feast!

" Along the dazzling colonnade,
 Far as the straining eye can gaze,
 Gleam cross and fountain, bell and vase,
 In vistas bright.
 And statues fair of nymph and maid,
 And steeds, and pards, and Amazons,
 Writhing and grappling in the bronze,
 In endless fight.

" To deck the glorious roof and dome,
 To make the Queen a canopy,
 The peaceful hosts of industry
 Their standards bear.
 Yon are the works of Brahmin loom ;
 On such a web of Persian thread
 The desert Arab bows his head,
 And cries his prayer.

" Look yonder where the engines toil ;
 These England's arms of conquest are,
 The trophies of her bloodless war :
 Brave weapons these.

Victorious over wave and soil,
 With these she sails, she weaves, she tills,
 Pierces the everlasting hills,
 And spans the seas.

" The engine roars upon its race,
 The shuttle whirs along the woof,
 The people hum from floor to roof,
 With Babel tongue.
 The fountain in the basin plays,
 The chanting organ echoes clear,
 An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
 A wondrous song !

" Swell organ, swell your trumpet blast,
 March, Queen and royal pageant, march
 By splendid aisle and springing arch
 Of this fair hall :
 And see ! above the fabric vast,
 God's boundless Heaven is bending blue,
 God's peaceful Sun is beaming through,
 And shining over all."

CHAPTER IV.

PALMERSTON IN THE SHADE.

IN 1851, as we have seen, Lord Palmerston appeared to be at the height of his popularity and powers: nevertheless, to the astonishment of England and Europe, at the end of the year it was announced that Lord Palmerston was no longer in office. The journals friendly to his lordship declared that his resignation had been rendered necessary by the extraordinary conduct of the Prime Minister. It was said his lordship had assumed an important portion of the duties of the foreign office without due regard to the noble secretary who presided over that department. It was further said—although the fact had only recently been discovered by Lord Palmerston—that Lord John Russell had been long intriguing to drive him from office. On the other hand, various unstatesmanlike proceedings, on the part of Lord Palmerston, were alleged to have made it desirable that he should no longer remain a member of the government. Authentic explanations were anxiously called for; and the nation waited with impatience for the opening of parliament, when it was expected important disclosures would be made—the opinion of the majority evidently coinciding with that of Lady Palmerston, who, in a letter to a friend of the writer's, observed—"Lord John, in getting rid of my lord, has got rid of all the brains in the cabinet."

Parliament met February 3rd, 1852. Seizing the first opportunity, Lord John Russell undertook to detail the various circumstances connected with the retirement of Lord Palmerston. In performing this task, he thought it right to state that, in August, 1850, a letter had been written to Lord Palmerston, explaining how his duty, as Foreign Secretary, had been understood by her majesty. It was as follows:—"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the queen may know exactly as to what she is giving the royal sanction. Secondly, that having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the crown, and justly to be visited by her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be next informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before

important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston." To this communication Lord John Russell replied—"I sent that accordingly, and received a letter from my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) to the following effect:—"I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the queen's, and will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains."

Lord John Russell, who was listened to with profound attention, then added—"Now, sir, I will state what is the duty of the Prime Minister; and I will not state it in my own words, but in the words which were used by the late Sir R. Peel, in giving evidence before the committee of this House with respect to foreign salaries. His words were—"Take the case of the Prime Minister. You must presume that he reads every important despatch from every foreign Court. He cannot consult with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and exercise the influence which he ought to have, unless he be master of everything of real importance passing in that department." I conceive Sir R. Peel there lays down the duty of a Prime Minister, and makes him responsible for the business of the country. I may say, likewise, that I was informed, both by her majesty and Sir Robert Peel, that Sir Robert had advised her to consult me whenever a question should arise with respect to foreign affairs. Such, then, being the state of the relationship which I held towards the crown on one hand, and to my noble friend on the other, I must say I have found the situation one of great difficulty."

His lordship then proceeded to complain of Lord Palmerston's conduct on various occasions; and, in particular, alluded to the reception which Lord Palmerston had given to the addresses presented to him by the borough of Finsbury and the parish of Islington. He said that there had been a cabinet meeting on the 3rd of November, at which it was agreed that the state of Europe was very critical, and that it behoved England to preserve the strictest neutrality. Yet, a short time afterwards, Lord Palmerston received deputations with addresses, in which the most disrespectful language was applied to the sovereigns of foreign nations. Though in this matter Lord Palmerston had not exercised due caution, he (Lord J. Russell) had been willing to consider it an inadvertence, and to take his share of the responsibility. But, after that occurrence, he had certainly expected even increased frankness from Lord Palmerston, and that he certainly would not make any communication to foreign governments without giving him (Lord John Russell) the opportunity of expressing his sentiments thereon. His next act, however, was the crowning one. A cabinet council had been held on the 3rd of December, in reference to the crisis in Paris, when it was agreed that Lord Normanby had only to abstain from all interference; and Lord Palmerston sent off a despatch correctly expressing the opinions of the government. The instruction was conveyed in this letter:—

"Foreign Office, December 6th, 1851.

"My Lord,—I have received, and laid before the queen, your excellency's despatch—No. 365, of the 3rd instant—requesting to be furnished with instructions for your guidance in the present state of affairs in France. I am commanded by her majesty to instruct your excellency to make no change in your relations with the French government. It is her majesty's desire that nothing should be done by her ambassador at Paris which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France.—I am, &c.,
PALMERSTON."

A few days afterwards, Lord Normanby wrote to Lord Palmerston, to say that he had communicated his despatch to the French foreign minister, who had informed him, that same day, that Lord Palmerston had signified to Count Walewski his entire approbation of the *coup-d'état*, and had said that there was

no other course open to Louis Napoleon. He (Lord John) thought that this might be explained, and wrote to Lord Palmerston for the explanation of what, if truly stated, amounted to moral interference in the affairs of France. For several days Lord Palmerston sent no reply, although, on the 13th, a messenger came to Woburn from the queen, with a desire that the affair might be explained. Lord Palmerston, apprised of this, neglected to answer. On the 16th, Lord John Russell wrote to him that his silence was disrespectful to the queen. On the same day, Lord Palmerston wrote, of his own authority, to Lord Normanby (in answer to a despatch from him), and denied that he had said anything to Count Walewski inconsistent with the government instructions to Lord Normanby; but added, that his private opinion was, that it was for the interests of France and Europe that the president should succeed in the struggle. Now, he thought his noble friend had in this communication avoided the real question. The Foreign Secretary chose to put himself in the place of the crown, and to pass by and neglect the crown, although, as he said, a Secretary of State had no constitutional authority whatever. Another question arose, which was one of great delicacy. The act of the French president not only dissolved the assembly, but abolished the constitution, and fettered the press. This might be desirable or not; but it was a matter for the French people alone. It was not for an English minister to place the broad seal of England upon such acts. We have been showing sympathy to various nations for many years in their attempts to obtain constitutions. How could we take that course after expressing approbation of what had been done in France? Under all circumstances, he had come to the decision that he could not continue to act with Lord Palmerston. The latter had, at last, addressed to him a long letter, giving his reasons for advocating the cause of the president; but these reasons did not seem, to Lord John, to touch the question. He had, therefore, on the 20th, written to her majesty, advising that Lord Palmerston be requested to resign, or he (Lord John Russell) must retire. He consulted none of his colleagues in that step, feeling that the responsibility ought to remain with himself alone; but, at a cabinet council on the 22nd, they decided that he could have taken no other course.

Lord John subsequently took great pains to make the House understand, that while he objected to the circumstances under which Lord Palmerston had communicated his approbation of the conduct of the French president, he was far from entertaining any opinion unfavourable to him, or hostile to France. His lordship said, though it was not for the government of this country to act as Austria and Russia had done in regard to the president, still he had no hesitation in saying, that, no doubt, he had acted from the best sources of information; and that he had done what, from his knowledge of the question, he had thought best for France. He was here interrupted by a murmur, upon which his lordship repeated his sentence. He said—"Let me state that over again: that while I do not concur in the approbation of my noble friend, I have no reason to doubt (and everything I have heard confirms that opinion) that, in the judgment of the president, the putting an end to the constitution, the anticipating the election of 1852, and the abolition of the parliamentary constitution, were all tending to the happiness, and essential to the welfare, of France." His lordship continued—"But I have certainly to state further—because I confess I have seen, with very great regret, the language which has been used by a portion of the press with respect to the president of France—I remember something as a boy, and I have read more, of that which occurred during the peace of Amiens to render that peace of short duration, and to involve these two great countries in the most bloody hostilities that ever mangled the face of Europe. I believe that temperate discussion and negotiation between the two countries might have prevented the calamity of war; but that the language of the press, at that time, was such that it embittered all negotiation, and prevented the continuance of peace. Sir, I should deeply regret were the press of this country, at the present time, to take a similar course. We

have one advantage over that time. The first consul, great as were his abilities, was totally ignorant of the manners and constitution of this country. The present president of France has this advantage over his uncle—that he is perfectly aware of how much liberty we enjoy, how much license of discussion prevails; and that the most unmeasured invective of the press does not imply any feeling of hostility, either on the part of the government or on the part of the nation. I am convinced of this, that there never was a time in which it was more essential that the two countries should preserve the relations of peace and amity. I am convinced that there never was a time when the peace of Europe would contribute more to the cause of civilisation and happiness. I am convinced, likewise, from every source of information I have had, that the ruler of France (the present president of France) is desirous of keeping on those terms of amity; and it shall not be any fault of ours—it shall not be any fault of the government of this country—if these terms of peace and amity are not continued.”

His lordship added, it was not for the minister of England rashly to pronounce on changes in other countries. “But,” said his lordship, “while we do not interfere with their domestic concerns—while we abstain from any intemperate judgment on their internal affairs, yet there is one result which comes home to us, and imposes on us a duty from which we cannot flinch. All these various governments of foreign states, as each gets uppermost, send their enemies and opponents out of the country; and the consequence is, we have many seeking refuge in England. In giving them hospitality, we are but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country; we are but doing that which was celebrated two centuries ago, when Waller said—

“ ‘Whether this portion of the world be rent
By the rude ocean from the continent,
Or thus created, it was sure designed
To be the sacred refuge of mankind.’ ”

“I trust that we shall never see this toast falsified: that whilst we disapprove of any attempts made, in this country, to change the established governments of other countries, so long as exiles from them conduct themselves peaceably, we shall consider it the honour and distinction of this country to receive, indiscriminately, all those who are the victims of misfortune.”

This lengthy detail of the circumstances which led to Lord Palmerston's resignation, and of the Premier's foreign policy, appears to have satisfied the House. Lord Palmerston's attempt at explanation or reply was very short. He vindicated his late proceedings and general character: claiming to be, while he remained in power, what Lord John Russell had formerly named him—not the minister of Austria, or Russia, or Prussia; but the minister of England. With respect to the addresses from Finsbury and Islington, his lordship said he had deemed it right to receive the deputation. He had scarcely thought his answer would have been made a matter of public importance; but there was nothing in that answer which he had not said in that House; and though he had regretted expressions in the addresses in question, he did not think that there was anything in that affair to impair our foreign relations. Adverting to the incidents of the *coup-d'état*, he said that he had, in conversation with the French ambassador, uttered precisely the sentiments which appeared in the despatch Lord John Russell had read. But when Lord Normanby applied for instructions, there could be, of course, but one answer consistent with our national policy. Lord Normanby thought it necessary to communicate this to the French minister. The latter said, that, two days before, he received a communication, which he described, however, in highly-coloured words. Lord John Russell had written for explanations; and he (Lord Palmerston) being much pressed by business, delayed his reply until he could find time to write it. He then did write, and said that his opinion was, that the antagonism which had arisen between the president and the assembly had

made it impossible both could exist together. He had replied to Lord John Russell's letter, that there was a distinction between official despatches and non-official communications; that he had said nothing to Count Walewski which could fetter the government; and that, if a foreign secretary were forbidden to talk freely to a foreign ambassador, there would be an end to all that easy diplomatic communication which tended most of all to preserve the peace of nations. Upon this, Lord John signified that he (Lord Palmerston) ought to resign. He conceived his own doctrine right, and Lord John Russell's to be wrong. But, he added, that his opinion was expressed on the 3rd of December: and, the same evening, under the same roof, Lord John Russell expressed his opinion to the same individual. Judging by what had fallen from Lord John Russell that night, it was probable that his opinion was the same as Lord Palmerston's; and, on the following Friday, each of the other ministers seem to have expressed an opinion upon the very subject which Lord Palmerston was told he must not express an opinion upon. So every minister, except the only one who had studied foreign questions, was to be free to pronounce upon them.

And thus Palmerston lost office; and all the while he was growing in popularity and power. We must now stop to tell the story of the *coup-d'état*, his recognition of which was such an offence.

"Every thinking person in Paris," writes Captain Gronow, "towards the close of the year 1851, anticipated, with considerable apprehension, that, early in the ensuing spring, a great change must take place in the government of the country. The constitution which had been proclaimed, with apparent enthusiasm, in the year 1848, appeared likely to produce anarchy and confusion; for a new president and an assembly had to be elected: and, whatever claims the individual who had once acted as head of the state, might have upon the country, he was, according to the constitution, ineligible again to fill that high position. There was every reason to fear that the red republicans would make a desperate effort to gain power, even should the streets of Paris be again deluged with blood; indeed, the language of some of their adherents boldly proclaimed that liberty could only be secured by means of the guillotine. In effect, a struggle for power had commenced between the prince-president and the representatives of the people. The assembly had refused to grant to the chief of the state the funds necessary to defray the expenses attendant upon his position. It manifested distrust of his ministers, and jealousy of his popularity with the army, of which Changarnier had the command; and so mean were the devices resorted to to annoy Louis Napoleon, that he was compelled to wear, at reviews, the uniform of a general of the national guard. A decided opposition was being organised against his re-election; and there is no doubt that his personal liberty was menaced by his opponents; and that, had the *coup-d'état* not taken place, his career would have terminated in the fortress of Vincennes. The candidature of the Prince de Joinville for the presidency of 1852, which was very popular in France, even among the Liberal party, and seemed likely to be successful, disquieted the Bonapartists; and the evident and insolent language of General Changarnier aroused Louis Napoleon to the conviction that the time for action had arrived. It was the general opinion that a crisis was rapidly approaching; and only the president had the skill and courage to place himself at the head of the movement, and act decisively.

"The prince-president naturally looked to the army, already deeply disgusted by the interference of the legislative body, and prepared to hail with delight the expected advent of a bold leader. At the end of November, the principal military authorities met at the house of General Magnan, and unanimously resolved to co-operate in any measures necessary to secure the tranquillity of Paris, and the establishment of a firm and resolute government. The whole army, being stationed in the vicinity of the metropolis, was prepared for some decisive movement; and although its precise nature was not understood, yet there was a determination to obey any orders emanating from the military authorities, whatever might be the

consequences. Relying on the support that he was thus to receive, the prince-president announced to some of his faithful followers that the time had at length arrived when it was necessary, for the welfare of the country and his own preservation, that he should grasp the sovereign power. Upon those friends Louis Napoleon knew he could rely. He has always had attached adherents, who have devoutly followed his fortunes on desperate occasions, and have never failed him in adversity. Such fidelity and devotion, while it reflects honour on them, also indicates rare qualities in the prince, who exercises so powerful an influence over his adherents. His winning, unaffected manners; his calm self-possession; the deliberation and coolness of his judgment; and his firm conviction of his ultimate success, which have borne Louis Napoleon through difficulties apparently insurmountable, have never failed to impress all who have been admitted to his intimacy. He has also obtained the well-merited reputation of never having alienated or forgotten a friend."

The friend who was of most service on this occasion was M. de Morny. He entered into the plan proposed with a full conviction that he was acting the part of a good citizen and an attached friend, and zealously devoted himself to the cause of the prince; indeed, much of its success must be attributed to his admirable arrangements. Throughout he exhibited a calm and indomitable spirit. He was at the Opera Comique on the very night when the storm was to burst forth; but nothing in his appearance or manner indicated that he was harbouring any ulterior designs. It is said, being seated near a lady of high rank, she asked him if the rumour in circulation was true, that it was intended to sweep out the legislative assembly. His prompt reply was—"I trust I shall be near the handle of the broom that is to produce this effect." His tact, his temper, and his moderation may be judged of by the telegraphic despatches which passed, during the tumult of the day, between himself and the Minister of Police. The celebrated Dr. Verron occupied himself for some time in copying these messages as they were transmitted; and the experienced editor of the *Constitutionnel* has enabled the public to judge how rapidly M. de Morny entered into the ideas of the Minister of Police, and how cautiously, yet how vigorously, he answered the hurried and somewhat imprudent communications that he received. Nor must we omit here General (then Major) Fleury, a gallant officer, who had greatly distinguished himself in Africa, upon whose remarkable abilities the prince had the strongest reliance. Then there was M. de Maupas, who had, in the exercise of his authority as *préfet* at Bordeaux, shown qualifications which entitled him to be entrusted with the important office of Minister of Police. Two distinguished men, of high rank in the army, represented the military element. General (afterwards Marshal) St. Arnaud accepted the onerous position; and General (now Marshal) Magnan was appointed to the command of the army at Paris. Such were the conspirators. Now for the conspiracy.

"On the evening of the 1st of December, a gay and fashionable assembly was held at the palace of the Elysée. The prince was present, and was affable as usual. At eleven o'clock the party broke up, and the visitors departed. Then the prince, with his faithful friend and secretary, M. Mocquard, the Count de Morny, M. de Maupas, and General St. Arnaud, entered the private cabinet of the president, to arrange definitely the course of proceeding on the morrow. It was at this meeting that the final orders were issued to the various functionaries by whom the plan of operations was to be carried into effect. Everything had been well and maturely considered; even the minor details had been admirably arranged. To obtain possession of the government press; to arrest some whose evident opposition was most to be dreaded; to prevent the meeting of the legislative body; to distribute the different regiments in commanding positions; to name a new ministry—these were objects of vital importance; and each felt that the failure of one might endanger the success of the rest. Each member of the council felt that on his efficiency rested the lives and fortunes of his associates, and the

complete success of the movement; and each did his best accordingly." Then, as usual, Louis Napoleon was well served.

"Louis Napoleon's first step was to sign the dismissal of the existing ministry; the appointment of the new ministers to their respective offices; and to prepare those energetic proclamations which were read by the astonished Parisians next morning. An active and intelligent officer (Colonel Bévillé) had been selected to carry to the printing-office the decrees that were to be disseminated. These consisted of appeals to the people; orders to the army; and the proclamation of the *préfet* of police. He took them to the national printing-office, where he found that a hundred of the *garde municipale* had, with prudent foresight, been installed, with orders to obey his commands. The director, of course, complied with the injunctions of the *préfet* of police; and the printers were kept at work during the night, under strict surveillance; and, in the morning, Paris was placarded with the president's decrees. As soon as M. de Bévillé had left the room, M. de Morny, M. Maupas, and General St. Arnaud, separated to their several posts, prepared to act simultaneously; and, with the energy and boldness essential to success, the prince retired to rest, and gave orders that he should be called at five o'clock. He betrayed not the slightest emotion; and nothing transpired that could give the household the most remote intimation of what was about to occur." Indeed, says Captain Gronow, "it is a well-known fact, that the domestics were as much surprised the following morning, at learning that a revolution had taken place in Paris, as any other inhabitants of the city; for some of them actually sallied out to inquire of the servants of the English embassy, whether there was any truth in the reports that had reached them from without." We are aware Mr. Kinglake has given quite a different account of what occurred on the eve of the *coup-d'état*; but his eloquent page is too often marred by a personal prejudice, which should find no place in history.

In the difficult matter of the arrests, the conspirators found unexpected success. The Minister of Police, M. de Maupas, instantly summoned all the commissioners of the different *arrondissements* into his cabinet, and signed orders for the arrest of the leading members of the legislative assembly, which were to be carried into effect before the break of day. Strange to say, there was not a word of inquiry, not a sign of hesitation. These functionaries recognised at once the authority under which they were called upon to act, and performed their duties with marvellous promptitude, and with unavailing efficiency. The prisons of Paris received the men who, the day before, were the legislators and governors of France.

It is said that General Changarnier was very nearly being made acquainted with impending events. A young officer, whose regiment was stationed at Courbevoie, had come to Paris for the night. He was awoken by his servant, who told him that his presence was required immediately, as his regiment had been suddenly called out. The officer, surprised at the intelligence, and thinking that he ought to acquaint General Changarnier with the unusual order, went to the general's hôtel; but finding that the porter was slow in opening the door, he abandoned his intention, and went to his quarters, whence he was obliged to accompany his regiment on the following day, to overthrow the authority of General Changarnier and his friends. It seems little delicacy was shown in arresting the most distinguished men of the day. M. de Morny, after playing at "whist" at the Jockey Club, with Colonel Feray and Count Daru, went to the hôtel of the Minister of the Interior at five in the morning, and found the actual possessor of the office enjoying a peaceful slumber, from which he was speedily awakened to find himself superseded. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. Some of the members in vain attempted to assemble and form a house; but they were removed, and imprisoned for the day in the barracks on the Quai d'Orsay; while others were distributed among the neighbouring forts. Never was more energy displayed than on this occasion, and, apparently, under the sanction of law; for the

ministers had their instructions direct from the president of the republic, who, as the executive power, was invested with the authority of arrest and imprisonment. All the different *employés* of government, therefore, whether civil or military, carried out the commands they received without a moment's hesitation, coming, as they did, from the quarter which they were accustomed to regard as being responsible for what they did. In short, everything worked well; and the government was soon completely in the hands of those who had so adroitly planned, and boldly carried out, the *coup-d'état*. The only fear now was of the red republicans, whom, it was known, would be aroused, and be prepared to carry out their aims, no matter at what reckless expenditure of human life.

"Upon the 2nd of December," Captain Gronow writes, "totally unconscious of what was going forward, I left my house, and was somewhat surprised to witness great agitation among the people in the streets, who, for the most part, seemed anxious to return to their homes. I saw various groups reading placards of a large size, upon the walls of every street, that had evidently been posted up by order of government, as they were printed on white paper: for, since the revolution of 1848, all private announcements have, by order of the police, been printed upon coloured paper. Knowing that, at the mayoralty of my *arrondissement*, every authentic document would appear on the *façade*, I hastened thither. Besides, I was anxious to know what was said by the street politicians, who are in the habit of daily visiting the public office, outside which the *Moniteur* is daily affixed. I found two proclamations attracting the eager attention of the readers; one was a *plebiscite*, countersigned 'De Morny,' decreeing that votes should be taken at the different mayoralties, for or against the maintenance of the power of Louis Napoleon: the other emanated from the *préfet du police*, demanding the maintenance of order, and recommending people to remain at home. Little was said by the readers; but in the group I espied a well-known *figaro* of the neighbourhood, who, whilst shaving his customers, usually launched out into politics. He was a staunch Bonapartist; for his father, a soldier, had been raised to the rank of sergeant, in consequence of a brave but ineffectual attempt to rescue Prince Poniatowski from a watery grave, at the battle of Leipsic. I determined to submit my chin to the operation of this worthy during the afternoon, feeling sure that I should hear information from him as to what was the general feeling of his customers. In the meantime I strolled into the Faubourg St. Honore, where a squadron of the 12th regiment of dragoons was stationed before the British embassy; another being drawn up in front of the palace of the Elysée; whilst there was a third doing duty at the garden gate. A few individuals stood gazing on the unusual military display; but not a word was uttered, and they soon passed on. Now and then a carriage drove up to the gate, and, after a scrutiny from the porter, was admitted or rolled away. So far as I could learn, no demonstration of any kind was made that day at the fashionable end of the town; but it was said that the republicans were to have, at ten at night, meetings, to take into consideration the incidents of the day; and that, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the *Barrière du Trône*, and the Faubourg du Temple, cries had been heard of '*Vive la République Sociale!*' and '*À bas le Prétendant!*'"

"After reconnoitring the principal streets, and seeing nothing remarkable beyond the anxiety and curiosity written upon the faces of most persons, and witnessing what is not unusual in the streets of Paris—the marching of several regiments, evidently in high glee—I adjourned to the barber's, and seated myself in his chair. He was in a state of great excitement, and expatiating on the many virtues of Prince Louis Napoleon; with which he had become acquainted from having, on two occasions, dressed the hair of the chambermaid, whose duty it was to lay the fire over-night in the cabinet of the president, which he himself generally lighted at an early hour in the morning. The excellent *soubrette* could never speak in sufficiently high terms of the gentleness and amiable temper of her master; and the worthy barber had caught the infection, deriving his information

from her as to the prince's domestic virtues; and, inheriting his father's admiration of the great Napoleon, he launched out in no measured terms against all who opposed the re-election of the president, though his animosity to the republicans was somewhat restrained by the presence of two doubtful-looking statesmen in blouses, who now and then interrupted him by expressing their faith in General Changarnier. My eloquent friend soon resumed his discourse, anathematising M. Thiers, as having obliged King Louis Philippe to resign, that he himself might become prime minister to the Duchess of Orleans; and hurling strong language against M. Emile Girardin, for abetting Prince Louis Napoleon, the cousin of Prince Louis, in his views of succeeding to the presidentship. He had heard some cries in the streets of '*Vive le Empereur!*' from the military, and they had quite delighted him. Some of the surrounding persons, waiting to have their beards trimmed, differed from the knight of the brush: doubts were expressed of the talents of the prince-president; and there was evidently a republican tendency springing up. But the announcement that the prince, attended by a numerous staff, was passing by, put a stop to the conversation; away every one rushed to see the passing show; and, upon their return, there was a universal opinion expressed that the prince-president looked like a noble soldier, and every inch a king. His gallant bearing had evidently produced a strong impression upon the spectators, the majority of whom, from that moment, were evidently in favour of the change that had taken place."

Indeed, all this time, in contradiction to the story told by those who ought to have known better, the prince was easy of access. Those who were received at the Elysée found him calm, collected, and urbane as usual; and as notes and messages were placed in his hands, he received them with coolness, and quietly read their contents; but never, by his countenance, his gestures, or his words, would the effect or import of these communications be inferred. He addressed all with his customary affability and kindness, and conversed upon various topics. Upon these eventful days the prince maintained his usual equanimity, and was not more grave and silent than usual, nor for an instant did he flinch from possible danger. To M. de Persigny had been entrusted the task of effecting an honourable retreat in case of an adverse turn of circumstances. His duty it would have been, had the day gone against the conspirators, to have collected the household, and to have conducted the prince, with all the troops that were faithful, to the palace of the Tuileries, where the active leaders were determined to make a last stand, and succeed or perish in the attempt. This was the only alternative proposed. No preparations had been made for flight; no horses and carriages kept ready; no money had been sent to foreign countries; and nothing had been packed up to carry off at a moment's notice.

In the streets of Paris, the prince-president, attended by a numerous staff, accompanied by ex-King Jerome and by Count Flahault, was remarkably well received. Shouts of '*Vive le Prince!*' were heard from every regiment as he cantered along the Champs Elysées. He returned at an early hour to the Elysée, where M. de Persigny received him with the intelligence that all steps hitherto taken were successful, and that the military were fully prepared to obey the orders of their superiors. Indeed, so obedient were the sentries to the commands which had been given, that when the president, preparing to leave the garden of the palace, presented himself at the gate, the advanced guard of the 12th regiment, then on duty, would not allow him to pass without giving the countersign. The orderly officers, and the aides-de-camp, gave proof of their courage, zeal, and devotion. At one moment false reports were rife that some of the regiments exhibited an unwillingness to act. General Rollin was summoned, to express his opinion, and explain the state of affairs. He found the prince firm and resolved, and quite ready to take upon himself any personal responsibility for any steps that might be necessary.

Paris, of course, while these things were being done, was in a state of great

alarm and anxiety. The arrest of so many distinguished political personages filled every one with apprehension. In the *cafés* a profound silence was observed; all communications of man to man seemed suddenly to have ceased, and anxiety was depicted on every countenance. The *salons* of the gay world were necessarily closed, as few dared to venture forth in the evening, no one knowing the extent of danger that might be incurred. Were there to be Roman proscriptions? Was the guillotine to be erected once more in the Place de la Concorde? Lists of the prisoners (which, of course, abounded with errors) were eagerly circulated, and surmises were made as to their probable fate. These alarms were perfectly natural, for the real disposition of the prince was, of course, unknown: yet his conduct was of the most conciliatory kind. Indeed, as soon as quietness was re-established, and the influence of the members of the assembly could no longer be of annoyance, every one was liberated, and not a person was in any way interfered with who was willing to submit to the new state of things. Some who menaced the newly-established government were necessarily exiled for a short period, to prevent their entering upon schemes which could only be injurious to society and themselves. But, as soon as possible, a complete amnesty was offered; and those who announced their intention to remain quiet, were at once allowed to return to their homes. Those who were taken with arms in their hands, and had proclaimed the republic, were handed over for trial to the established tribunals; and only those were removed from the country whose characters as disturbers of society had been previously acknowledged. The times demanded sharp measures and prompt action. Democracy, socialism, red republicanism, were to be combated; and success attended the grand attempt. Property and intelligence have been rendered secure; the boldness and energy of one man have crushed dangers to society which were seen to be fast approaching, and which, if not arrested, would have produced anarchy and confusion, and destroyed the peace and prosperity of the nation.

For the legislative assembly little regret was felt. It had never gained or deserved the confidence of the people. Its aim appeared to be to return to the legislation of MM. Molé, Guizot, and Thiers; and its ingratitude to Lamartine was patent to all the world. There were cabals against General Cavaignac; Armand Marrast was unable to control the debates; and the assembly was too often the scene of virulent dispute and indecent insolence. When Victor Hugo attempted to speak he was invariably greeted with bursts of laughter: the taunts and marks of ridicule lashed the orator into a fury; and the more furious his speech and gestures, the more furious the laughter. There had been so many changes in the ministry, that people hardly knew who filled the respective offices. Leon Faucher was almost the only one who enjoyed public confidence; and even he was regarded by a large party with suspicion, for they beheld in him only a warming-pan for the advent to office of M. Thiers, who was supposed to be ready to take advantage of any change, and offer himself as candidate for the presidency of the republic. Rumours were widely circulated that a *coup-d'état* was preparing on the part of the assembly; and many of its acts seemed to support such an idea. The protests and appeals to the country, made by some few members on the morning of the 2nd of December, were received with apathy, and elicited no exhibition of feeling on their behalf; for when, at the *mairie*, arrests took place, no rescue was dreamt of—the spectators gazed on quietly, and were perfectly indifferent to the consequences.

However, there was an armed resistance. Slight barricades were formed in some of the streets; but the people took little interest in these manifestations on the first day. On the 3rd of December greater resistance was offered. Evidently M. de Maupas received exaggerated reports from his *employés*, which he somewhat hastily communicated to the Minister of the Interior; and these, unfortunately, led to the decisive and energetic course taken on the 4th of December. M. de Maupas, unaccustomed to the amplifications of the police agents, was alarmed by false

reports. He actually communicated a telegram, announcing that the Prince de Joinville had disembarked at Cherbourg; and that other princes of the House of Orleans had arrived at different parts of France. He also believed that the same opponents were in the field as those who had fought against Cavaignac, and that they were fighting at the barricades with determination; that Ledru Rollin, and a whole army of red republicans, had reached Paris from Rouen: in short, upon reading carefully the telegraphic despatches, the only conclusion that can be arrived at is, that the fears of M. de Maupas, and not the orders issued from the Elysée, were the principal cause of the fatal 4th of December. Even at the end of the fatal day, when everybody was regretting what had occurred, the frightened Minister of Police begs that the troops should guard him; that they should not be allowed to enter their barracks; and at half-past five on that 4th of December, he announces new barricades, and states that fresh insurgents are coming up by the railroad. It is impossible to read the bulletins which passed on this occasion, without arriving at the conclusion that M. de Morny, in obedience to the wishes of the prince-president, acted with forbearance and lenity; that had he listened to the fears of the Minister of Police, the occurrences would have been of a much more fearful character. Even when this zealous chief of an active department pointed out to M. de Morny where Victor Hugo was concealed, and wished to make an examination of the house, the answer was, "*Ne faites rien.*" Captain Gronow admits that the 4th of December was a melancholy day for France; but he argues that it is neither just nor honest to attribute the lamentable events which then occurred to cold-heartedness on the part of Louis Napoleon. He says—"No man more deeply deplored them; and, where the opportunity offered, he gave what indemnity he could to the families of those who suffered. There are young persons who lost their parents on that day, who have been educated at his expense, the cost being defrayed out of his private purse; and I know, myself, one instance in which the children have had a regular quarterly stipend paid to them from their infancy, and which is continued to this day."

Well might Louis Napoleon regret the terrible events of the day. An English officer, from a window of the Boulevard Montmatre, was a personal witness of the scene that took place in the street beneath him, where many persons fell victims to the fire of the soldiery. He declares, that the infantry, quartered in subdivisions, suddenly fired, not only upon the men, women, and children upon the footpath, but at the windows above them, and with sad results: volley succeeded to volley; and it was evident that a panic had taken possession of the minds of the soldiery. Their officers had given no commands; for they were quietly smoking their cigars when the firing began.

In extenuation of this atrocity, it is said that the windows of the houses had, on former occasions, been filled by insurgents, who fired upon the troops, when the soldiers suffered so severely as to be under the necessity of watching for concealed foes; and had been obliged to rush into a house, with the hope of dragging forth their enemies. In 1848, in the Rue Castiglione, two soldiers were killed by shots from the third storey of a house, whilst a lady was quietly standing on the balcony above. The soldiery, too, remembered that, in the days of Louis Philippe, from a window of a house upon one of the boulevards, a deadly volley was discharged, by which many military were killed; among them Marshal Mortier, as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword for his country. It is confessed that a great deal of irritation existed among the military, from the recollection of what had occurred during the revolution in 1848, when they were most shamefully treated. They recollected the carnage, and the burning alive of the brave men in the guard-house before the Palais Royal. They bore in mind the treachery which some of their comrades experienced in the Champs Elysées; and there existed amongst them a strong feeling against the Parisians in general; and thus they hastened to baptize, in blood and shame, the second empire. Truly the excuse is a very sorry one.

Captain Gronow shall tell us what he saw. "I happened," he writes, "on that day to pay a visit, in company with my friend Mr. Paget, of the British embassy, to my banker, in the Rue Basse du Rampart. M. Charles Lafitte then gave us to understand that orders had been given to the military to act with great moderation; but if there existed the slightest disposition to riot, they were to take the bull by the horns, and to destroy all barricades with cannon. During our short interview the bugles were heard close at hand; the windows were opened, and we took up a position on the balcony, whence we saw marching, in good military order, and at double-quick time, the chasseurs of Vincennes. M. Lafitte, without anticipating what was about to occur, said good-naturedly, 'If you wish to see the fun you had better follow the troops; for I am confident, from the information I have this moment received, that they are bent on mischief.'

"Mr. Paget and I then bent our steps towards the Rue Richelieu, where the rattling of musketry was distinctly heard. My friend left for the British embassy; saying that, as a diplomatist, his place was in the Faubourg St. Honore, and not upon the boulevards. Immediately afterwards, a brigade of Lancers, commanded by Colonels Feray and Rochefort, arrived opposite the spot where I had placed myself, at the angle of the Rue Grange Batelière and the boulevards. A considerable crowd had there collected; and such was their hostile attitude, and so loud their vociferations, that I was convinced the Lancers would not long remain inactive, especially if the slightest insult were offered them. From among these persons thus collected came a pistol-ball with a loud detonation, and a soldier was wounded. Colonel Rochefort immediately charged at the head of his regiment. The consequence was, that several of the crowd were severely wounded, and a bad feeling sprang up amongst the soldiery. I thought it prudent to quit this scene, and return to my home, which I did with considerable difficulty.

"Certainly all that occurred was of a nature to excite uneasiness and alarm; but that it was seen with frenzied horror by thousands of French men and women, is an absurd exaggeration. The upper classes of Paris were, no doubt, exceedingly angry and irritated, because, during every *émeute* in the metropolis, the boulevards on the Madeleine side of the Rue Richelieu always continued to be the resort of the *flâneur*, and had escaped the slaughter consequent on the erection of barricades; and they went there attracted by the pomp and circumstance of war, and thought themselves safe; for they looked upon the soldiers as their national defenders against insurgents, and they were maddened at the idea of the slaughter of unarmed slaughterers, who had gone out, as it were, under the shield of the military to see what was going forward."

It is to be believed that things were not so bad as exaggerated by popular rumour; but in all conscience they were bad enough. The occurrences of that day undoubtedly struck a terror into the hearts of the people of Paris, which, as Captain Gronow admits, will never be obliterated; and they certainly have tended to affect the popularity of the Emperor Napoleon in the capital, more especially as his political adversaries have never failed to throw upon him the responsibility of events over which he had no control. There was no wanton massacre of the people, as has been asserted; there were sad mistakes; and people ran into danger, notwithstanding the warnings that were distributed everywhere; for placards were upon the walls in every direction, entreating every one to stay at home. There were insurgents; there were barricades; there was firing upon the soldiers; there was, therefore, a necessity for martial law to be enforced: but the emperor is not justly chargeable with the wild excesses of the soldiery.

"The Parisians," continues Captain Gronow, "even at the height of their excitement, did not hold the prince-president responsible for these deplorable consequences; neither had he the least apprehension of being the object of vindictive feelings. So far from entertaining any personal fear, his calm self-possession was never more prominent than during these eventful days. I will only mention one corroborative circumstance in proof of this.

"On the fourth night after the *coup-d'état*, my daughter and myself were present at a ball, given by the Duchess of Hamilton in honour of the prince-president, at the Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme. At ten o'clock precisely the president entered the ball-room, accompanied only by Count Bacciochi, when a quadrille was formed. The prince appeared perfectly cool and collected. He conversed with a great many persons; but more particularly with Lord Cowley, who had only arrived in Paris that morning to fill his post of British ambassador. The instant the clock struck twelve, Count Bacciochi said, in a low whisper, that the prince's carriage was ready, whereupon the Duke of Hamilton, taking two wax candles, conducted his imperial guest down-stairs, and handed him into his plain brougham. On the return of the duke to the ball-room, he observed to several friends who had collected around him, 'How extraordinary; there were neither military nor police in the court-yard of the hôtel to protect the president in case of danger.' In fact, the prince returned at midnight, without an escort, to the Elysée, in a one-horse brougham." So much for the *coup-d'état*, the speedy recognition of which was so hurtful to the feelings of Lord John Russell.

It was not long before Lord Palmerston had his revenge. As usual, Lord John Russell was not strong enough for his place. A Reform Bill was introduced by the Premier. It was, and is, his infallible receipt for securing or reviving popularity. The outline of the scheme was a reduction of the borough franchise to £5 rateable value; and in the counties, a £20 franchise. Lord John further thought it right to reduce the qualifications derived from copyholds and long leases, from £10 to £5; and to give the county franchise to persons paying 40s. a year to the assessed taxes. In the case of boroughs having fewer than 500 voters, it was proposed to add to them the inhabitants of neighbouring places. With respect to the qualification of members, Lord John introduced a clause repealing all the acts of Anne, by which qualifications were required. The oaths taken at the table of the House, it appeared to him, were such as could not consistently be retained. The bill proposed to alter them, and to omit in one of them the words, "on the true faith of a Christian." The bill, moreover, provided, that upon the changing of offices held under the crown, vacation of seat and re-election should not be required. As regards Ireland and Scotland, some slight alterations were proposed. Having stated the outline of his plan, his lordship said that he trusted, when the enlarged franchise was given, that the next step the House would see the government of the country taking, would be to deal with the great question of the education of the people. He was convinced that, after a measure of this kind was carried, it would be the duty of the House to consider the means of adopting a really national system of education; and, in doing so, he was sure they would be conferring upon the country and the people one of the greatest blessings that could possibly be conceived. The measure was favourably received by the House; but, alas! before it came to a second reading, Lord Palmerston had triumphed, and the Russell administration was no more.

It came to pass thus—A call had been made on the government to strengthen the defences of the country; and, on the 16th of February, Lord John Russell unfolded the ministerial scheme upon the subject. Its leading features were as follows:—In 1808 and 1812, the local militia were balloted for in the same manner as the regular militia, by a long and expensive process; and, when chosen, were assembled and trained for twenty-eight days in the year. They were balloted from all persons between eighteen and thirty years of age; and they were commanded by persons appointed by the lord-lieutenant, having certain qualifications in respect to property. With regard to the officers, his lordship proposed that two-thirds should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant; and one field-officer, and one-third of the captains, by the crown, so that the regiments might have the benefit of the experience of half-pay officers available for this service, and who must be of great use in assisting the officers appointed by the lord-lieutenant. The age at which persons were to be balloted for, was from twenty to twenty-three

at first; and, in subsequent years, they were to be only of the age of twenty-one. Thus his lordship anticipated at once a force of 80,000; and, subsequently, of 30,000. It was further proposed that any man from twenty to thirty years of age might volunteer to serve in the local militia, and that so far as these volunteers supply the requisite number, the balloting should not take place. It was likewise proposed, that the volunteers thus placed in the local militia should serve one year less than the balloted men. It was proposed that the latter should serve for four years, but that they might, by order in council, be required to serve six months longer; and in case of parliament, by an address to the crown, requiring their services still further, another period of six months might be added—making twelve months altogether—in times of danger. Mr. Cobden, of course, strongly protested against the measure.

Lord Palmerston felt satisfaction at finding ministers were disposed to improve the defences of the country; but that satisfaction did not arise from a belief that there was greater danger of war than there had been at any former period. So far back as 1846, he had pressed upon the cabinet a proposal for improving the defences of the country. It was easy to object to meddling in quarrels abroad; but we had engagements of long standing, and political interests beyond the limit of our own shores. France was talked of as our only enemy; but France was not the only nation with a powerful fleet and army. Our insular position, the cause of so much of our strength, was also the cause of so much of our weakness. No one could say upon what part of our coast invasion might come. He believed that the navy was now more efficient than ever, and that we had a most valuable collection of stores; but was that a reason for allowing an enemy to burn these stores, and cripple the navy? An invasion was rendered less probable in proportion as we were prepared to meet it. He thought Lord John Russell's plan complicated, and considered the regular militia system would have been preferable. He suggested to government the leaving out the word "local," and to bring in a bill for amending the Militia Acts, which, doubtless, required amendment.

The resolution was carried, and referred to a committee. Their report was brought up on the 20th, when Lord Palmerston moved an amendment, of which he had given notice. He considered the improvements in steam navigation rendered it necessary for the country to be more prepared for the sudden breaking out of war than formerly. Such an emergency ought to be provided for in time of peace. The local militia proposed, would not, in his judgment, be sufficient. Such a force could not be rendered available in a moment; and if they adopted the plan of the government, it might happen that they would have to lock the stable door after the steed was stolen. The militia force ought to be movable, and liable to be sent to any part of the country—even to Scotland and Ireland—to resist invasion. But, said the noble lord at the head of the government, our militia, though local in name, will not be local in character. If that were so, why call it local at all? But, in addition to the local militia of 200,000 men, provision was to be made for augmenting the regular army; and, in case of war, the country would be exposed to the difficulty of balloting for some 80,000 or 90,000 men, to form an effective militia force to assist the army. Now it would be better, in his opinion, to have a general militia established in time of peace, which should be rendered so effectual in order and discipline, that it could be available almost at a moment's notice. A local militia was nothing less than a regular militia; and if the House wished to protect the country against invasion, they should establish a militia force which should be liable to be called out at any moment, and to serve in any part of the kingdom where their assistance might be required. All the arguments he had ever heard urged against a regular militia, were tantamount to saying that Englishmen were cheats, Scotchmen cowards, and Irishmen traitors. He had, however, not such a low estimate of the character of his countrymen. They would trust no one to defend the land but themselves; and he therefore hoped the House would have no hesitation in adopting his motion—namely, to insert after the word

"amend," the words "and consolidate;" and to omit the word "local" before the word "militia." On a division, there appeared for the amendment, 136; against it, 125. Such a defeat Lord John Russell considered fatal to his administration. Immediately after the announcement of the numbers, his lordship said he considered the vote of the House tantamount to a refusal, on its part, to the government to bring in the bill. He could not be responsible for any measure upon this subject which would contain clauses and provisions other than those which he should have introduced. He therefore relieved himself from every responsibility with respect to this resolution. Any other person might undertake to bring in a bill upon the subject, but he would not. Lord Palmerston expressed surprise that the noble lord should shrink from the discharge of his public duty, particularly as he had undertaken to bring in a bill upon this matter, after due and long deliberation. It was unworthy of a minister in the noble lord's position to abandon a measure of this sort because the House of Commons had expressed an opinion that its principle ought to be of an extended character. Lord John Russell insisted that he was perfectly justified in the course he had undertaken. The House had expressed a want of confidence in the government measure, and he had, therefore, no alternative but to give it up. He should then move that Mr. Bernal and Lord Palmerston do bring in the bill.

This was an announcement that created great excitement. All this occurred on a Friday. On the following Monday, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, and Lord John Russell in the Commons, declared that ministers had resigned, and that the Earl of Derby had been sent for. His lordship was not long in the execution of his task; and it was soon known that the following appointments had been made:—First Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli; Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden; Lord President, the Earl of Lonsdale; Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the cabinet, the Marquis of Salisbury: Secretaries of State—Home, Mr. Walpole; Foreign, the Earl of Malmesbury, Colonial, Sir John Pakington: First Lord of the Admiralty, Duke of Northumberland; Lords of the Admiralty—Rear-Admiral H. Parker, Rear-Admiral P. Hornby, Commodore Sir T. Herbert, Captain Milne: President of the Board of Control, Mr. Herries; Secretary of the Board of Control, Mr. Cummin Bruce; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Henley; Postmaster-general, the Earl of Hardwicke; Secretary at War, Mr. Beresford; Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Lord Colchester; Woods and Forests, Lord John Manners; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Christopher; Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Wellington; Master-general of the Ordnance, Lord Hardinge; Attorney-general, Sir Frederick Thesiger; Solicitor-general, Sir Fitzroy Kelly; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Eglintoun; Secretary for Ireland, Lord Naas; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Chief Justice Blackburne; Attorney-general for Ireland, Mr. Napier; Solicitor-general for Ireland, Mr. Whiteside; Lords of the Treasury—Marquis of Chandos, Lord Henry Lennox, Mr. Bateson, Mr. John Neald; Under-Secretaries of State—Home, Sir W. Joliffe; Foreign, Lord Stanley; Colonial, Lord Desart; Judge-Advocate, Mr. Bankes; Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Stafford; Chief Commissioner of the Poor-Law Board, Sir John Trollope; Secretary of the Poor-Law Board, Sir Emerson Tennent; Secretary of the India Board, Mr. Henry Baillie; Joint Secretaries of the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Forbes M'Kenzie. Great amusement was excited in Liberal circles by the announcement of the new ministry. The Whigs had been in office so long, they believed no one could rule but themselves. They had no faith in the new measures and the new men.

On the 27th, Lord Derby submitted to the House the policy of the new cabinet. On general subjects his lordship's statement was satisfactory: on the vexed question of protection, the announcement made was quite the reverse. In every quarter, the opponents of the new government industriously proclaimed

that the Earl of Derby was pledged to fight the battle of protection; but his strongest supporters, gravely as they might object to the free importation of foreign corn, had no wish, at that moment, to reopen the question. They prudently declined to enter upon a struggle in which they had no chance of success.

The ministry had enormous difficulties to contend with from the first. Before them was a united opposition, panting for their overthrow. On the 11th of March, a meeting was held at Lord John Russell's house, Chesham Place, which was largely attended by those who professed Liberal principles. Here his lordship reviewed the state of parties, and animadverted with severity on the policy of the Derby administration. It appeared to him that they wished to gain favour with the nation for promoting law and other reforms, which they had not heretofore countenanced; and then, by dissolving parliament, they hoped to impose on the country their real policy. His lordship recommended the Liberals to oppose this; and, for the present, to stand firm on the free-trade question. His lordship mentioned, that he had consulted Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden, and they thought it would be desirable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be called on, early in the ensuing week, to explain the principle on which he was disposed to act; and this, it was probable, would lead to a free-trade debate. Lord John Russell intimated, that, for the present, it would be well to postpone the Reform Bill; and expressed his belief that a Liberal government might speedily be constructed on broad constitutional principles. The views of his lordship were generally acquiesced in; and it was determined that all the strength of the party should be directed against the opponents of free trade.

Accordingly questions were asked in the Lords by Lord Beaumont, and in the House of Commons by Mr. Villiers. In his speech, the latter gentleman said, the government ought to be prepared to inform the country in what manner they proposed to carry out the policy with which they were identified. Mr. Villiers having read a portion of a speech delivered by Lord Derby the previous year, in which the latter used, in reference to the free-trade party, the words "Up guards, and at them," demanded in what way the onslaught thus promised to the protectionists was to be made. He did not believe that the nation would part with the invaluable principles it had acquired within the last few years; but, at all events, it should not do so without warning. Upon these grounds, he called upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to come forward, and make a manly and candid declaration of the intentions of government as regarded a future protection policy. Mr. Disraeli said, what he asked, was not fair play for the government, but fair play for the country. As inquiry had been made respecting the principles of the government, he begged to ask upon what principles the opposition was carried on. Information on this point was desirable, as Lord John Russell, within a fortnight, having declared that a dissolution was inexpedient, and advised the queen to send for Lord Derby, had formed a new opposition, with the view of forcing Lord Derby to do what he (Lord John Russell) had declared to be inexpedient. He proceeded to say that the government believed that injustice had been done the agricultural interest, which they would seek to remedy; but they were not pledged to any particular measure. He would not, for the sake of avoiding any blustering in the country, state that he would advocate a five-shilling duty, nor would he promise to impose any fixed duty at all. What he intended to do, was to redress the just grievances of the agricultural interests. To this speech, Lord John Russell replied, that he thought he had clearly stated the reasons which induced him to resign. But he would re-state them. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had asserted that they took office only that her majesty might not be without a government. The fact was, that, for years, that party had been unscrupulously endeavouring to overturn the late government. They had a notice of motion on the books, which, if carried, would amount to a vote of want of confidence; and yet they pretended that they had been called to office for no other reason than because they were the recognised opposition. He had actually felt that, under the recent system adopted

by them, he should be worried out, if he were not driven out, of office. Their false pretence, moreover, was quite unnecessary; for, as a party, they were fully entitled to claim the position they occupied; and Mr. Disraeli's talents gave him a right to the leadership he had attained. But if he (Lord John Russell) had felt it improper for him to hold office with an uncertain majority, he considered it most unconstitutional for the present government to hold it with a decided minority. The opposition renewed their attacks, and were especially angry that government did not immediately dissolve. Mr. Bernal Osborne blamed the late minister for surrendering the reins of government; and, still more, for advising her majesty to send for the Earl of Derby. To him, it appeared, that ministers were going to bamboozle the public with the game of thimble-rigging, at which Lord Derby would preside at the table with his pea; whilst the country gentleman, his smock-frock friend, stood by as his adviser. The noble earl wanted to ride a waiting-race; but he hoped the country would make ministers show their mettle at once. Mr. Cobden thought the country might as well be governed by a dictatorship, as to have a minority of that House overrule a majority; and he called on that majority to give such a vote as would compel a prompt and decisive appeal to the country. The supporters of ministers denied the right of the opposition to dictate a period at which a dissolution should take place. Again Lord John Russell declared ministers were acting injudiciously and unconstitutionally. All he wanted was, that the government should propose some decisive policy, upon which the sense of the country might be taken at a general election. It was his impression that the country would not again tolerate a corn-law; that the people would never consent to any plan for taxing the poor man's food; nor would they long tolerate a tax upon tea or soap; for the time was approaching when ministers would be called upon to extend the system of direct taxation.

Meanwhile ministers pursued the even tenor of their way. The time had come to legislate on Indian affairs, and Mr. Herries moved for a select committee on the subject. The changes in 1833, in abating the exclusive rights and privileges of the East India Company, had produced very satisfactory results, not merely as regards the revenue, but in contributing to the well-being of the people.

In the Court of Exchequer, the case of Mr. Alderman Salomans was disposed of. The alderman was a Jew. He had been returned to parliament for Greenwich; but he was prevented taking his seat by an oath which required him to swear on the true faith of a Christian. The proceedings took the shape of an action, to recover penalties alleged to be forfeited by the defendant, by reason of his having voted in the House of Commons without having taken the oath of abjuration. Judgment was for the plaintiff. It appeared that the defendant, by trying the question, had rendered himself liable to very serious consequences. A member voting without having previously taken the oath required, besides incurring a fine of £500 for every vote so given, was disqualified from maintaining an action at common law, or a suit in equity. Any property belonging to him, in the possession of another, might be withheld from him; and any property in his own possession might be taken from him with impunity. No court of law—no influence of government—nothing but the intervention of parliament, could give him redress. Moreover, a person in his position could not act as guardian to an infant, however important it might be, in a moral or physical point of view, that the infant should enjoy his care, attention, and protection. He could not receive a legacy from any deceased friend, or from any other person; he could not receive a deed of gift of any property whatever; he could not be either the executor or administrator of any person; and he was rendered incapable of holding any office, or giving a vote at any election. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the House to these disqualifications. He complained of them as excessively severe, and obtained leave to bring in a bill for their repeal.

Again the subject of the national defences came up for consideration. Mr. Walpole, on the 29th of March, moved for a bill to amend and consolidate the laws

respecting the militia. The plan of the government was, to raise 40,000 men in the first year, and 30,000 in the second. Bounties were to be offered of three or four pounds. There was to be twenty-one days' training, which the crown might reduce to three days, or extend to seven weeks. The expense was estimated at £240,000; but, in the first year, equipment and clothing would make it £400,000. The measure was opposed by Lord John Russell, and defended by Lord Palmerston, who considered that the defences of the country ought to be strengthened. That was rendered necessary by the altered circumstances of the times. He supported the bill, considering that 80,000 men, partially trained and equipped, that could be called out in ten days, would be a more valuable addition to the military power of the country, than an addition of 8,000 men to the army. After two nights' debate, the second reading was carried by 315 to 165. Still the opposition was fierce and determined. It was not till June the 7th that it passed the Commons. In the Lords it was supported by the Duke of Wellington, who spoke on it almost for the last time in public.

The new Chancellor of the Exchequer was also successful with his budget; in reality it was that of the late government. There had not been time for Mr. Disraeli to make official inquiries, which were necessary in order to enable him to produce a financial scheme of his own; and he was therefore compelled, for the present, not to deviate widely from the tracks marked out by his predecessor. Mr. Disraeli stated, that the total estimate for the year would be £51,163,979. He added, that the ministry deemed it right to denounce, as most pernicious to all classes of the country, a systematic reduction of indirect taxation, while, at the same time, the House levied the direct taxation upon a very limited class. The government would not have shrunk from undertaking the laborious duty of examining the whole financial system accordingly; but he asked the House whether it was possible for them now to undertake a duty which demanded so much labour, and research, and time, which he was sure no member of the government had yet been able to command? It would have been more agreeable to him to have relieved the industry of the country, and to have adjusted the taxation fairly, upon right and equitable principles; but that was not now in his power. He trusted that the House would give him every facility for carrying into a law a measure for continuing, for the limited period of one year, the present property and income-tax.

A new dispute occurred this year with the United States. The North American colonies of England complained that their fishing-grounds were injuriously trespassed upon by American citizens. Sir John Pakington, the English Colonial Secretary, replied to the parties aggrieved, that ministers were desirous of removing all grounds of complaint on the part of colonists, in consequence of the encroachments of the fishing-vessels of the United States upon waters from which they had been excluded by the convention of 1818; and, he added, it was intended, as soon as possible, to despatch a small naval force of steamers, or other vessels, to enforce the observance of that convention. In America, stimulated by the Irish party, and by the eloquence of Daniel Webster, a very angry feeling was aroused and sustained. Just at this time, also, Thomas Meagher, who had forfeited his word of honour and escaped from exile, arrived at New York, where he was received with great honours, as the intrepid champion of freedom. Addresses and dinners were heaped upon him, as if he had been an illustrious sufferer, and a personage of some importance. His entertainers, however, were not the true American people, but, for the most part, the citizens imported from Ireland. He acknowledged their kindness by copious abuse of England and the she-tyrant, as he called Queen Victoria, to whose clemency he owed his life.

In France there were great changes. The hero of the *coup-d'état* was preparing his way for the restoration of the empire. With this view, he lost no time in preparing a new constitution. A senate and a legislative body were appointed: the number of the former was not to exceed 150; and the first year it

was limited to eighty. The senators were appointed for life; their functions were gratuitous. They were to be cardinals, admirals, and marshals, and citizens whom the president might think it proper to raise to the dignity of senators. The president might reward a senator with a dotation not exceeding 30,000 francs per annum. The legislative body, taking population for its basis, was to comprehend one deputy for every 35,000 electors: they were to have no salaries; and were to retain the distinction during six years. The government of France was, by this instrument, placed in the hands of Louis Napoleon, who, by his legislative talent, by his marriage with the beautiful empress, and by the birth of his son, has done much to secure and perpetuate imperial power.

In the autumn of this year, England was saddened by learning that her illustrious hero was no more: on the 14th of September his death was announced. Notwithstanding his great age, the state of his health, up to the morning of his decease, had not been such as to give warning of the result; and none of those around him entertained any apprehension of the change that was fast approaching. On the previous day, the duke rose, to all appearance, in his usual good health; and, after dining heartily, he retired to rest, apparently quite well. The next morning his grace felt unwell, and the medical man was sent for, who found him suffering, apparently, from indigestion. The fatal attack commenced soon after, and by three in the afternoon he was dead. His grace had reached the advanced age of eighty-three, having been born in 1769—the same year which witnessed the birth of William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte.

Parliament met in November; and the first thing done was to express, in fitting phrases, the sense the nation entertained of its loss. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, on the occasion of the address on the queen's speech being voted, was the first to refer to the mournful theme. He said—"I stand in somewhat of a peculiar situation before your lordships, addressing you on this subject, because it may not be known to the greater number of your lordships—indeed, there are not now many alive to recollect it—that the individual who has now the honour to address you, some forty-seven years ago, in his place in the other House of parliament, when young in his parliamentary life, was permitted and authorised, by his colleagues of that time, to call on that other House to do justice to the memory, and to provide for the family, of one of the greatest heroes that ever lived, and with whom alone (in the military annals of the country), the noble duke, now no more, could be compared. It was, my lords, in the year 1807, at a time of great difficulty, and a great crisis in the military affairs of the country, that the nation was compelled, by a stroke of fate, to lose the services of the greatest admiral that ever distinguished England, and who then fell in the arms of victory:—

“ ‘ Fallen from his high estate,
And weltering in his blood.’

“There was but one unanimous feeling on the subject. But when I addressed the House of Commons on it, I was but imperfectly aware—those whom I addressed were, also, but imperfectly aware—that, at the very moment when that great man had raised the navy to the highest pinnacle of perfection and glory, there was rising in the far east another man, destined to perform the same great service by the army of this country, and raise it, by efforts continually directed to that end, by the most unremitting study, the most untiring efforts, and the greatest practical skill, to a position in which it afterwards asserted the dignity of this country throughout the world; and established that high character which, thank God, the British army, under his powerful administration, as well as under his military career, has never forfeited. Such were the characters of two illustrious men; differing from each other, undoubtedly, as men do often in particular points of their character, but resembling each other in all that was great and excellent, directing their attention to one great object—not indifferent either of them, undoubtedly (as

who is indifferent?) to the praise of others, but never allowing that praise to divert them one moment from the service of their country; but making the honour of the crown, and the safety of the people, the sole objects of that unconquerable energy which regulated them in all the paths of duty. My lords, I feel proud—any man may feel proud—of having lived with such contemporaries." Other speakers followed in a similar strain. In the House of Commons the same feeling was also manifested.

In a few days the subject was resumed; when, in answer to the message from the queen, both Houses voted a public funeral to the hero of Waterloo. Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to propose the vote in the Commons; and, in his studied panegyric, there were some palpable and perfectly unaccountable plagiarisms, from an oration pronounced by M. Thiers, or Marshal St. Cyr, in 1848. In conclusion, Mr. Disraeli said—"Sir, when we take into account the prolonged and illustrious life of the Duke of Wellington, we are surprised how small a section of it is occupied by that military career which fills so large a space in history. Only eight years elapsed from Vimiera to Waterloo: and from the date of his first commission to the last cannon-shot which he heard on the field of battle, scarce twenty years can be counted. After all his military triumphs, the greatest and most successful of warriors—if not in the prime, at least in the perfection of manhood—commenced a civil career, scarcely less successful, scarcely less splendid, than that military one which will live for ever in the memory of men. He was thrice the ambassador of his sovereign at those great military congresses that settled the affairs of Europe; twice was he Secretary of State; twice was he Commander-in-Chief of the forces; once he was Prime Minister of England; and, to the last hour of his life, he may be said to have laboured for his country. It was only a few months before we lost him, that he favoured with his counsel and assistance the present advisers of the crown, respecting that war in the East, of which no one could be so competent a judge; and he drew up his views on that subject in a state paper, characterised by all his sagacity and experience: and, indeed, when he died, he died still the active chieftain of that famous army, to which he has left the tradition of his glory."

The body of the dead hero was brought to London, and laid in state in Chelsea Hospital, where the crowd was so great, in consequence, that many lives were lost. On the 18th of November, with fitting pomp, he was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. In his ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington, Tennyson, our poet-laureate, said—

"Bury the great duke
With an empire's lamentation.
Let us bury the great duke
To the noise of the mourning of a mighty nation.
Mourning when their leaders fall,
Warriors carry the warrior's pall,
And sorrow darkens hamlet and hall."

Thus was it, in all England, in the sad and dull November of 1852. Most truly might—

"The mournful, martial music blow;
The last great Englishman is low."

But we must hasten on to chronicle the fall of the Derby-Disraeli administration. They had been more successful than was at first anticipated. They had survived the free-trade debate, inaugurated by Mr. Villiers; and had preserved peace with France by the recognition of the empire which Louis Napoleon had restored: but the rock a-head was their financial scheme; and on that rock they were wrecked.

On the 3rd of December, Mr. Disraeli unfolded his expected theme, which was to conciliate and reconcile alike the free-traders and the friends of protection to native industry. It took him five hours to explain and enforce his scheme. His

proposals were—to relieve the shipping interest, to promote the production of colonial sugar, and agricultural interests at home. The duties on malt and hops were to be materially reduced. As, by the proffered remission of duties, there would be a loss to the revenue of between three and four million pounds, and as the property and income-tax, yielding more than five millions of pounds, was about to expire, Mr. Disraeli proposed to extend it to Ireland. Ministers were also prepared to make a distinction between permanent and precarious incomes. On all industrial incomes, they recommended that the point of exemption should be limited to £100 a year; and on incomes arising from property, to £50. Again—that the rates on schedules A and C should be, as before, 7*d.* in the pound; on B, D, and E, 3½*d.* They took the estimate on the profits of farmers, not at one-half the rent, as heretofore, but at one-third; and the consequence would be, that, with the reduction of the duty, the farmers would pay £156,000, exactly one-half of what they paid under the existing rate. The total amount, including the modest sum of £60,000 for Ireland, he calculated at £5,421,000. The right honourable gentleman next referred to the naval estimates, which it was proposed to increase, though without any reference to the question of peace or war. He then touched on the subject of administrative reform—a direction in which he conceived that considerable retrenchment was practicable, without in the least impairing the efficiency of the public service. The government hoped to effect some valuable results in that quarter. They also contemplated bringing the entire revenue of the country under the control of parliament, and terminating the exchequer law commission. He advocated the impost of a house-tax, and suggested that its basis be extended to houses rated at not less than £10 a year. It was soon evident that, with such a merciless critic as Mr. Gladstone, the budget had no chance. It was debated four nights. The division was—ayes, 286; noes, 305: thus giving a majority, against the government, of 19. The result was, that, on the next evening, ministers announced that they had resigned; that the Earl of Aberdeen had been sent for, to form a government; and that the Derby-Disraeli administration had ceased to exist.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY.

ON the 27th of December Lord Aberdeen met parliament, and delivered a programme more liberal than had been expected from his antecedents. As the head of the Peelites, he had succeeded in forming a coalition ministry, which appeared to possess the elements of durability and strength. His colleagues were—Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary; the Earl of Clarendon, Foreign Secretary; Colonial, the Duke of Newcastle; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Granville, President of the Council; the Duke of Argyle, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; Sir C. Wood, President of the Board of Control; First Commissioner of Public Works, Sir W. Molesworth; leader of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell. The Marquis of Lansdowne also had a seat in the cabinet, without office. An abler administration certainly had not been seen in England for some time past.

Let us glance at some of the leading characters. Of Lord Aberdeen we have already spoken. He was a man to whose wisdom justice was rarely done, as he was slow of speech, and with difficulty aroused. Mr. Kinglake writes—"Lord Aberdeen's hatred of war was so honestly and piously entertained, and was, at the same time, so excessive and self-defeating, that, in one point of view, it had the

character of a virtue; and, in another, it was more like a disease. His feelings, no less than his opinions, turned him against all war; but against a war with Russia he was biassed by the impressions of his early life, by the relations of mutual esteem which had long subsisted between the Emperor Nicholas and himself, and, perhaps, by a dim foresight of the perils which might be brought upon Europe by a forcible breaking-up of the ties established by the congress of Vienna, and riveted by the peace of Paris. In an early stage of the dispute, he resolved that he would not remain at the head of government unless he could maintain peace; and he anxiously sought to choose a moment for making his stand against the further progress towards war. Far from wishing to prolong his power, he was always labouring to make out when, and on what ground, he could lay down the burden which oppressed him. Every day he passed his sure hour and a-half in the Foreign Office, and came away more and more anxious, perhaps, but without growing more clear-sighted. If he could ever have found the point where the road to peace diverged from the road to war, he would instantly have declared for peace; and, failing to carry the government with him, would have joyfully resigned office, and, for his deliverance, would have offered up thanksgiving to Heaven. But his intellect, though not without high quality in it, was deficient in clearness and force. In troubled times it did not yield him light enough to walk by; and it had not the propelling power which was needed for pushing him into opportune action. In politics, though not in matters of faith, he wanted the sacred impulse, which his kirk is accustomed to call the word of quickening."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as we have already said, is Sir Robert Peel's most distinguished disciple, William Ewart Gladstone. Born in 1809, at Liverpool, where his father was a wealthy merchant, he was educated at Eton, and at Christchurch College, Oxford. After the completion of his academical studies, he passed a short time in continental travel. He entered parliament in 1832, as the representative of Newark, then under the patronage of the anti-reform Duke of Newcastle. His mercantile origin, college successes, and remarkable business habits, are said to have recalled to old members of the House the early career of Sir Robert Peel: and Sir Robert himself was not slow to discover and appreciate the value of this new and important recruit to the Conservative ranks; for, on his accession to the premiership, after the dissolution of parliament in 1835, he appointed him, successively, a Lord of the Treasury, and then Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Mr. Gladstone returned, in the spring of that year, with his party to the opposition benches until September, 1841, when he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a Privy Councillor; and on him it devolved to explain and defend, in the House of Commons, the commercial policy of his government, of which he was already a chief stay. Of popular and conciliatory manners; a ready and self-possessed debater; gifted with a marvellous flow of language, and well versed in commercial affairs, he rendered himself particularly acceptable to mercantile men. In May, 1843, Mr. Gladstone became the head of his department. At this time, also, he had become famous by his books—*Church Principles considered in their Results*, and *The State in its Relations with the Church*. In his notice of this work, in the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. Macaulay makes the following allusion to the author:—"Mr. Gladstone is a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents. It would not be at all strange if he were one of the most unpopular men in England; but we believe that we do him but justice, when we say that his abilities and demeanour have attained him the respect and good-will of all parties."

In January, 1845, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, in consequence of a difference of opinion with his government with regard to the Maynooth grant. He voted first in its favour, then against it; and when out of office, and the government announced its intention to increase that grant, he voted again in its favour. Equally inconsistent was his conduct with regard to the Jewish question, which he first opposed, and then supported. In the early part of 1845, Mr. Gladstone published

his *Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation*, exhibiting, in detail, the beneficial working of the tariff of 1842. But this adhesion to free-trade principles led to his losing his seat for Newark, and to his being out of parliament in 1846. At the general election of 1847, however, Mr. Gladstone was fully compensated for this temporary exclusion from the House of Commons, by becoming one of the representatives of the University of Oxford. How entirely he appreciated the honour, may be judged from the dedication to his *alma mater* of his great work on Homer, in the following terms:—"Inscribed to the University of Oxford—tried, and not found wanting through the vicissitudes of a thousand years—in the belief that she is providentially designed to be a fountain of blessings, spiritual, social, and intellectual, to this and other countries, to the present and future times; and in the hope that the temper of these pages may be found not alien from her own." In the parliament, in which he now appeared in the first ranks, he managed to displease, alternately, both sections of his supporters: the Liberals, by his opposition speech on university reform, and his speech on Mr. Disraeli's motion for the relief of the agricultural interests; and the Conservatives, by declining to take office with Lord Derby in 1851, and his exposure of the details of Mr. Disraeli's budget in 1852. He was also strenuously, but unsuccessfully, opposed in the representation of Oxford University. But until a later time than that to which we refer, his talents and his character always gained for him an immense majority. His pamphlet on the Neapolitan dungeons, of which we have already written, created for him great popularity; and when the coalition cabinet was formed, all felt that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was the right man in the right place.

Let us here give Mr. Kinglake's portrait. He says—"But there was another member of the cabinet who was supposed to hold war in deep abhorrence. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and since he was, by virtue of his office, the appointed guardian of the public purse, those pure and lofty principles which made him cling to peace, were reinforced by an official sense of the harm which war inflicts by its costliness. Now it happened that, if he was famous for the splendour of his eloquence, for his unaffected piety, and his blameless life, he was celebrated, far and wide, for a more than common liveliness of conscience. He had once imagined it to be his duty to quit a government, and to burst through strong ties of friendship and gratitude, by reason of a thin shade of difference on the subject of white or brown sugar. It was believed, that if he was to commit even a little sin, or to imagine an evil thought, he would instantly arraign himself before the dread tribunal which awaited him in his own bosom; and that his intellect being subtle and microscopic, and delighting in casuistry and exaggeration, he would be likely to give his soul a very harsh trial, and to treat himself as a great criminal for faults too minute to be visible to the naked eyes of laymen. His friends lived in dread of his virtues, as tending to make him whimsical and unstable; and the practical politicians, conceiving that he was not to be depended upon for party purposes, and was bent upon none but lofty objects, used to call him, behind his back, a good man—a good man in the worst sense of that term. In 1853, it seemed only too probable that he might quit office upon an infinitely slight suspicion of the warlike tendency of the government. But what appeared certain was, that if, upon the vital question of peace or war, the government should depart, by even a hair's breadth, from the right path, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would instantly refuse to be a partaker of their faults. He—and he before all other men—stood charged to give the alarm of danger; and there seemed to be no particle of ground for fearing that, like the Prime Minister, he would drift. The honour, watchfulness, and alacrity of his conscience, and his power of detecting small germs of evil, led the world to think it impossible that he could be moving for months in a wrong course without knowing it."

Of Sir James Graham we have previously written. Lord John Russell, also, we have already described.

The Duke of Newcastle—an unfortunate man through life—was not one of the

least able of the coalition ministry. As Lord Lincoln, he had entered parliament as member for South Nottinghamshire, in the very year that he attained his majority: and when Sir Robert Peel hastened from Rome to form a short-lived administration, he appointed the young M.P. one of the Lords of the Treasury. When, a few years after, under happier auspices, Sir Robert returned to power, the Earl of Lincoln was appointed First Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and, as no complaints were ever made of him in that capacity, we may safely conclude that his duties were discharged with unobtrusive but efficient regularity. In the financial policy of his leader he warmly concurred; and the consequence was, that when, upon the reconstruction of the cabinet, he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had to appeal to the electors who had already four times chosen him as their parliamentary representative, the South Notts Protection Society requested him to resign; and even his father took the field against him. Lord Lincoln, however, prepared for the contest, and issued an explanatory address as follows:—

“I cannot, within the limits of an address, enter into the details of so large and comprehensive a scheme of commercial policy as that lately laid before the House of Commons. This much, however, I am bound, in candour, when addressing an agricultural constituency, to say—that on the question of the corn-laws my opinions are changed. In 1841, honestly, and not from any party motive, I advocated measures for what is now called ‘protection of native industry.’ Mature reflection; constant and anxious consideration of the subject; attention, year after year, to the arguments brought forward in the House on one side and the other; above all, the experience of the last four years, have convinced me, not that the corn-laws alone should be abolished, but that our whole commercial system should be subjected to a great, a bold, and a comprehensive revision.

“This change of opinion has not come upon me suddenly. Three years ago my confidence in the principles of protection was greatly shaken: last year I felt that they had become indefensible. Still, looking to the mischief of any violent shock to party attachment (not for the sake of the leaders of party, but for the sake of public confidence), and conscious of the peculiar circumstances under which the present parliament was elected, I felt anxious that, if possible, this great but inevitable change should be postponed till after the next dissolution of parliament. This, however, I had finally resolved—that I would never again appear before you on the hustings without an express stipulation that I should be free to vote for a repeal of the corn-laws.

“But in the autumn of last year, it pleased Providence to visit our country, and more especially the sister island, with an infliction which some have ventured to doubt—nay, even to deride; but the alarming extent of which, I greatly fear, has yet to be unfolded. Thus the desires of politicians have been frustrated—the calculations of statesmen have been thwarted. What would have been praiseworthy caution and deference to existing circumstances in times of abundance and prosperity, would now be culpable neglect, or a slavish submission to the fear of reproach and personal odium.

“The government has been compelled, by an imperative sense of duty, to bring forward, at once, a final settlement of these questions; for none but a final settlement—no half-measures, no temporary expedients—could ever again be entertained; and I am prepared to adopt my full share of the responsibility which must attach to the members of a government which has endeavoured to reconcile, in a great and comprehensive scheme, the various but not conflicting interests of the country.”

His lordship’s appeal was in vain. He was defeated by a large majority, and took refuge in the Falkirk burghs. During the time that his lordship remained in the House of Commons, he voted with the Peel party on all important occasions; and in January, 1851, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the dukedom of Newcastle, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He followed Lord Aberdeen in his opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

Another duke—his grace of Argyle—is also a colleague in the Aberdeen cabinet. Born in 1823, he early evinced capacity for public life. At the age of nineteen, he published a pamphlet in favour of the claims put forward by the church of Scotland on the question of the veto. He took his seat in the House of Lords on his father's death, in 1847; and in May of the following year delivered his first speech, on the motion for the second reading of the bill for admitting Jews to parliament. His speech, we are told, made a great impression on the House, presenting, as it did, a defence of the measure on religious rather than political grounds. He commenced by disclaiming all sympathy with certain theories that had been put forth—by none more effectually than by Mr. Macaulay—that Christianity had nothing to do with making the laws of a country. He showed, in a strain of clear argument, enforced by an easy-flowing and natural eloquence, that Christianity lay at the root of all that was just, and right, and true; and that the nation which systematically excluded Christianity from its laws must end in speedy ruin. At the same time he could not agree with the opponents of the measure, that Christianity consisted in a mere set of forms and symbols, compliance with which should secure, and refusal exclude, admission to the legislature. On the contrary, he maintained that Christianity would be best manifested by abolishing all invidious distinctions which excluded any citizens from obtaining the offices and distinctions of the state, and by maintaining the right of the constituencies of the empire to their free choice of whatever representative they pleased to select. The speech was received with great favour by the House, and the duke was at once hailed as one of its most promising ornaments. As a free-trader the duke was earnest and consistent. His scientific acquirements, also, must not be omitted. He has devoted a large share of his time to the study of practical geology, and with considerable success. On the creation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting at Edinburgh, he read a paper on the subject, which excited great attention; and it is understood that he has himself made discoveries of some valuable minerals on his extensive but rocky domains. His literary taste is also highly spoken of; and in the characteristics which so honourably distinguish the men of rank of the present day—that of giving lectures to the working classes—he has not been backward. The Tories sneered at the duke on account of his youth, his diminutive stature, his red hair; but he was a gain to the ministry nevertheless.

In the accession of Sir William Molesworth to office, the public saw a pledge, on the part of the Earl of Aberdeen, to the friends of progressive reform. As an advanced reformer, and *London Quarterly* reviewer, the character of Sir William for talent and sincerity stood high. Entering parliament at the first election after the passing of the Reform Act, it was not long before he distinguished himself as one of the little band of “philosophical Radicals,” composed of the late James Mill, Mr. Grote, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Charles Buller, Mr. Leader, and others, with whose names the public were more or less familiar. Among the more important measures advocated by these gentlemen, were—vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament, a further extension of the electoral franchise, reform of the House of Lords, free trade, retrenchment, separation of church and state, municipal corporation reform, repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and a sweeping reform in the administration of the colonies. The opinions of the philosophical Radicals on all these questions had an able exponent in the *London Review*, a newly-established quarterly; the first number of which appeared in May, 1835, under the editorship in chief of Sir William, who was also the principal proprietor. A year afterwards, the *Westminster* came into possession of the same proprietary by purchase. From that time the two reviews were merged into one—the *London and Westminster Review*; and, under that title, were published for several years, until, upon the secession of the right honourable baronet, the old title of *Westminster* was resumed. The contributions of Sir William to this department of periodical literature were numerous and

characterised by great vigour of thought, breadth of liberality, and clear and forcible expression. Having alarmed, by his Radical opinions, his Cornish constituency, he successively represented Leeds and Southwark. At the general election in 1841, Sir William Molesworth retired from parliament and from public life for a short interval, a portion of which he occupied in continental travels, and in ushering into the world a new edition of the works of Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury. Sir William was opposed to what is known as the Palmerston policy. Gifted with inexhaustible patience, indomitable application, great keenness of perception, and a prodigious memory, the right honourable baronet occupied a high position in the House of Commons; and his comparatively early death was mourned by all true Liberals all over the land.

Mr. Sidney Herbert (afterwards known as Lord Herbert, and universally lamented when he fell a victim to his zeal in the discharge of public and official duty) was one of the most promising, and certainly, as regards appearance, one of the most prepossessing-looking men in the new ministry. Mr. Herbert sat in the House of Commons as member for the county of Wilts, from the year 1832, beginning public life as a Conservative, and a follower of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he faithfully and steadily adhered until his death. Afterwards he acted with those members of the House of Commons known as the Peelite section. As a debater, the right honourable gentleman rose far above the ordinary level of the orators of the senate. His style of speaking was smooth and correct, always pleasing, and set off with the polished manners and address of a well-educated English gentleman. His speeches were smart and clever, and were very successful in the presentation of recognised truths in the most acceptable point of view. But his *forte* was in his administrative capacity, which was considerable, and justified his selection for office by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen. Outside parliament, Mr. Sidney Herbert distinguished himself by his efforts in favour of educating the poor in the principles of the established church. He also laboured most assiduously to extend the sphere of operations, and to increase the usefulness, of that church in our colonial possessions. He was honourably known to the public, in connection with his amiable lady (daughter of Major-General A'Court), by liberal benefactions to charitable objects, and the active part he took in alleviating the distressed condition of the needlewomen and servant classes of the metropolis, and promoting their emigration to Australia. He was an accomplished scholar, a man of refined taste, and a munificent patron of the arts: and near his princely seat, at Wilton, Salisbury, was erected, in 1843, at his sole expense, a beautiful Romanesque or Lombardic church, the finest specimen of that style of architecture in England. Well did he deserve the peerage to which he was raised in 1860.

The most important post in this new ministry—the post with which the name of Palmerston had hitherto been connected—that of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was held by the Earl of Clarendon. As the Hon. Mr. Villiers, he was accredited Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid, by Earl Grey, in 1833. His residence in Spain, in a diplomatic capacity, continued during the greater part of the sanguinary warfare which raged in that unfortunate country, between the constitutional, or queen's party (known by the term *Christinas*), and the adherents of the pretender, Don Carlos. His position there was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and required the display of tact and ability of no ordinary character. He had to maintain relations on a friendly footing with a Court the subject of divided councils and constantly fluctuating opinions. All the wisdom, energy, and self-reliance which the English minister possessed, was called into vigorous exercise as the representative of the only one of the contracting powers which seemed disposed to fulfil the conditions of the quadruple treaty: for France, jealous of English influence in the Peninsula, contributed only promises; and Portugal, crippled in its resources, and just emerging from civil war, could furnish but little effective aid. Whilst at Madrid, he successfully negotiated a treaty with Spain for the more effectual abolition of the slave-trade in the British

colonies—a measure to which the government of Spain had, until then, steadily refused to listen. The services of Mr. Villiers were approved by government. He was made a G.C.B.; and, in a debate upon our foreign policy in 1837, Lord Palmerston thus bore testimony to his merits:—

“This,” said he, “brings me to Spain; and how do we stand there? Our relations with Spain are greatly improved. I am asked whether we have gained any influence there? I answer, yes; and, as a proof of it, I point to the treaty which we have concluded with that power for the suppression of the slave-trade—an act of humanity and justice which ought to have been accomplished long since, but which no power of diplomacy on the part of England had been able to extract from the former government of Spain. And whereas, in the time of Ferdinand, the influence of Russia was paramount at Madrid, Great Britain is now regarded in Spain with those sentiments of friendship and esteem which are due to our good faith, and to our strict adherence to treaties and engagements. I am bound to say, that the respect which Spain has for this country, is very much owing to the able and judicious conduct of the representative of the British government at Madrid. The high character which that minister has personally established, and the good faith which the British government has deserved in its dealings, have indeed rendered the character of an Englishman a passport through Spain.”

At the commencement of the year 1839, on the death of his uncle, Mr. Villiers quitted Madrid, and returned to England; and took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl Clarendon. On the 27th of July following, the Marquis of Londonderry rose in his place in parliament, and put some questions with regard to certain papers laid upon the table, relating to the affairs of Spain, and the communications which had been interchanged between her majesty's ministers and the three northern powers, for the purpose of procuring a mitigation of the atrocious manner in which the civil war in that country had been carried on, and even the eventual termination of hostilities. These overtures, it seems, had issued in no practical result; and the noble marquis, who indulged in some severe strictures in the course of his speech, desired to know the reason of their failure. The strictures of the noble marquis elicited a speech from the Earl of Clarendon, which at once established him as one of the most accomplished debaters in the House. On another occasion, his lordship made such a speech, that as soon as it reached Spain, a gold medal was struck in his honour, for this additional service to the cause of constitutional freedom in that country. A meeting was also held at the house of General Quiroga, at which the oration was ordered to be translated into the Spanish language, and put into the most extensive circulation; and, subsequently, it was determined to present the noble earl with a valuable work of art.

In 1839, the Earl of Clarendon accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal in the Melbourne cabinet; and, in 1840, was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He continued to be a cabinet minister until the retirement of the Whigs, and the advent of Sir Robert Peel, in 1841. Having, at all times, been favourable to the principles of free trade, the noble earl gave the commercial policy of the new government a cordial and hearty support: and when, in 1845, that crowning act of legislation—the repeal of the corn-laws—took place, he accompanied his vote for the measure with a speech of great ability and power. On the return of the Liberals to parliament in 1847, with Lord John Russell at their head, the Earl of Clarendon was entrusted with the government of Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant; and entered upon his viceroyalty under not the most encouraging auspices. Famine, pestilence, and sedition stalked through the land. The situation of Ireland was critical, and demanded incessant watchfulness, unrelaxing firmness, and great prudence, on the part of the executive government; and in none of these respects was the earl found wanting. How firm and impartial he was, is evidenced by his dismissal of the Earl of Roden from the commission of the peace, for his Orange partisanship. Lord Derby raised a debate on the

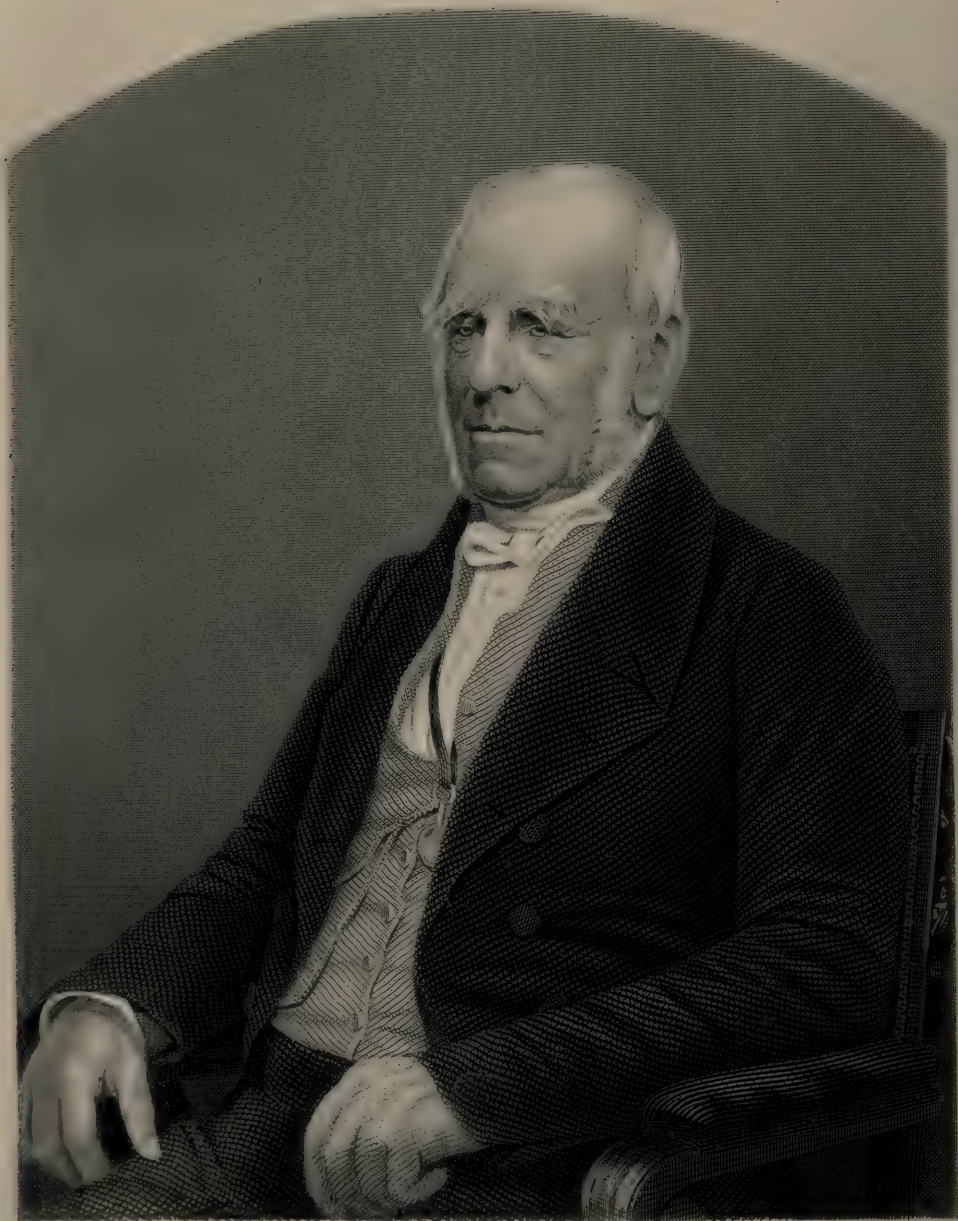
subject in the Lords; but the general feeling was, that the conduct of Earl Clarendon was wise and judicious, and that he deserved the vacant ribbon of the Garter, which, about that time, was conferred on him: and, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, under Lord Aberdeen, his conduct was equally satisfactory. "Short as has yet been his term of office," writes a friendly critic, in 1853, "we have had the satisfaction of seeing him engaged in amicable intercession with foreign potentates, on behalf of oppressed peoples. The recent iniquitous sequestrations of the property of Sardinian citizens by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, have, at the request of the Sardinian government, drawn forth strong representations from the noble earl to the cabinet of Vienna upon the subject. He also followed up the remonstrance of his predecessors to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in favour of the Mediceis, condemned to suffer a long term of imprisonment for conscience' sake; but now at length, through the intervention of the English government, happily set free."

Earl Granville commenced public life in 1837, when he was returned as member of parliament for Morpeth. His lordship did not distinguish himself in the House of Commons; and, in fact, a seat there did not seem to be much to his taste, as he resigned it in 1840, to proceed as an *attaché* to the Russian embassy. At the general election, however, for 1841, he was returned for the borough of Stafford, and, on one or two occasions, addressed the House, but with little effect. In 1846, his father died, and he was called to the upper House. When the Whig ministry was formed, in 1846, Lord Granville received an appointment, though one that was rather suited to his rank than to the talents that he has since displayed. He was attached to her majesty's household, as Master of the Buckhounds. In 1848, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Several sarcasms were directed against this appointment; and the opposition journals made themselves merry at the facility with which a Master of the Buckhounds could be manufactured into an officer requiring extensive acquaintance with the trade and commerce of the country. During his tenure of office the Great Exhibition was held in Hyde Park; and, in contributing to its success, his lordship stands second, and but second, to the late Prince Albert. When the great event was over, and when it was determined by the Parisian authorities, in the autumn of 1851, to invite the municipal authorities of London, and the commissioners of the Exhibition, to a series of festivities, in return for the hospitality which had been shown to their countrymen in England, Earl Granville was very properly recognised as the head of the commissioners; and returned thanks at the grand banquet given at the Hôtel de Ville, in the name of his colleagues, for the honour done to them, in a French speech, which excited the admiration of the Parisians themselves, from the classical points of its idiom and its accent. It was admitted—and the admission may be taken as high praise from such fastidious critics—that his lordship might well have passed for a native critic, reared in the first circles of Parisian society. When, in the winter of 1851, Lord Palmerston resigned, Earl Granville was selected by Lord John Russell to fill the vacant post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and it speaks well for his lordship, that his appointment to this responsible position at a period of extraordinary difficulty in our relations with several foreign countries, was received by the people, not only without disappointment, but with positive respect and approbation. His term of office was, in this position, too short to allow him to fix the impress of his policy upon our foreign relations; for the ministry of which he formed a part, left Downing Street in the spring of the following year. If his lordship makes no pretensions to be called an orator, he is conspicuous for his administrative abilities, his sound sense, and his readiness of resource.

Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) formed an indispensable member of every Liberal administration, much to the surprise of strangers, who listened to his jerking and unimpressive style of speaking in parliament. The mystery was solved when it was understood that, in 1829, he married Mary, the ninth child of the late,

and sister of the present, Earl Grey. His first introduction to official life was in 1830, when his father-in-law, in accepting the office of Prime Minister, appointed him his private secretary. In 1832, he became one of the Secretaries of the Treasury: then he became Secretary to the Admiralty; and as, in this position, he showed some degree of administrative skill, no little surprise was felt when, in 1839, Sir Charles, following the lead of his brother-in-law, Lord Howick, resigned his appointment, and left the Whig ministry. In 1846, we find Sir Charles Chancellor of the Exchequer. In this capacity he did not shine; but it must be remembered that he had many difficulties to contend with; and that, as the finance minister of a party not very strong, he was fettered in every way. In his capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles had to eat no small amount of humble pie; his budgets being altered and omitted—often in spite of his vehement opposition—just as it suited the House of Commons' majority: and thus Sir Charles held on till 1852, when he retired with his party. The borough of Great Grimsby, in the year 1826, first introduced the honourable member to a seat in parliament. In 1831, he was returned for Wareham. The following year he was returned, at the head of the poll, for Halifax, which borough he represented till he became a peer. An admirer writes—"Sir Charles Wood is always listened to with great attention in the House. This does not arise from any graces of oratory, in which respect nature has been rather niggardly to him. His elocution is not graceful; his method is not clear; his voice is not good. He evidently comprehends a subject in his own mind better than he can explain it to others; and hence arises a repetition and redundancy of remarks that obscure the subject they are meant to illustrate. But those who will take the trouble to hear, with these defects, are often repaid by the breadth and comprehensiveness of his views, the perfect mastery of the subject which he has evidently attained, and a felicitous knack he has of illustrating his subject by an analogy which at once strikes by its justness, and amuses by its homeliness. In this respect, though in few others, he resembles Mr. Cobden. He has neither his fluency of speech, his short, nervous, idiomatic phrase, nor that marvellous grasp of his subject which the anti-corn-law leader possesses; but, like him, he delights in finding illustrations and analogies on subjects that are drawn from common life, and which, therefore, come home to the feelings of every one of his audience."

The ministry must have been strong in administrative and oratorical talent. We have not indicated all its strength. To it the Marquis of Lansdowne (the Nestor of the Whigs) lent the sanction of his great talents, his high character, his illustrious name. Born in 1780, he had seen much of political life and political men. From Westminster, where his contemporaries were the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Ashburton, and others, the young nobleman proceeded to Edinburgh; thence to Cambridge; and set out with Dumont as a companion for the tour of the continent. But the peace of Amiens was soon broken, and he had to return home, and take his seat for the family borough of Calne, in 1801. Lord Henry Petty (for such was his title) then sided with the opposition, and gained great applause by his speech in favour of the prosecution of Lord Melville. Under Mr. Fox he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was returned as M.P. for Cambridge University, in 1806, by a considerable majority over Lords Althorpe and Palmerston—the latter being at the bottom of the poll. The consistent advocacy of the Catholic claims cost Lord Henry Petty, not merely his office, but his seat—the university replacing him by Sir Vicary Gibbs, who only obtained the honour by a majority of two over Lord Palmerston, who was again a candidate. Lord Petty, however, was provided, by the Duke of Bedford, with a seat for a small borough in Cornwall, which he continued to represent till his elevation to the House of Peers; which event took place in 1809. His lordship continued in opposition until 1827, when he joined the administration of Mr. Canning, as Home Secretary. Under the Duke of Wellington, the Liverpool cabinet returned to office, and Lord Lansdowne became the leader of the opposition in the House of Lords. He was Lord



MARTIN DE LANGE.

1848.

President of the Council in the Whig ministry, from November, 1830, to November, 1834; from April, 1835, to September, 1841; and again in July, 1846: and, in this capacity, his labours on behalf of national education were unwearied. In 1852, his lordship took a dignified farewell of official life, in language which produced a great impression on all who heard it. As a consistent public man, Lord Lansdowne occupied the highest place. He began life a Liberal, when liberalism was unpopular: and he remained such to the day of his death. But his lordship was something more. Thrown, in early life, amongst men of eminence in literature, science, and art, he imbibed a love of letters, and a respect for genius, which made it his happiness and pride to gather round him those who possessed the power of ministering to his intellectual disposition; and there were few amongst contemporary artists who did not receive from him assistance and encouragement. His lordship, though rather below than above the middle height, had a dignified bearing and pleasant countenance. To the last he wore the blue coat and buff waistcoat—the Whig colours—familiarised to the public by the cover of the *Edinburgh Review*. When his lordship addressed the House, his tones, if not sweet, were persuasive, and his voice, if not clear, impressive. In his diction he displayed an accurate, finished education; and though he was scarcely ever eloquent, he affected the understanding of his audience. He died ripe in years and honour.

Of Lord Cranworth, the Lord Chancellor, little can be said, save that, in his career, he furnished another instance that the highest prizes in the profession may be won without either very profound learning or brilliant abilities. Born in 1790, he received his education at the grammar-school of Bury St. Edmund's, of which town he was afterwards Recorder. Mr. Rolfe (for such was his name) went to Cambridge, and took his degree in 1812; his name appearing sixteenth in the list of wranglers for that year. In 1816, he was called to the bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. In May, 1835, he came into office as Solicitor-general. In 1839, he was made one of the barons of the Exchequer, and then succeeded Sir James Wigram as Vice-Chancellor. Then he became one of the lords justices of the Court of Appeal; and, on the resignation of Lord St. Leonard, he received the great seal. As his lordship was never distinguished as a debater, and as, since he became a member of the upper House, he seldom spoke on any subjects but those affecting the amendment of the law, it is clear he was little gain to the Aberdeen administration.

The same remark does not apply to the veteran Home Secretary. Perhaps no higher tribute was ever paid to Lord Palmerston's talents, than in the circumstance that he, a man without a party—without a follower it may be said—should yet be invited by his old antagonist and rival, and by the statesman who had so lately affronted him by driving him from the cabinet, to resume his seat at her majesty's council board, in the capacity of one of the leading ministers of the crown. As he was excluded from his old post, he finally chose the Home Office, where his sanitary measures, and his suppression of the smoke nuisance, and his putting down the betting nuisance, showed that no public duty came amiss to him; and that, in the language of Scripture, "whatever his hand found to do, that he did with all his might." After a short time he resigned; but, in the course of a few days, again resumed office. In explaining this step, his lordship said that it had something to do with home politics. Mr. Kinglake tells us it was no such thing. It was in consequence of a hitch between France and England, respecting Turkey and Russia.

Here we stop to give Mr. Kinglake's character of Lord Palmerston, as the minister who went his own way. "He was supposed to be under a kind of ostracism. He had not been banished from England, nor even from the cabinet; but, holding office under a Prime Minister whose views upon foreign policy were much opposed to his own, and relegated to duties connected with the peaceful administration of justice—it seemed, to the eye of the common observer, that

for the time he was annulled: and the humorous stories which floated about Whitehall, went to show that the deposed lord of foreign affairs had consented to forget his former greatness, and to accept his Home Office duties in a spirit of half-cynical, half-joyous disdain, but without the least discontent. And, in truth, he had no ground for ill-humour. In politics he was without vanity. What he cared for was power, and power he had. Indeed, circumstanced as he then was, he must have known that one of the main conditions of his strength was, the general belief that he had none. The light of the past makes it easy to see, that the expedient of trying to tether him down in the Home Office, would alleviate his responsibility, and increase his real power. To those who know anything of Lord Palmerston's intellectual power—of his boldness—of his best concentrated energy—his instinct for understanding the collective mind of a body of men, and of a whole nation—and, above all, his firm robust will; nay, even to those who only know of his daring achievements—achievements half peaceful, half warlike, half righteous, half violent, in many lands and on many a sea—the notion of causing him to be subordinated to Lord Aberdeen in foreign affairs, seems hardly more sound than a scheme providing that the greater shall be contained in the less. Statesmen on the continent would easily understand this, for they had lived much under the weight of his strenuous nature; but, at that time, he had not been called upon to apply his energies to the domestic affairs of England. Besides, he had been more seen in his own country than abroad; and for that very reason he was less known, because there was much upon the outside which tended to mask his real nature. His partly Celtic blood, and perhaps, too, in early life, his boyish consciousness of power, had given him a certain elation of manner and bearing, which kept him for a long time out of the good graces of the more fastidious part of the English world. The defect was toned down by age, for it lay upon the surface only; and, in his inner nature, there was nothing neither vulgar nor unduly pretending. Still the defect made people slow—made them take forty years—to recognise the full measure of his intellectual strength. Moreover, the English had so imperfect a knowledge of the stress which he had long been putting upon foreign governments, that the more outward signs which he gave to his countrymen at home—his frank speech, his off-hand manner, his ready banter, his kind, joyous, beaming eyes—were enough to prevent them from accustoming themselves to look upon him as a man of stern purpose.

“He was not a man who would come to a subject with which he was dealing for the first time, with any great store of preconceived opinions; but he wrote so strenuously—he always, they say, wrote standing—and was apt to be so much struck with the cogency of his own arguments, that by the mere process of framing despatches, he wrought himself into strong convictions, or rather, perhaps, into strong resolves; and he clung to those with such a lasting tenacity, that if he had been a solemn austere personage, the world would have accused him of pedantry. Like most gifted men who evolve their thoughts with their pen, he was very accurate. Of every subject which he handled gravely, he had a tight iron grasp. Without being inflexible, his will, it has already been said, was powerful; and it swung with a great momentum in one direction, till, for some good and sound reason, it turned and swung in another. He pursued one object at a time, without being distracted by other game. All that was fanciful, or for any reason impractical—all that was the least bit too high for him, or the least bit too deep for him—all that lay, though only by a little, beyond the immediate future with which he was dealing, he utterly drove out of his mind; and his energies, condensed for the time upon some object to which they could be applied with effect, were brought to bear upon it with all their full volume and power. So, during the whole period of his reign at the Foreign Office, Lord Palmerston's method had been to be very strenuous in the pursuit of the objects which might be needing care at any given time, without suffering himself to be embarrassed by what men call a comprehensive view of our foreign policy; and although it was, no doubt, his concentrative

habit of mind, and his stirring temperament which brought him into this course of action, he was much supported in it by the people at home; for when no enterprise is on foot, the bulk of the English are prone to be careless of the friendship of foreign states, and are often much pleased when they are told that, by reason of the activity of their Foreign Secretary, they are without an ally in Europe." Mr. Kinglake then shows that Louis Napoleon and his lordship, in his utter isolation, were natural allies. So when the czar began to encroach upon the sultan, there was nothing that could so completely meet Lord Palmerston's wish as an alliance between the two western powers, which should toss France headlong into the English policy of upholding the Ottoman empire. His lordship was thus the most prominent member of Lord Aberdeen's cabinet, as early, writes Mr. Kinglake, as the spring of 1853. He adds—

"Lord Palmerston's plan of masking the warlike tendency of the government, was an application to politics of an ingenious contrivance, which the Parisians used to employ in some of their street engagements with the soldiery: the contrivance was called a live barricade. A body of the insurgents would seize the mayor of the arrondissement, and a priest (if they could get one), and also one or two respectable bankers devoted to the cause of peace and order. These prisoners, each forced to walk arm-in-arm between able-bodied combatants, were marched in front of a body of insurgents, which boldly advanced towards a spot where a battalion of infantry might be drawn up in close column of companies; but when they got to hailing distance, one of the insurgents, gifted with a loud voice, would shout out to the troops—"Soldiers! respect the cause of order! Don't fire on Mr. Mayor! Respect property. Don't level your country's muskets at one who is a man and a brother, and also a respectable banker! Soldiers! for the love of God don't imbrue your hands in the blood of this holy priest!" Confused by this appeal, and shrinking, as was natural, from the duty of killing peaceful citizens, the battalion would hesitate; and, meantime, the column of the insurgents, covered always by its live barricade, would rapidly advance and crowd in upon the battalion, and break its structure, and ruin it. It was thus that Lord Palmerston had the skill to protrude Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone, and keep them standing forward in the van of a ministry which was bringing the country into war. No one could assail Lord Palmerston's policy without striking at him through men whose conscientious attachment to the cause of peace was beyond cavil." It thus seems Lord Palmerston was Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary at once.

The first session of the new cabinet closed peacefully. It had been a laborious one, and was not prorogued till August 29th. Lord John Russell had attempted, unsuccessfully, the relief of the Jews. A tendency towards war and warlike demonstrations was apparent. The government had carried the Naval Coast Volunteers Bill—an important measure for the establishment of a naval militia, based upon the principle of voluntary enlistment. In the month of June, a military encampment was formed at Chobham, in Surrey, for the purpose of exercising the troops in military evolutions, and inuring them to the hardships of actual service. On the 11th of August, there was a grand naval review of the fleet at Spithead by her majesty. The spectacle was a grand one; the squadron assembled consisting of twenty-five ships of war—six of the line, propelled by steam; three sailing ships of the line; and sixteen steam-frigates and sloops. This force carried 1,076 guns; nearly 10,000 men; and was moved by a steam power nominally of 9,680 horses, but really of double that amount. During the progress of the year, the attention of parliament was frequently drawn to matters connected with the East, and the demands of the Russian emperor on the government of Turkey. The czar thought the pear was ripe. He had proposed to his dear friend, the Earl of Aberdeen, that he should take Turkey, and England Egypt: and now his friend was Premier. Thus everything had a peaceful appearance. The royal speech congratulated the members of both Houses

upon their labours; and referred to the buoyant state of the revenue, and the steady progress of our foreign trade, as proofs of the wisdom of the commercial policy then firmly established. It observed, that her majesty viewed, with deep interest and concern, the serious misunderstanding which had recently arisen between Russia and the Ottoman empire; that the Emperor of the French had united with her majesty in earnest endeavours to reconcile differences, the continuation of which might involve Europe in war; and expressed a hope that an honourable arrangement would be speedily accomplished. The speech also expressed the satisfaction of her majesty at the termination of the war on the frontiers of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the successful issue of the war in Burmah; and also her thankfulness for the tranquillity which prevailed throughout her dominions, together with that peaceful industry and obedience to the laws which ensure the welfare of all classes of her subjects. All promised well for the future. Mr. Gladstone had carried his budget. Sir C. Wood had reformed the Indian government. The political barometer, to all appearance, pointed fair. For once England's wisest and greatest men had agreed to forget all past differences, and do their best for the nation. Messrs. Cobden and Bright were eloquent on behalf of peace; no war-spirit had been aroused. England was to be envied. Happy was the people that was in such a case.

Yet party feeling ran high. The Conservatives had just been long enough in office to taste its sweets, and they longed to return to it again. In the columns of the *Press*, supposed to be under the especial patronage of Mr. Disraeli, they pursued the coalition ministry in every possible way. They reminded Lord John Russell that he had termed his Premier "an antiquated piece of imbecility." All the discordant utterances of the various members of the cabinet were disinterred, and proclaimed to the world. In his review of the session, the Premier can find only one consolation—

"One triumph, at least, will mark our year,
The chivalrous Pam has sworn to clear
The blacks of the London atmosphere,
And the thanks of the Cockneys earn;
But the burners find it far from a joke,
To be driven to fuel that makes no smoke.
It may be, they say, the law of Coke;
But it is not the justice of Burn."

Again, on May 15th, we find the following—"Turning the Tables:"—

"There is no body of her majesty's subjects more delighted with the new pastime of turning the tables than the ministers. They made their first experiment on an old table in Downing Street; but it was not large enough to supply places for all; and Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne sat out, eyeing their more youthful rivals, like two venerable and benignant grandames watching the young people. Lord Palmerston was particularly effective: he said there was no novelty in the trick to him, as he had been doing it all his life, and never turned the tables better than he did on Lord John Russell, in February last year. Sir William Molesworth was not very fortunate at first, and it was thought that the table was radically fixed; but after deep meditation, and the due exercise of a very grave volition, the Radical difficulties quite disappeared. The mesmeric quality of Mr. Gladstone was quite remarkable. Under his influence, the table heaved, groaned, shrieked, and, after much agitation, finally split. No electric power was observable in the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen went to sleep during the process, and was roused by a squabble occasioned by Sir James Graham being discovered surreptitiously raising the table with his toe, while innocently looking at the ceiling. This, Lord Palmerston said, was not fair, and he had the right honourable baronet turned out."

In another way, the "Cabinet Card Party" was not bad. Aberdeen, Palmerston, Russell, and Clarendon, are supposed to be playing cards.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—Shuffle, Clarendon.

"LORD CLARENDON.—You are always making me shuffle. (*Cards dealt.*) Its Palmerston's lead.

"LORD PALMERSTON (*aside*).—I wish it was. (*Plays.*) There, my lords, like the princess in the story, I am perpetually dropping diamonds. (*Stily.*) By the way, Aberdeen, they are very fond of diamonds in Russia, if you happen to know such a place.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*sulkily*).—The muckle de'il tak Roosha and all her concerns. (*Plays.*)

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Don't, don't! That's a very wicked way of talking. (*Plays.*) I've followed your lead, Lord Palmerston. (*Lord Clarendon plays.*)

"LORD PALMERSTON.—And won the trick. Its a way people have who do as I bid them. If somebody I know had trumped Mentschikoff's ultimatum with Dundas's broadside, we four should not be sitting in a back office, the first week in September, instead of shooting partridges. However, we won't talk of that, or the Premier will get revoking, to the great damage of Clarendon's peace of mind.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—I wish ye'd just play. Dinna talk so, man.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—While I am talking I am playing, as has been found out once or twice, in the House and elsewhere, my dear Aberdeen. Nobody wastes fewer words than her majesty's present Home Secretary. But holding your tongue is not always the best proof of wisdom.

"LORD CLARENDON.—Very good *prima facie* evidence of it, though, if you have nothing to say.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—*Experto CREDE.* I say, Aberdeen, I have a presentiment that despatches of a peculiarly disagreeable character are on their way. Its your play.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—They canna weel be more disagreeable than your interloctions, my Lord Palmerston.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Don't put yourself out. There, you see, you've lost the trick with the best card in your hand—a manifest judgment upon you for your ill temper. You never see me put out.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*spitefully*).—Not since Christmas twelvemonth.

"LORD PALMERSTON (*laughing*).—Very good—very good indeed. Who says the old gentleman's memory is failing? Christmas had a February after it too—hadn't it, Russell?

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Never mind. You played the deuce?

"LORD PALMERSTON.—I did, though I ought not to say so. That's lost. John, you are a very steady player, and stick to the rules; but you have no dash in you. I have some notion that you think you play constitutionally, and as Lord Somers would have done in a similar emergency; but your long whist ideas won't do."

Lord Palmerston then suggests that Clarendon should be sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg. The writer, who is of Mr. Kinglake's opinion relative to Lord Palmerston, continues—

"LORD ABERDEEN (*grimly*).—Are ye clean daft? Havn't ye a club? And air ye sic an eediot as not to see what he means? Wha's to do your work while ye are gaun? Is the linen of the Foreign Office to be given to the hizzies of the Home Office to wash, ye born natural?

"LORD PALMERSTON (*carelessly*).—Oh, as to that, any little matter that the clerks did not see their way in, I would put right with the greatest pleasure. Don't study my interest.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—Deed I shan't. We understand. But the climate of Roosha wadna agree with Clarendon—he's na that strong.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Well, I don't know. He was sent to pester the Spaniards, being of the Boring Don family; and, you know—

" 'With the addition of a slight pelisse,
Madrid's and Moscow's climes are of a piece.' "

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—There is this objection to parting with Clarendon. I should be expected to go back to the Foreign Office; and this I am not anxious to do. I speak French very well, and with a very pure accent; but I cannot understand what is said in reply, which rather impedes discussion.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—My dear Russell, it would be impossible to spare you from the work which you discharge so admirably. Ah! you took that trick from them very cleverly—very neat *finesse* indeed. No; but I think an arrangement might be made. If Aberdeen does not go out at once, he must go before parliament meets, of course.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—I just see na of course in the matter.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Yes, my dear fellow, you *must* go.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Why, yes, *he* must go—that's certain.

"LORD CLARENDON.—Certainly, he must *go*—no help for it.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Well, then, supposing (I merely put it hypothetically) that Aberdeen goes to—to—to bed we'll say, and Clarendon to Russia. I should be very happy to hand my work over to anybody—George Grey, if he is well enough; or your brother, Clarendon—what would he say to it; or Bright if you like. Well, then, give Benjamin Hall his peerage (Lord Badger isn't it?) and let him be Clarendon's nominal successor—he's quite competent to fold and endorse letters.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—And the real work to be done by —?

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Myself, of course, as a—a Premier (Russell, I'm leading up to the queen). For to that it must come, unless you are determined to smash the coalition.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*dashes down cards, having just assured himself that if he goes on he loses the rub*).—But I'll hear of na sic a thing; and I'll see the hale meenistry at the de'il before I'll consent.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Very well, my dear fellow—very well. It isn't worth being in a rage about. If we don't settle it, the country will settle it for us; and I, for one, can quite afford to wait. Take up your cards. I thought you never showed your hand if you could help it.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*petulantly*).—No; I'll not play. I dinna like to be fashed with impaitinencies (*leaves the table*).

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Just as you like. Russell and Clarendon, let's go the odd man.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Thank you. I'm the odd man of the cabinet already. Let's play fright. (*He takes up the cards, when a knock is heard. MESSENGER enters with despatches from Russia, and the fright becomes earnest*)."

In this clever *brochure* there is no detraction of Palmerston's talent or influence. It is clear that, if he were not aiming at the premiership, the time was coming when it would be open to him, and to him alone, to take it. Lookers-on could see this. Against Lord Aberdeen the utmost abuse was directed. His epitaph, as published in the *Press*, was taken from Hood's *Bridge of Sighs* :—

" Speak of him tenderly,
Gently and humanly;
All that remains of him
Now is pure womanly."

Honours having been conferred, in Scotland, on Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, the *Press* alludes to it thus :—

" Of Glasgow and of Perth made free,
Have Palmerston and Russell been :
Then Scotland hither turn an e'e,
And let the work completed be—
Make us all free of Aberdeen !"

Compliments to Palmerston show his popularity with all parties. Thus the Garter is sent to the Earl of Carlisle. Lord Aberdeen writes—

- “ We were all very sorry ; but fate and position,
Forbade listing you in our late coalition ;
But the broth's boiling over : the next that we brew,
May demand the kind care of our new *Cordon bleu*. ”
- “ John Russell's quite pleased, though he looks rather grim,
To give up a garter we'd thought of for him ;
But he's booked for the next that a knight may abandon,
If after next year he's a leg left to stand on. ”
- “ Lord Palmerston says (and its truly provoking,
That worldling will always keep jeering and joking),
There'll be nothing in future the garters to fill ;
For he's smashed all the legs by his Betting-house Bill. ”
- “ But Gladstone retorts, and I must say completely,
(You know, when he's playful he smiles very sweetly),
That though of some candidates thus were bereft,
The garter is meant for the legs that are *left*. ”

But enough of this. The historian may not disregard the trifles which show in what way popular feeling tends. The coalition ministry, apparently so strong, was, in reality, weak. There was little cordiality between them. Its members differed entirely among themselves. Some were for the ballot; others against it: some for reform; others not so. It was the same on all questions. Lord Aberdeen was understood to have quite made up his mind to the departure of the Turk from Europe. Lord Palmerston, on the contrary, always had faith in the future of the Turkish empire. People were puzzled, and annoyed, and disgusted by the spectacle of a ministry thus devoid of common opinions and principles; and Mr. Disraeli was quite justified in declaring that England did not love coalitions. There was much dissatisfaction at finding that the country was governed neither by the Conservative nor Liberal party, and solely from personal and petty causes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer professed, at that time, Conservative opinions; yet, from a personal feeling, he refused to act with the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. So, again, the morbid vanity of Woburn Abbey had to be consulted; and Lord Aberdeen, the dupe of an intrigue to turn out Lord Palmerston, was to be the bond of junction between statesmen whose personal interests and ambitions clashed. It was impossible such a state of things could long continue. Meanwhile, a perplexed sovereign and an amazed people drifted into war, in spite of Lord Aberdeen and the apostles of perpetual peace.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

WE enter on a dark chapter in English history. In 1853, the nation went to war with Russia.

The causes of that war were long in preparation. Up to the time of Peter the Great, the policy and ambition of Russia had been oriental; but from that period she became mixed up in the affairs of Europe. Peter gave her the dominion of the Baltic, and Catherine II. secured her supremacy in the Black Sea. Never losing sight of the suffering Christians in the East, she pushed her way till the partition of Poland established her influence in Europe. By her efforts against Napoleon, she still further increased her power; and, at the time of which we write,

she had afresh renewed it by the way in which she had trampled out the insurrection in Hungary, and saved Austria in her hour of danger. All over Europe Russia was viewed with mistrust, hatred, and fear.

Turkey seemed the natural prey of Russia. To gain possession of Constantinople was supposed to be the hereditary policy of her czars. Russia had also another motive for interfering. Scattered throughout the Turkish empire were some fourteen or fifteen millions of Christians, mostly in connection with the Greek church; and of these the czar was the protector and the head. "Each victory over the Turks, each advantage claimed by her," says Todleben, "became an additional motive for Russia to insert in the treaties of peace some clause, intended either to improve the condition of the Christians in Turkey, or to stipulate for the creation of new rights in their favour." By such means Russia became the natural protectress of the Christians, under the rule of the Sublime Porte. It will be seen at once that no such claim could be admitted without putting an end to the integrity of Turkey.

Europe was, however, peaceful. As usual, France was the first to interrupt the calm of the world.

"The ambassador of France," said our Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, "was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Greek and Latin churches were not very active, but that, without some political action on the part of France, these quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly powers. If report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country. We should deeply regret any dispute that might lead to conflict between two of the great powers of Europe; but when we reflect that the quarrel is for exclusive privileges on a spot near which the heavenly host proclaimed peace on earth, and good-will towards men—when we see rival churches contending for mastery in the very place where Christ died for mankind—the thought of such a spectacle is melancholy indeed."

The actual subject of dispute was a very simple one. "Stated in bare terms," says Mr. Kinglake, "the question was, whether, for the purpose of passing through the building into their grotto, the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the church of Bethlehem, and whether they should be at liberty to place, in the sanctuary of the Nativity, a silver star adorned with the arms of France? The Latins also claimed, once a year, the privilege of worshipping at the shrine of the Blessed Mary, in the church of Gethsemane; and they went to assert their right to have a cupboard and a lamp in the tomb of the Virgin: but in this last pretension they were not well supported by France; and, virtually, it was their claim to have a key of the great door of the church of Bethlehem, instead of being put off with a key of the lesser door; which long remained insoluble, and had to be decided by the advance of armies, and the threatening movements of fleets."

France gained the day, and the Czar Nicholas determined to be even with her. Hence the celebrated mission of Mentschikoff to Constantinople.

"The Emperor Nicholas," writes Mr. Kinglake, "held an absolute sway over his empire; and his power was not moderated by the salutary resistance of ministers who had strength enough to decline to take part in acts which they disapproved. The old restraints which used sometimes to fetter the power of the Russian monarchs had fallen away, and nothing had yet come in their stead. Holding the boundless authority of an oriental potentate, the czar was armed, besides, with all the power which is supplied by high organisation, and the clever appliances of modern times. What he chose to do, he actually did. He might be sitting alone, and reading a despatch; and if it happened that its contents made him angry, he could touch a bell, and kindle a war without hearing counsel from any living man. In the room where he laboured, he could hear, over-head, the clicking of machinery; and he liked the sound of restless magnets, for they were

giving instant effect to his will in regions far away. He was of a stern unrelenting nature. He displayed, when he came to be tried, a sameness of ideas and language, and a want of resource, which indicated poverty of intellect; but this dearth within was masked by the brilliancy of the qualities which adorned the surface; and he was so capable of business, and had such a vast activity, that he was able to arrogate to himself an immense share of the governance of his subjects. Indeed, by striving to extend his management beyond the proper compass of a single mind, he disturbed the march of business, and so far superseded the responsibility of his servants, that he ended by lessening, to a perilous extent, the number of gifted men who, in former times, had taken part in the counsels of state. He had been merciless towards the Polish nation; but, whilst this sternness made him an object of hatred to millions of discomfited men, and to other millions of men who felt for them in their sorrows, it tended, perhaps, to increase, at the time, his ascendancy by making him an object of dread; and it trebled the delight of being with him in his gentle mood. When he was friendly, or chose to seem so, there was a glow and frankness in his manner which had an irresistible charm. He had discarded, in some measure, his predecessor's system of governing Russia through the aid of foreigners; and took a pride in his own people, and understood their worth. In the great empire of the north, religion is closely blended with the national sentiments; and, in this composite shape, it had a strong hold upon the czar. It did not much govern him in his daily life; and his way of joining in the service of the church, seemed to disclose something like impatience and disdain; but no one doubted that faith was deeply rooted in his mind. He had the air of a man raised above the level of common worshippers, who imagined that he was appointed to serve the cause of his church by great imperial achievements, and not by humble feats of morality and devotion. It will be seen but too plainly that the Emperor Nicholas could be guilty of saying one thing and doing another; and it may be supposed, therefore, that at once, and in plain terms, he ought to be charged with duplicity; yet there are circumstances which make one falter in coming to such a conclusion. He had reigned, and had personally governed, for some seven-and-twenty years; and although, during that period, he had done much to raise bitter hatred, the most sagacious statesman in Europe placed faith in his personal honour. It is certain that he had the love of truth. When he sought to speak of what was fair and honourable, he travelled into our language for the word which spoke his meaning, and claimed to have the same standard of uprightness as an English gentleman. It was known, also, that his ideal of grandeur was the character of the Duke of Wellington. No man could have made that choice without having truth in him.

"It would seem, however, that beneath the virtues which, for more than a quarter of a century, had enabled the czar to stand before Europe as a man of honour and truth, there lurked a set of opposite qualities; and that, when he reached a period of life which had often been found a trying one to men of the Romanoff family, a deterioration began to take place, which shook the ascendant of his better nature. After the beginning of 1853, there were strange alterations in his conduct. At one time he seemed to be so frank and straightforward, that the most wary statesman could not, and would not, believe him to be intending deceit. Then, and even within a few hours, he would steal off, and be false. But the vice which he disclosed in those weak intervals, was not the profound deceit of statecraft, but rather the odd, purposeless cunning of a gipsy or a savage, who shows, by some sudden and harmless sign of his wild blood, that even after years of conformity to European ways, he has not been completely reclaimed." As a military man, he was not only without the qualities for wielding an army in the field, but was mistaken, also, as to the way in which the best soldiers are made. Under his sway, Russia was so oppressively drilled, that much of the fire and spirit of enterprise which are needed for war, was crushed out by military training. No man could toil, however, with more zeal than he did in that branch of industry which

seeks to give uniformity and mechanic action to bodies of men. He was an unwearied inspector of troops. He kept, close at hand, a great number of small wooden images, clothed in various uniforms; and one of the rooms in his favourite palace was filled with these military dolls. As a diplomatist, Nicholas was no match for his ancient foe, Sir Stratford Canning.

Captain Gronow tells a characteristic anecdote of the czar on the occasion of his last visit to England. He returned home *viâ* the Hague, for the purpose of seeing his relative, the King of Holland. During the few days he remained there, a *levée* was held by the king, in order that his imperial majesty might have an opportunity of seeing the flower of the Dutch aristocracy. Among those present, the emperor singled out a remarkably tall but well-built man, whose right arm had been amputated, owing to a wound received in a duel. The emperor, little imagining how the limb had been lost, approached the baron, and inquired in what battle he had had the misfortune of losing his arm. "I lost it in a duel, your majesty," was the reply. The emperor, without a word, turned upon his heel, and said afterwards, to one of his friends, "It is a pity so fine a fellow should have been sacrificed: he had better have been killed in battle." In England the czar won golden opinions among our aristocracy, who little dreamt that he came here to tempt our government into a path that would have led to shame; or that, baffled and maddened, and defeated by western Europe, he was so soon to die of a broken heart.

Such was the Czar Nicholas. His ambassador rightly represented his passions and his prejudices, but was in no way gifted to advise and control. In an evil hour, instead of Count Orloff, Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople.

"Mentschikoff," writes Mr. Kinglake, "was a prince of the sort which Court almanacs describe as serene. He was a general, a high admiral, the governor of a great province; and, in short, so far as concerns official and titular rank, was one of the chief of the czar's subjects. But Russia has not disclosed the grounds on which it was thought fit to entrust to him, first the peace, and then the military renown of his country; for when Russians are asked about the qualities of mind which caused a man to be chosen for a momentous embassy, and for the command of an army defending his country from invasion, they only say that the prince was famous for the strange and quaint sallies of his wit. However, he was of the school of those who desired to govern the affairs of the state upon principles violently Russian, and without the aid and counsel of foreigners. It was understood that he held the Turks in contempt; and it was said, also, that he entertained a strong dislike to the English. He had not been schooled in diplomacy; but he was to be entrusted with the power of using a threatening tone, and was to be supported by a fleet held in readiness, and by bodies of troops impending on the Turkish frontier. The Emperor Nicholas seems to have thought that harsh words, and a display of force, might be made to supply want of skill."

The policy of the czar might have prevailed. The sultan might have given way, had it not been for Sir Stratford Canning, the English ambassador at Constantinople.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe—better known in Europe as Sir Stratford Canning, and, under that name, identified with British policy in Turkey—is the son of Stratford Canning, a merchant, who was uncle to George Canning, the statesman; was educated at Eton; and, in 1807, obtained an appointment as *précis* writer in the Foreign Office. In 1808, he accompanied Mr. Adair on a special mission to Constantinople; and was, next year, made Secretary of Embassy, upon Mr. Adair's appointment as permanent minister. In 1813, he returned to England to complete his studies; and, in 1814, was advanced by the government to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary; sent to Bâle; and assisted in framing the treaty which united the Swiss cantons in the Helvetic confederation. He was then variously employed; and, in 1814, settled down as ambassador at Constantinople, where he steadily laboured to exalt British influence, to weaken that of Russia,

and to maintain the integrity of the Turkish empire. His lordship is the hero of Mr. Kinglake, who writes of him—"This kinsman of Mr. Canning the minister, had been bred from early life to the career of diplomacy; and whilst he was so young that he could still, perhaps, think in smooth Eton Alcaics more easily than in the diction of high contracting parties, it was given him to negotiate a treaty, which helped to bring ruin upon the enemy of his country. How to negotiate with a perfected skill never degenerating into craft—how to form such a scheme of policy that his country might be brought to adopt it without swerving; and how to pursue this always—promoting it steadily abroad, and gradually forcing the home government to go all lengths in its support—this he knew: and he was, moreover, so gifted by nature, that whether men studied his despatches, or whether they listened to his spoken words, or whether they were only bystanders, caught and fascinated by the grace of his presence, they could scarcely help thinking, that if the English nation was to be maintained in peace, or drawn into war by the will of a single mortal, there was no man who looked so worthy to fix its destiny as Sir Stratford Canning. He had faults which made him an imperfect Christian; for his temper was fierce, and his assertion of self was so closely involved in his conflicts, that he followed up his opinions with his feelings, and the whole strength of his imperious nature. But his fierce temper being always under control when purposes of state so required, was far from being an infirmity, and was rather a weapon of exceeding sharpness; for it was so wielded by him as to have more tendency to cause dread and surrender than generate resistance. Then, too, every judgment which he pronounced was unfolded in words so complete as to exclude the idea that it could even be varied, and to convey, therefore, the idea of duration. As though yielding to fate itself, the Turkish mind used to bend and fall down before him." Such was the great Eltchi, between whom and the czar there had been a personal rivalry of many years.

Thus stood the question. England, France, Austria, and Prussia were all agreed to resist the claims of Russia. It was because of France—because Louis Napoleon wanted to do something to make himself popular—that we drifted into war. Such is Mr. Kinglake's theory. There would have been no war, he maintains, had we not separated from Austria and Prussia, and allowed France to lead us as she wished. War was inevitable, we imagine, on account of the reaction which took place at this time in the country against the extreme teaching of the peace-at-any-price party. The czar believed the influence of Messrs. Cobden and Bright to be greater than it really was: he knew that Lord Aberdeen had the most intense hatred of war; that Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was of a similar opinion. He felt that Austria was bound to him by ties of gratitude; that the King of Prussia was under his thumb; that England and France could never agree to pursue the same foreign policy. Herein he blundered, and war was the result. Todleben confesses as much.

It is idle here to give the details of the diplomatic struggle which ensued prior to the declaration of war. When the Porte confirmed the rights of the Latin Christians to that celebrated key, much to the prejudice (writes Todleben) of the Greek Christians, Russia was forced to take active measures to vindicate her position. The Porte, under the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, trifled and delayed with the firman demanded by the Emperor Nicholas; and finally introduced modifications in it, to the prejudice of the Eastern church. The czar then aimed at a treaty which was to secure the protectorate of all the Christians in Turkey to him; and the Divan would not hear of it. Instigated, Todleben says, mainly by the ambassador of England, Prince Mentschikoff left the city of Constantine. The diplomatists were delighted. They saw their way to force Russia to acts which would compromise her in the eyes of Europe; and she very soon gave them the pretext which they wanted. The occupation of the principalities followed the refusal of the Porte to accept the czar's *ultimatum*; but the allied fleets arrived at Tenedos three weeks before the passage of the Pruth, and encouraged

Turkey to reject the proposal. Although England and France might have declared war as soon as Prince Gortschakoff, at the head of his 70,000, took hold of "*gage matériel*," they sought to gain time by diplomacy; and, under the plausible pretext of a desire for peace, they opened the conference at Vienna; the result of which was, the Austrian note of the 1st of August—approved by the western powers, and admitted by Russia, with the proviso that the Porte should accept the note without modifications. But not only did Turkey reject the note as it stood, but demanded modifications which Russia could never entertain. Then it was that the secret desire of the western powers for a European war was made visible to all—a statement not quite true as regards England, which clearly, in the happy phrase of Lord Clarendon, drifted into war. Austria and Prussia might, indeed, still have preserved peace by energetic measures; but, drawn along fatally in the current of public opinion, they kept aloof, and Austria at last passed the bounds of neutrality, and had recourse to menaces. The French emperor had made up his mind to war. The British enlightened public were of the same opinion. To war with Russia was to war with despotism. War with Russia, argued the democracy of the Tower Hamlets and Marylebone, would bring freedom in its train. Alas! it did nothing: all it did was to destroy England's *prestige* on the continent, where she had hitherto held the first rank.

War was declared by Turkey on the 3rd of October; but the western powers still hung back. The slaughter of Sinope hurried them into action: the attack was no sudden surprise; and it seems strange—very strange—that Lord Stratford and the Divan did not provide against it. It was a terrible affair. On the 30th of November, the Russian fleet attacked the Turkish fleet as it lay in the harbour of Sinope in the Black Sea. Admiral Nachimoff, with six sail of the line, bore down upon the Turkish squadron, consisting of seven frigates, a sloop, a steamer, and some transports. The Turks were the first to fire, and to bring upon their little squadron the broadsides of six sail of the line; and although they fought without hope, they were firm and unflinching to the last. Either they refused to strike their colours, or else, if their colours went down, the Russian admiral was blind to their signal, and continued to slaughter them. Except the steamer, every one of the Turkish vessels was destroyed. It was believed, by men in authority, that 4,000 Turks were killed; that less than 4,000 survived; and that all those were wounded. The feeble batteries of the place suffered under the enemy's fire, and the town was much shattered. "This onslaught upon Sinope, and upon vessels lying in port," writes Mr. Kinglake "was an attack upon Turkish territory, and was therefore an attack which the French and English ambassadors had been authorised to repel by calling into action the fleets of the western powers. Moreover, this attack had been impending many days; and all this while the fleets of the western powers had been lying still in the Bosphorus, within easy reach of the scene of the disaster. The honour of France was wounded. England was touched to the quick." But the czar enjoyed the delicious sensation of a sweet revenge; and by judicious ministerial manipulation, the rage of the public in France and England was directed against him, rather than against the ambassadors, whose culpable negligence had permitted the massacre at Sinope to take place. So angry were people that they could not fairly understand the question. In France and England, there were few men who doubted that the onslaught of Sinope was a treacherous deed.

The Russian envoys were recalled from Paris and London; and the cabinet of St. Petersburg took measures, in the winter of 1853, and the spring of 1854, to prepare the coast against the first blows of the enemy. Up to this time the successes of the Turks, under Omer Pasha, on the Danube, had been continuous; and Turkey had shown a moral and physical courage for which Europe was not prepared. In Asia, the Russians were uniformly successful against the Turks, chiefly arising from the incapacity of the Turkish commanders, and from jealousy and dissension among themselves.

In St. Petersburg the most intense activity prevailed. Numerous couriers

were leaving daily for every part of the empire, to hasten on the armaments; and agents were sent everywhere to waken up the ferocity and fanaticism of the orthodox population, and to arouse, from the very depths of Asia, the Mongols and Tartars to join in this great warfare against the powers of Europe. This fanatic feeling extended throughout the whole of the Russian empire against the Turks and their allies—a feeling which the Russian government did its best to excite and influence. It is said that the Russian clergy offered 60,000,000 silver roubles to the emperor; the government of Konar, 1,500,000; of Moscow, 3,000,000; and the average amount of seventy-two governments was estimated at 2,000,000 roubles each. The emperor was described as living in a state of great excitement, regarding himself as the chosen instrument, in the hand of God, of driving the Moslems out of Europe, and only regretting that he should have allowed so many years to pass without fulfilling his destiny. The population of St. Petersburg had been worked up to the highest pitch of zeal—cheering the emperor, whenever he appeared in public, with the wildest enthusiasm, and denouncing as traitors all those who dared to speak of peace. The only man who was supposed to advocate a peaceful course was Count Nesselrode; and he, consequently, lost his influence with his imperial master.

On the 18th of February, the British ambassador, Sir H. Seymour, left St. Petersburg; and, on the 21st, the French ambassador did the same.

In England the war mania was at its height. Large meetings were held in the provincial towns and cities of the kingdom, to urge on ministers to hostilities with the czar; and talented orators went through the land, decrying the supineness of government, and even imputing treason to them. Already a French and English squadron had anchored in Besica Bay.

On Saturday, the 11th of March, 1854, after a grand banquet at the Reform Club, at which Lord Palmerston presided with his accustomed *bonhomie*, the Baltic fleet departed from Spithead on its warlike mission, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators, and in the presence of the queen and royal family. Sir Charles Napier, the hero of Acre, was appointed commander-in-chief of this formidable naval force—consisting of forty-four ships, manned by 22,000 men; mounting about 2,000 guns; and propelled by a steam power of more than 15,000 horses. The French contingent of the fleet, in the Black Sea, was composed of a greater number of first-class ships than the British; whilst their contingent in the Baltic fell short of ours.

On the 12th of March, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France, England, and the Porte, consisting of five articles. By the first, France and England engage to support Turkey by force of arms, until the conclusion of a peace which shall secure the integrity and independence of the sultan's rights and dominions. By the second, the Porte engages not to conclude peace without the consent of the allies. The latter promise to evacuate, after the termination of the war, and at the request of the Porte, all those parts of the empire which they may find it necessary to occupy during the continuance of hostilities. This treaty remained open for the acceptance of the other great powers in Europe; and it secured to all the subjects of the Porte, without distinction of creed, complete equality before the law.

There were, besides, two separate conventions—one relating to a loan made to Turkey of 20,000,000 francs, by England and France, who not only undertook to pay the subsistence of the auxiliary troops, but agreed that all other expenses should be paid by their respective governments. The second related to the reform in favour of the Christians, which was of such a radical character, that the Sheik-ul-Islam resigned his office, as he could not possibly sanction measures which went to undermine the whole fabric of Islamism. Nor was he the only opponent; the old Turkish party thinking it preferable to grant the demands of the Muscovite. But Redschild Pasha knew better.

An Anglo-French *ultimatum* was forwarded to St. Petersburg: but the reply of

Count Nesselrode was—"No answer would be given by the imperial Court." The allies could scarcely have expected one.

On March the 27th, a royal message was brought down to both houses of parliament; in which her majesty declared, that she relied with confidence on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia. After a long recapitulation of the wrongs which Turkey had received at the hands of Russia, and a reference to the tedious correspondence, and fruitless efforts of negotiation to avert those hostilities, the message stated—"It is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman empire;" and concluded as follows:—"In this conjuncture, her majesty feels called upon, by regard for her ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe—by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong—by desiring to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinion of the civilised world—to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, in defence of the sultan."

This proclamation was soon followed up. In a few days, jubilant and joyous, as if for a holiday parade or a Hyde Park review, British troops were on their way to the East. They consisted of five divisions of infantry, of six battalions each; and one of cavalry. The artillery mounted fifty-six field guns; and the whole force may be reckoned, in round numbers, at 30,000. The French forces also started at the same time. Their first landing-place was Gallipoli, a little peninsula to the west of the Dardanelles. Thence they moved further up the country. In April, 10,000 British troops were encamped at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and 20,000 French were on the opposite side. Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, arrived at Constantinople on the 29th of April: on the 10th of May, the Duke of Cambridge and Marshal St. Arnaud. Subsequently the allies moved to Varna, where not less than 40,000 were assembled, including Egyptians and Turks.

The allied fleets, by this time in the Black Sea, now prepared to commence operations against the enemy by an attack on the port and town of Odessa, thus originated. On the 6th of April, the *Furious* steam-frigate went to Odessa, to take on board the consuls, and such of the English as might desire to leave that town upon the approach of hostilities with Russia. A few moments after she had left the quay, and whilst her boat still hoisted the flag of truce, she was fired upon from the batteries. This breach of military custom amongst civilised nations was speedily avenged. At 4 P.M. on the 21st, the French and English admirals sent in a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the Russian, French, and English ships lying in the quarantine harbour; to which no answer was returned. The following morning, twelve steam-vessels of the combined squadron commenced the bombardment of the military port; and, in a few hours, destroyed the fortifications and the magazines of the Russians. The magazine in which the naval and the military stores were deposited exploded. Twelve vessels of war were sunk, and thirteen Russian transports, with their stores, were captured. The loss of the allies amounted only to five killed and twelve wounded. A little while after, the people of Odessa had their revenge, when H.M.S. the *Tiger* grounded, and was forced to surrender to the Russians. The *Tiger* was of 1,274 tons burthen, mounted six guns, and carried a crew of 226. As the ship could not be removed, she was set fire to and sunk. Some of her guns were taken, as trophies, to Odessa.

In the Baltic, the fleet under Sir C. Napier found Cronstadt inaccessible; and he did little more than seal up the Russian fleet.

The Turks and Russians were busy in the siege and defence of Silistria. The siege of the fortress was undertaken by Prince Paskiewitsch in person. The spirits

of the besieged began to droop; no help seemed at hand. The Turkish troops in Bulgaria remained quiescent. Had they made any movement the siege would probably have been raised. During this time there was a great Anglo-French force at Varna, not more than seventy miles distant; and at Shumla, still nearer, there was Omer Pasha, with his 70,000 Turks: still nothing was done to relieve the fortress; when two young British officers—Butler and Nasmyth—arrived at Silistria, on their way from India. They undertook the defence; raised the spirits of the besieged; sorties were made successfully; the assaults of the Russians were repeatedly driven back, and their killed and wounded were very numerous. The Turks lost their commander; but, on the 4th of June, Omer Pasha put 30,000 men in motion, and ordered them to advance to the relief of Silistria, which they entered the next day, partly breaking through the Russian lines. In vain Russia hurled her forces on the besieged. On the last assault, General Schilders, who, twenty-five years before, had established his reputation by taking this fortress, was hit by a cannon-ball, which carried off his thighs. General Luders had his jaw struck away. Count Orloff was dangerously wounded; as was Prince Gortschakoff. Prince Paskiewitsch was more fortunate; his wound was but small. The loss of the Russians was estimated at 30,000; and their retreating army was thoroughly demoralised. During the operations of the siege the brave Captain Butler died from exhaustion, occasioned by excessive fatigue: he was only twenty-eight, and was honourably interred by the Turks. The brave ensign, Nasmyth, lived to return to England, and he received from his sovereign the promotion to which he had an undoubted right. Todleben gives a very different version of the matter. Twice only, according to him, did the besieged attempt to attack the Russian trenches. On the night of the 20th of May they made a sortie, in which they were repulsed; and, in the ardour of the pursuit, two battalions which followed them into the Arabi Tabia, being left without support, were driven out, with a loss of 700 men. On the 3rd of June a second sortie was repulsed, with slaughter. On the night of the 20th of June, when the Russian troops were drawn up for the assault against the ruined parapets, a courier suddenly arrived with the order to raise the siege, and retire across the Danube. Their loss during the siege was only 2,500, of whom 700 fell in the sortie; so that the boasted defence only cost the Russians fifty men a day. It is hard to write history when there are such startling discrepancies; but we can scarcely believe that the Russian army would have retired so precipitately from Silistria, if they had been quite sure of inflicting on their hated enemies an additional disgrace. Moreover, Todleben tells us—actuated by a desire for peace, *and for a limited circle of military operations*, as well as to save central Europe the horrors of war, the czar, yielding to Austria and Prussia, ordered his troops to recross the Pruth on the 15th of September; and Prussia ceased to take any part in the conference at Vienna. The moment Austria occupied the principalities, the allies were left free to undertake an expedition against the Crimea; which, according to Todleben, would have been otherwise impossible.

Meanwhile, the Anglo-French forces were ingloriously dying of cholera. What was to be done? On the 26th of August, a council of war was held at Varna by all the French and English generals, who decided upon the expedition to the Crimea. Marshal St. Arnaud issued an order of the day, in which he stated that the time had come for fighting and conquering. The spirits of the army revived; Sebastopol was to be taken.

The expedition to the Crimea being decided on, the ships destined for that purpose began to rendezvous in the little bay of Baltjik, where the sea was literally covered, for the space of six miles, with the splendid shipping of the allies. Here were thirty-seven sail of the line—ten English, sixteen French, and eleven Turkish; with about 100 frigates and vessels of war; and nearly 200 of the finest steam and sailing transports in the world, lying at anchor in one immense semicircle, nine or ten deep. Each division of the army carried lights, corresponding to the number

of their division; and at night, when the ships were lighted up, the effect was described as extraordinary and most interesting: 60,000 troops were safely embarked by the 4th of September; and, on the 9th, the expedition anchored off the Isle of Serpents, at the mouth of the Danube. A council of war was held as to the best place for landing troops. The *Caradoc* was sent on an exploring expedition. Eupatoria, about forty miles from Sebastopol, was selected; and there, or in its neighbourhood, the allies landed.

We now turn to Todleben. He tells us that, early in the quarrel, the czar sent the chief of the artillery staff, and another officer, to arm the batteries of Sebastopol; and that, in the autumn of 1853, in spite of his pacific assurances, the coast batteries were mounted with 333 guns; red-hot shot furnaces were constructed; men were trained by constant firing; and experiments were made to determine the best ranges, and most destructive charges and projectiles, under the direction of Prince Mentschikoff. In the beginning of 1854, the exertions of the authorities were redoubled. Fifty-nine guns were mounted on new works. The Black Sea fleet, now concentrated in Sebastopol harbour, was disposed there in March, 1854, so as to combine its fire with that of the batteries. Although Mentschikoff was convinced, particularly as the year wore on, that no descent would be made on the Crimea, he provided, as far as possible, to meet such a danger. Fire-ships were prepared; telegraphs and coast patrols were established; and as early as May, 1854, the Wasp battery, and the Telegraph battery, and a mortar battery were constructed, and armed with eighteen pieces. During the winter and spring, indeed, he caused additions to be made to the land defences: but he was persuaded that it was only necessary to throw up such works as would stop a small corps, landed for a *coup de main*, from marching into the city; and he did not think, nor did those around him think, that the allies would be imprudent enough to land an army in a country so destitute of resources, that even water fit for drinking was very scanty. In the middle of April, Todleben was sent to Sebastopol, little dreaming of the glory he was to win by its defence. Under his inspiration the aspect of the place speedily changed: 145 guns were mounted along a line exceeding four miles in length, leaving many open spaces; and sixty guns were mounted on the north side. Prince Mentschikoff had available, for the defence, 39,000 men, eighty-eight guns of the land forces, and 18,000 sailors; but there were also about 12,000 men stationed, under General Khomontoff, in other parts of the Crimea. Todleben makes out that the town was in a poor state for defence; and that it was deficient in materials as well as in men. He says there were only 172 guns, all under twenty-four-pounders, in the forts, although 1,944 old pieces had been deposited, from time to time, by men-of-war in the arsenal; of which 931 might, in case of need, be rendered available for the works. It is clear, however, Sebastopol was intended to strike a blow, not to receive one; and for such a purpose it was well adapted and prepared. Prince Mentschikoff, in placing the harbour, arsenal, and city, beyond the reach of a raid, had done, as he thought, all that was required; when, on the morning of the 12th of September, about ten o'clock, he was summoned from his breakfast, to hear that two men-of-war were visible in the horizon, in advance of a dense cloud of black smoke which rose over the sea. Then came the news that twenty vessels of war had doubled Cape Loukone. The telegraph threw its arms up in despair, when, later in the day, it announced that the enemy's flotilla swarmed by hundreds; and, at last, a panting Cossack arrived, with the news that the number of hostile vessels was so great, it was impossible to count them. The prince was suddenly called upon to oppose a descent in which he did not believe.

His imperial master was equally sceptical. He was certain the allies meant to attack Odessa, and march on Nicholaieff, and would not diminish the force concentrated in Bessarabia; and when he heard of their threatening Sebastopol, his emotion was very great. An eye-witness relates, that the emperor was at table when the despatch containing the unwelcome news was handed to him. He gave

a slight start when he read the contents; his brow flushed; he crumpled up the paper in his hand, and, rising suddenly, stalked out of the room to the empress's *boudoir*, in which there was, at the time, one of the ladies in waiting standing by a window. "My God!" he exclaimed, with great emotion, "it is true: the French and English have landed in the Crimea!" Then the empress, by a gesture, dismissed the lady, and was left alone with his majesty of all the Russias. The czar was indeed perplexed by this unexpected blow. How much more puzzled was his lieutenant! For the first time the potency of steam was demonstrated in the most unpleasant manner; the enemy, indeed, were off Eupatoria: but if the prince hastened thither with his army, the fleet might at once sail for some point near Sebastopol, disembark troops, carry the unfinished land-defences, and decide the fate of the city before he could get back from Eupatoria. Mentschikoff, as we know, decided on taking a defensive position on the Alma. The delay of the allies in landing was of great advantage to him: it enabled him to collect reinforcements, and double his army.

The invading armada came to an anchor off Old Fort on September 14th. Immediate preparations were made for landing. The French were the first on shore: but the English speedily followed. The landing was a scene of extraordinary bustle and excitement. In a day the scene was changed. The weather was bad; and the British troops, without tents or covering, were in a deplorable condition. On the morning of September 19th, the march began. They took their time: they were from nine till two traversing the ten miles between Old Fort and the Boulganack. Lord Cardigan then pushed forward a *reconnaissance* of cavalry, and drove in the Russian outposts. Mentschikoff, in order to support them, and feel the force of the enemy, despatched a brigade of hussars, supported by two regiments of infantry, and two light batteries. Lord Raglan having perceived this, sent up the light division, the second division, two additional regiments of horse, and a field battery to sustain his troops. Soon after, the allies began to retire, and the Russians did the same.

The allies bivouacked nearly on the line of the Alma; and Todleben tells us how the Russian army watched our fire through the night, and saw the sea illuminated by the lights on board our ships. Before dawn next morning, a single gun was heard from the French flag-ship. Then they heard the *diane* beat along the French lines; then the *reveillée* sounded along the English front: finally, the Russian troops were roused for the work of the day by the hymn to Heaven—"Qu'il est Glorieux." The troops sank on their knees, while the priests traversed their ranks with the cross and the holy water. Thus fortified they prepared to meet the coming foe. The Russians were drawn up in a position which was very favourable for defence in some respects, while in others it was very disadvantageous. One of the principal drawbacks was its great length—more than five miles; another was, that the left flank could not touch the sea, in consequence of the fire of the fleet. The Russians numbered, according to Todleben, 33,600 men, with ninety-six guns.

Early on the morning of the 20th, the allies commenced the battle of the Alma; but it was nearly one o'clock before General Bosquet could lead his columns along the shore to attack an enemy superior in numbers, posted on lofty heights bristling with cannon, up which the guns of the allies had to be dragged. A regiment of Zouaves was the first to push through the brushwood; and, having gained the opposite side of the river, they ran swarming like ants up the steep and rugged cliffs. Having reached the plateau, they fell into line, when the Russians opened upon them a deadly fire of musketry and artillery. General Bosquet, with the remainder of his division, hastened to their support. By extraordinary exertions, and numerous relays of horses, the artillery was drawn up the precipitous heights, when they were rapidly brought to act against the enemy. The main body of the French army having gained the plateau, encountered the Russians in great force. All this while Canrobert was leading his division to the left, and

Prince Napoleon was conducting his to the right of the village of Bourliouk. The English arrived later on the field. They marched in contiguous double column, with a front of two divisions; General Evans's division on the right; while the light division, under General Brown, took the left. These divisions were respectively supported by General England's division, assisted by the Guards and Highlanders, under the command of the Duke of Cambridge. The light division was the first to attack; and more than once the men had to lie down, to take shelter for a moment from the heavy fire of the Russian batteries. The advance of the British is described to have been resistless as the swell of the ocean, against a wall of fire and solid masses of infantry—to struggle on at one time, overwhelmed by crushing volleys of grape and musketry; at another, disorganised by round shot, winning the ground from death at every pace, to form tranquilly and readily when momentarily thrown into disorder; and, at last, to nail victory to our colours by the never-failing British bayonet. This was accomplished. On the other hand, the French had to scale the sides of deep ravines, and to clamber up rocky steepes, defended by swarms of sharpshooters. They had to gain a most difficult position with quickness and alacrity: delay would have been fatal; for without the French on the heights on our right, we must have been driven across the Alma; and they would have been swept into the valley had the British failed in carrying the batteries. Their energetic movement, their flame-like, rapid speed from crag to crag, their ceaseless fusillade of the deadly rifle, were all astonishing, and paralysed the enemy completely. The Russians at length fled, after an engagement of nearly four hours; but they carried off all their guns, save one or two. Their loss is stated by Todleben to have been little—5,799. The loss of the allies amounted to—British, 362 killed, 1,640 wounded; French, 257 killed, 12,000 wounded: the Turks lost 230 men.

Lord Raglan gave his orders with consummate coolness and judgment. Marshal St. Arnaud, in his despatch to the emperor, said—"The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of antiquity; amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets his coolness never forsook him." Of the French commander, Lord Raglan wrote—"I will not attempt to describe the movements of the French army; this will be done by an abler hand: but it is due to them to say, their operations were eminently successful; and that, under the guidance of their distinguished marshal, St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the utmost ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed." Todleben's account of the battle agrees with that of the French; and, we may add, it is a very different one to Mr. Kinglake's. Todleben, also, omits the advance of our Guards; and differs from the author of *Eothen* as to the value of Sir Colin Campbell's demonstration on the left. Still it is clear that we killed more than the French; and, therefore, our troops must have had their fair share of the work.

In accounting for the defeat of the Russians, Todleben assigns a high place to the superior armament of the allies; but he also asserts that the Russians were inferior in manœuvring. Mr. W. Russell has put the case in a few words:—"In fact," says he, "an ill-armed Russian force, placed in a position which was not fortified, ill-commanded and manœuvred, was attacked by an enemy superior in numbers and equipments; and was, as the Americans say, 'pretty badly beaten.'"

Then commenced those blunders which created such profound sorrow at home, and such vivid sensations abroad. Why was there no pursuit of the enemy after such a victory? No reason appears to have been given for not pursuing the fugitive and demoralised Russians, and capturing the whole of them. Lord Raglan's excuse was, that he could not leave his wounded. Certainly they were beautifully cared for! There were few surgeons, and no proper conveyances; and yet they had all to be taken on board, and carried down to Scutari, 400 miles distant. The want of medical aid to the wounded soldiers on the ships was distressingly exemplified in the case of the *Vulcan*, where there were 300 wounded, and 170 cholera patients, attended only by four surgeons. On board the *Colombo*

matters were still worse: she carried, in all, 450 wounded soldiers and officers, and 104 Russian prisoners. To supply the wants of this mass of misery there were only four medical men. The ship was so covered with prostrate forms as to be unmanageable. The animal matter accumulated caused such a stench that the officers and men were nearly overcome: the captain fell ill, and thirty men died. At Scutari there were no dressers, no nurses or lint, nor any preparations made for the commonest surgical operations. When these things came to be understood there was no little wrath at home. The French were much better tended, though their chief was on his death-bed; he having done his part on the Alma while himself stricken with mortal disease.

Meanwhile, in Sebastopol an intense panic raged. Prince Mentschikoff prepared to guard it, and Todleben was indefatigable. Part of the fleet was sunk in the harbour, and thus the channel was blocked up. The crews were formed into soldiers for the time. Scarcely had these measures been completed, than the allies made their appearance in the Belbeck, and their bivouac fires were visible from the north fort on the night of the 24th of September. Every moment the garrison expected to see their feeble intrenchments carried. Their situation was the most critical, as Prince Mentschikoff had that very night left Sebastopol, and led his army by Mackenzie's farm to Baktchiserai. The prince confided the command of the troops in the city to Lieutenant-General de Möller; of the north side, and of the fort, to Korniloff; of the sailors, and the south side, to Nakhimoff. He left as garrison, altogether, 16,569 men. The allied army (60,000) was little more than three miles from the city. Working night and day in the interval between the 14th and 25th of September, the Russians, under Todleben's directions, could only run up some field-works. The walls actually tumbled down in the attempt to repair them; and all along a front, of a mile in extent, there were only twenty guns to oppose to the enemy. Korniloff could muster only 11,350 men—nearly all sailors—for the defence. In fact, his case was desperate: the fort, commanded from the surrounding heights, was crumbling to pieces; a breach was actually formed in the parapets by the wall giving way under the sacks of earth, hastily placed on them to cover the artillerymen as the enemy came in sight; the parapets were not high enough to protect the heads of the garrison. A body of sailors, armed with flint-muskets, boarding pistols, and the like, placed behind a wretched work, and exposed to the bombardment of an enormous fleet, were to be pitted against 60,000 men flushed with victory. In the event of defeat, retreat would have been impossible; the Russian fleet could not aid them by its fire till it had got away. No doubt, the establishment of batteries to intercept the communications with the north side, would have been difficult under the guns of the Russian fleet; but it would have been possible, as is proved by the fact, that the allies raised batteries on the south side, which forced the Russian ships to withdraw. It may be objected, also, that it would have been very difficult for the allies to have landed their artillery, and that the communication with the fleet would have been interrupted, as there was no port. That would have been a grave matter if the troops were obliged to prolong their attack of the north fort: but considering its power of resistance, and the strength of the fleet, the allies would have had complete success in a very little time.

That the attack could not have detained the allies long, Todleben demonstrates by a rigid analysis of the ground, and of the means of defence possessed by the garrison. On the right of the work, the allies would have been exposed, he states, to the fire of seven guns at long range, from which they would very soon get into cover. In a movement direct on the front, they would have been under the fire of six guns. On the left, they would have to encounter the effect of seven guns, which ought to have been very soon demolished by the fleet. The success of an assault, if preceded by a bombardment of the works and of the uncovered garrison—both of which were commanded by the guns of the fleet—must have been certain and inevitable. If such was the state of affairs after so many days of vigorous pre-

paration, which the delay of the allies permitted the Russians to make, it may be easily conceived what must have occurred if the enemy had marched on the place immediately after the battle, when one-half even of these miserable defences were not in existence.

It was not without astonishment, then, that the garrison, on the morning of the 26th of September, heard the allies were actually marching round the south side of the city. There was some disquietude caused by the movement, in consequence of its cutting off the communication between the garrison and the army; but the sensation of relief from immediate danger was far greater, although the south side was exceedingly weak, and was garrisoned only by 5,000 men.

This celebrated flank movement is shown by Todleben to have been a terrible mistake. The allies found it very difficult, on account of the almost impenetrable jungle through which they had to pass. They succeeded in seizing some of the baggage of the army, and the carriage of Prince Mentschikoff; but where they were, they could have mastered Sebastopol, and saved a winter of appalling misery. Todleben examines the reasons for this march. He contends, that the argument in its favour, founded on the absence of a port on the north side, was no solid basis. Unless the allies, he says, having originally resolved to land on the north side, found out, when they had done so, that an attack *de force* was impossible, and that it would be necessary to undertake a siege of the north side, they could not have needed a port. Did they not know, he asks, beforehand that the north shore had no port? and did they not, nevertheless, effect a descent on the north side? The inference is clear, that, the allies intended to operate against that side of the grand bay of Sebastopol: they had no reason whatever to think the north side impregnable. Their fleet looked into the place. If they had made a few *reconnaissances*, they would, no doubt, have been satisfied of the possibility of taking the works. It has been argued, by the advocates for the flank march, that the allies might have taken the north side, and yet have failed to destroy the Russian ships and arsenals. Todleben is of a different opinion: he asserts that the fleets and arsenals could have been really destroyed from the north side. Weighing all the facts of the case, he arrives at the conclusion that there was a change in the councils of the allies, and an uncertainty, which he ascribes to St. Arnaud's illness, and also to the impression produced by the sinking of the ships in the harbour; but, so far as the authority of the Russian engineer avails, the question is decided as to the certainty with which the north side would have fallen into the hands of the allies, and to the ease with which they could have destroyed the ships and arsenals of the south side afterwards. When General Mansfield was at Warsaw, he held some interesting conversation with Prince Gortschakoff, concerning the events in the early part of the war in the Crimea, which he reported to the authorities or to his friends at home. In the *Military Opinions* of the veteran engineer and soldier, Sir John Burgoyne, some comments are made on these remarks of the Russian general, respecting the very question at issue. Prince Gortschakoff maintained, "there was nothing to stop the allies marching into the town." Sir John argues that the north side was very strong: Todleben asserts it was very weak. The impression made by the look of the works was, no doubt, due to the remoteness and imperfections of the *reconnaissances* of the place. The officers of the fleet did not throw much light on the defences. Sir John evidently did not know that the garrison was so weak, the works so slight; that there was a breach in them; and, above all, that the covering army to which he alludes, had marched away, and left the garrison to its fate. Again, Sir John states, the fort was not commanded in any way; and quotes the authority of Major Graham to show it was the culminating point of a ridge. Todleben, who knew the ground at least as well, implies the reverse, and alludes, in several places, to its uncovered position; while he insists on its openness to a cannonade over and over again.

Well, the allies are in Balaklava, where they have a harbour, and are in communication with the fleet. The men are dying of cholera; but they are dragging

the guns up the heights, and doing their duty bravely. But the south side of Sebastopol seemed to them equally as unattractive as the north. Todleben says—“Here, again, they were completely mistaken. The total number of guns available for the defence on the south side was 145 pieces, which were spread over a space of nearly five miles. To these were added twenty-seven guns, in different places, after the news of the loss of the Alma. The only part of the whole line capable of resisting an assault was at the 6th and 7th bastions. Field-works of the feeblest profile, the open spaces and unfinished works armed with light guns, were all that could be said to defend a city garrisoned by only 16,000 men, and thirty-two field guns. Neither the exultation of the troops, nor their resolution to fight to the last extremity, could have saved Sebastopol if the enemy had attacked it immediately after the passage of the Tchernaya.” Todleben, availing himself of the delay which took place on the part of the allies, proceeded to fortify the place. The principle on which he acted was, to occupy the least extended position, and the nearest to the city which would satisfy the necessary conditions; to arm the principal points of the line so selected with the most formidable artillery which could be procured from the fleet; to connect these points with trenches for musketry; and to enable the separate batteries to concentrate a powerful fire on the front and flanks, to sweep the sinuosities of the ground as much as possible. One obstacle to the choice of the best line was presented by the works already constructed, to the line of which he was obliged to conform, as there was no time to rectify the errors on trace which they presented. The besieged had only time to throw up the soft earth, as they could not excavate the rock; and the guns were put in position before the batteries were ready to receive them. Then women and children laboured at the defences. Even the convicts and felons took their share. It was rarely they could dig as deep as two feet and a-half without coming on the stony subsoil. No wonder, with a place thus poorly defended, there was a panic on the part of the civil population, when they saw, towards the end of September, the allies on the heights above them. “Our own Correspondent” describes the scene in Sebastopol as a busy one. Steamers and boats of every description were seen moving to-and-fro in the harbour: long lines of carts and carriages were visible; ladies moving on horseback were observed along the road leading to the interior; and property of every kind was being removed from the town. They had no idea that the allies were going to give them time to defend the place in a way which was to cover Todleben—the soul of the defence—with universal renown.

On the 30th of September, to the inexpressible joy of the garrison, Prince Mentschikoff appeared with his army on the north side; and, next day, the troops for the defence received reinforcements of 5,000 men, field guns, and Cossacks. Column after column streamed into the Crimea; and each day the garrison was strengthened by accessions from the army, till, on the 5th of October, there were 32,000 men ready to receive the assault of the allies. Todleben thinks that, if then they had assaulted the place, they could scarcely have failed to have been successful. He applies himself to show, that the chances were, the allies would certainly have got possession of some part or other of the lines, as the Russians were so placed that they could not concentrate more than 2,500 to oppose the storming columns; and the occupation of any one, he shows, would have been fatal to the besieged. The allies, too, could have distracted the garrison by false attacks, and burst in on the real point of assault. They could have made their advance just at daybreak, before the artillery could have made theirs, and disorganised their columns. Again and again, writes Mr. Russell, the Russian engineer insists that success was quite certain. The indecision of the allies gave the Russians heart—they began to breathe more freely. The dark hour was past. The enemy, indeed, was at hand; but so dubious, slow, and uncertain were his movements, that, when the first signs of his purpose were made manifest, in the shape of certain lines which grew up by night in the clay soil, those trenches, which were to grow into batteries, were at first supposed by the Russians to be defensive

works, covering the front of the allied armies. Their generals "poked about" in front of the place. Mr. Kinglake tells us, Lord Raglan disliked to disturb his mind by plans. St. Arnaud was dead. Canrobert, his successor, was not a man who liked to be troubled by anything in particular, except fighting. The result of the remote examination of the Russian works which the allied generals made, was the begetting of an idea that it would be imprudent to make an assault till the works had been bombarded. Todleben evidently thinks that, if the *reconnaissances* had been closely pushed, and properly made, they would have arrived at a very different conclusion. The garrison, wasted and worn, and anxious, waited hour after hour for the supreme moment, scarcely daring to hope for more than a creditable defence. With joy inexpressible, they saw, one fine morning, long lines of earth, which unmistakably revealed the purpose of the allies. They were going to besiege Sebastopol. Here was, indeed, a hope of safety; nay, more, a guarantee of success. The Russians immediately resolved to overwhelm their force by the weight of metal; and whilst the allies, working with evident slowness, laboured to throw up their batteries, the Russians, confident that, if they could only resist the first attack, they must receive powerful reinforcements, exerted themselves to the utmost. On the 2nd of October, the guns in position had been increased to no less than 341, of which 246 were heavy pieces lately mounted. As the French and English worked at their trenches, and opened their batteries, the besieged acted accordingly. It was clear to them that the allies had decided on making no direct attack on Sebastopol; but preferred resorting to the slower process of constructing batteries, in order, first of all, to silence or weaken our artillery.

Mr. Russell observes—"The calculations of the French and English engineers must have been made in ignorance of every fact connected with Sebastopol. They set to work as if they thought the Russians must remain idle. One of the reasons for not attacking the place was, that there was a large covering army. Was it not certain, a portion of that army, having free access to the town, would be available to work at the fortifications, and garrison the place? Large men-of-war had been sunk; others had been moored in harbour. Would not their guns be made available, and become more formidable, in the earthworks which rose much faster than our own, than they were on board the ships? Was not the attack of the allies directed against Sebastopol because it was, among other things, a vast arsenal? With guns, powder, ammunition, and the soldiers, sailors, labourers at hand, what earthly reason was there for supposing the Russians would not maintain, in a siege, the relative superiority in all those particulars which prevented our assaulting them till we had tried a bombardment? The allies had a siege-train manifestly little heavier than the main-deck guns of three or four of the line-of-battle ships. But the engineers prevailed, and they challenged the Russians to meet them in the trenches."

Of course the allies, especially the English, inflicted terrible damage at the great bombardment of the 17th of October. As the revetments and parapets crumbled, the Russians fancied they saw, through the thick smoke, the enemy advancing to the assault. Suddenly, at half-past nine in the morning, one of the French magazines blew up. In half-an-hour afterwards another exploded in the French lines. Gradually the French fire became weaker, and at half-past ten it ceased all along the line. Todleben admits that our artillery speedily established a relative superiority. The Redan and the Malakoff suffered above all. In the latter Korniloff received his mortal wound. By the explosion of a magazine, caused by our fire, the whole of the salients of the Redan were thrown into the ditch, with more than a hundred men. Only two guns remained intact, out of the twenty-two with which the work was armed; and there were only five artillerymen left, who fired these guns at rare intervals. The fire of the allied fleet that day produced but little effect, although they had 1,244 guns in broadside, against the 152 with which the Russian works were armed. It was

from that fleet, however, arose the cry, "For God's sake, keep out the shells!" And, in fact, the men inside stone and earth had the best of the men inside the wood, and the former lost only an eighth of the number killed and wounded in the allied fleet. The Russians lost 1,112 men that day, of whom more than one-half were put *hors de combat* in the section in front of the English. The latter lost only 144: the French, 204. The general conclusion at which Todleben arrives is, that the object of the allied bombardment having been to dismount the Russian artillery, and to prepare the way for an assault, it was only the English batteries which obtained a complete success in annihilating the enemy's works and guns; but that such a partial success altogether answered the end in view; and that, after the allies had obtained it, they ought to have assaulted under cover of the smoke, and have advanced before the Russians could have come out of cover to resist them. The ditch was filled, the parapet beaten down; and the Russians could only have collected 8,000 men to resist our taking the Karabelnaia. As they did not profit by this favourable occasion to make the assault, it is evident that all their hopes and preparations for speedy victory were doomed to have no result. The allies discovered that the measures they had taken were not sufficient to overcome the strength of a defence which developed itself with so much perseverance and energy. Next day the English opened a tremendous cannonade; but the French were silent. The former did not obtain so decisive a result as on the first day.

The besiegers had a sad time of it. In eight weeks, of the British troops alone, no less than 9,000 men were placed *hors de combat* from cold and disease. The allied troops began to get tired of this continual pounding. The Russians had, or seemed to have, plenty of labourers to repair by night the damage done by day. The British were worn out with fatigue; their daily toil exhausted them. The most heroic bravery was displayed by some of the British officers, naval and military: among others was Captain Peel, of the former service, who, when the union-jack in the sailor's battery was shot away, seized the broken staff, and, leaping up on the earthworks, waved the old bit of bunting again and again, amidst a storm of shot which fortunately left him unhurt.

The Russians had now considerably augmented their forces by an army of 50,000, commanded by General Liprandi; and, on the 25th, they attacked the British in the rear of their camp, threatening to cut off their communication with Balaklava. The position occupied by the British was supposed to be impregnable. Their lines were formed by mountain slopes in the rear, along which the French had made very formidable intrenchments. On the top of each of these hills the Turks had thrown up earthen redoubts, defended by 250 men, armed with two or three guns. These Turks the Russians attacked early in the morning, and soon put to flight. The Cossacks were too quick for them, and sword and lance were busily plied among the retreating herd. The yells of the pursuers and the pursued were plainly heard by the various divisions of the British army, thus suddenly and unexpectedly roused to arms. Orders had been despatched to Sir G. Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge to put their respective divisions in motion, and the intelligence was likewise furnished to Canrobert. Sir Colin Campbell, who was in command at Balaklava, had drawn up his 93rd Highlanders a little in front of the road. At the first news of the advance of the enemy, the marines on the heights were under arms. Lord Lucan's little camp was the scene of great excitement; the men had not had time to water their horses: they had not broken their fast from the evening of the day before, and had barely saddled at the first blast of the trumpet, when they were drawn up on the slopes behind the redoubts in front of the camp, to operate on the enemy's squadrons. The Turks betook themselves towards the Highlanders; and at them, after a pause, the Russians furiously charged. The Highlanders treated them to a deadly fire, which compelled them to retire. A fresh attack was ordered. Brigadier Scarlett rode along in front of his massive squadrons. "The Russians," writes the *Times'* correspondent, "advanced down the hill at a slow canter, which they changed

to a trot, and at last nearly halted. Their first line was at least double that of the British, and three times as deep; behind them was a similar line, equally long and compact. At the trumpet-charge, the Greys and Enniskillens went right at the centre of the Russian cavalry; the space between them was only a few hundred yards, scarcely enough to let the horses gather way; nor had the men sufficient space for the full play of their sword-arms. The Russian line brought forward each wing as our cavalry advanced, and threatened to annihilate them as they passed. The Greys rushed on with a cheer, which thrilled to every heart; the wild shout of the Enniskillens rose through the air at the same moment; and, as lightning flashes through a crowd, they both dashed through the dark masses of the Russians. The shock was but for a moment; there was a clash of steel, and a light play of sword-blades in the air, and then the brave fellows disappeared, in the midst of the shaken, and shivering, and quivering Russian columns: in another moment they were seen emerging and dashing on with diminished numbers, and in broken order, against the second line, advanced against them, as fast as it could, to relieve the force in charge. It was a terrible moment; with unabated fire these noble fellows dashed at the enemy: it was a fight of heroes. The first line of Russians which had been smashed utterly at their charge, had fled off at one flank, and, towards the centre, were coming up, to swallow this handful of brave men, who, by their sheer courage and steel, were winning their desperate way right through the enemy's squadrons; and soon the grey horses and red coats appeared right at the rear of the second mass, whose irresistible force was like a bolt from above. The 1st Royal and the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards rushed at the remnant of the first line of the enemy, and went through it as if it had been made of pasteboard; and, dashing on the second body of Russians as they were still disordered by the terrible assault of the Greys and their companions, put them to utter rout. The Russian horse, five minutes after, were flying with all speed before a force certainly not half its strength. The cavalry did not long pursue the enemy; their loss was slight—only thirty-five killed and wounded. Nobly did our soldiers do their duty. French and English officers, who witnessed their operations from the heights, might well be clamorous in their praise."

Then came an episode never to be forgotten. After the Russians retired, they took up a position covered by thirty guns. It is reported that Lord Raglan sent off Captain Nolan, of the 8th Hussars, with a written order to storm the guns "if the thing were practicable;" and that, when Lord Lucan read the order, he asked Captain Nolan, "Where are we to advance to?" To which he replied—"There are the enemy, and there are the guns before you; it is your duty to take them." Lord Lucan then, with reluctance, gave orders to Lord Cardigan to advance upon the guns, conceiving that his orders compelled him to do so. The noble earl, though he did not shrink, saw, also, the fearful odds against them.

"The light cavalry brigade," writes Mr. Russell, "consisting of only 607 sabres, led by Lord Cardigan, at ten minutes past eleven, glittering in the morning sun, and in the pride and splendour of war, advanced in two lines, increasing their pace as they closed towards the enemy. Thirty iron guns of the enemy belched forth among them a flood of smoke and flame, accompanied with deadly balls, which was marked by instant gaps in the ranks of the devoted heroes, scattering the ground with dead men and horses; steeds flying, wounded or riderless, across the plain. The first line, broken, was joined by the second: they never halted or checked their speed an instant. Their diminished ranks thinned by the Russians with their thirty guns laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was mingled with many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries; but ere they were lost from view, the plain was strewn with their dead bodies, and with the carcasses of horses—being exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as a direct fire of musketry. Through the smoke were seen their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns, and dashed between them, cutting

down the gunners as they stood. After breaking through a column of Russian infantry, and scattering them like chaff, they were seen returning, exposed to the flank fire of the battery, which swept them down, scattered and broken as they were; and, on their retreat, a numerous mass of Lancers was hurled on their flank. Colonel Skerrett, of the 8th Hussars, saw the danger, and rode his few men straight at them, cutting through with frightful loss. Other regiments turned and engaged in this desperate encounter. The brave troopers were seen breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, when there took place an act of atrocity without parallel in the modern warfare of civilised nations. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry passed, returned to their guns. They saw their own cavalry mingled with the British troopers, who had just ridden over them; and, to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin. It was as much as our heavy cavalry could do to cover the retreat of this band of heroes." In this magnificent but useless exploit, the light cavalry lost ten officers; 147 men, killed or missing; 110 men wounded; with 335 horses. The heavy brigade lost, during the day, nine men killed, and ten officers; eighty-seven men wounded, and forty-six horses. There was glory in the deed, but the price paid was high. On his return to England, the Earl of Cardigan was *fêted* as a hero; and Tennyson found, in the daring charge, a fit theme for his melodious pen. Ages will pass away since it will be forgot how—

" Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them,
Volley'd and thunder'd :
Storm'd at with shot and shell,
Boldly they rode, and well ;
Into the jaws of Death,
Into the mouth of Hell,
Rode the six hundred.

" Flash'd all their sabres bare,
Flash'd as they turn'd in air,
Sab'ring the gunners there,
Charging an army, while
All the world wondered.
Plunged in the battery smoke,
Right through the line they broke;
Cossack and Russian
Reel'd from the sabre-stroke,
Shatter'd and sunder'd.
Then they rode back : but not—
Not the six hundred."

In the poet's last verse all will agree—

" When can their glory fade ?
O ! the wild charge they made !
All the world wonder'd.
Honour the charge they made ;
Honour the Light Brigade,
Noble six hundred !"

The result of the action, altogether, was in favour of the Russians. Todleben asserts, and Mr. Russell confirms the assertion, that if General Liprandi had received some support that day, Balaklava would have fallen into their hands. The news of the success obtained by the Russian troops—the taking of the Turkish redoubts—the annihilation of the large mass of the English cavalry, and the occupation of an advanced position—produced a most favourable impression on the garrison of Sebastopol, which had not had a single day of repose; had, indeed, been harassed by increasing labour ever since the landing of the allies, and had

been kept in a ceaseless state of suspense by the expectation of an assault. Todleben continues—"The catastrophe of the Alma was forgotten; unlimited confidence was again placed in the superiority of Russian arms; and the moral tone of the garrison being completely restored, it returned to the display of the greatest energy. The principal object of the defence was, henceforth, not to allow the artillery of the besiegers to achieve an advantage over ours. Most special attention was therefore directed to meet the fire of the new batteries which the French evidently had the intention of establishing." In order to distract the attention of the enemy, a sortie was ordered against the British. According to Todleben, the attacking force was but small, and retired with the loss of twenty-five officers, and 245 men, killed and wounded. Sir de Lacy Evans estimated their loss at 600; and he had some reason, for he took eighty prisoners, and had about 130 of their dead left in or near his position. Some writers calculated the attacking force at 12,000: clearly this is an immense exaggeration.

The Russians, who had been reinforced, finding that the troops of the allies were being reinforced much more speedily than themselves, in consequence of the facility of transport by sea, made up their minds for another grand struggle, now known to history as the battle of Inkermann, fought on the 5th of November. At this time, the effective force in and around Sebastopol, under Mentschikoff, amounted to 100,000 men, without counting the crews of ships. To oppose this force, the French mustered 41,700 men; the English, 24,530; the Turks, 4,700. These forces were divided into a besieging and a covering army. Of the former the English had taken up their ground on the space from the abrupt crests of the Mount Saponine, looking down the Tchernaya, opposite Inkermann, to the Sarandziaki ravine, at about two-and-a-third miles from Sebastopol; and the French extended from the English left as far as the road from Sebastopol to Kamiche, at a distance of from one mile and a third to one mile and three-quarters from the city. The head-quarters of the English army were near the ascent of the Chersonese plateau, on the road from Balaklava to Kamiesch. The French head-quarters were a little further behind the right flank of the French corps. In every way the ground which the besiegers occupied was very difficult of access. An attack on the plateau from either side of Balaklava, or from the Tchernaya, could have no hope of success, on account of the difficulties of access, and of the strong fortifications. The narrow space between Careening ravine and the Quarries ravine, although offering the only point of attack, was nearly inaccessible. There were encamped the English second division, covered in part by three works of very weak profile: one, the Sand-bag battery, unarmed on the right flank; another on the right of the road; the third behind the first. Across the road was cut a trench. Prince Mentschikoff decided to attack at that point. Although the nature of the ground rendered the position strong, the number of troops defending it was small.

The night was dark when the Russian troops quitted their bivouacs. "The English," says Todleben, "without the least suspicion of the danger to which they were exposed, were sleeping peaceably in their camps. Their outposts, soaked in rain, shivered at the cold blast of an icy wind, and, half stupid with fatigue and inanition, did not lend much attention to what passed in our camp. At six, General Soimonoff's detachments had mounted on the plateau, and began to form in the order of battle. Having done so, General Soimonoff began to advance, parallel with Careening ravine. A thick fog, and the grey colour of our soldiers' great-coats, concealed their line from the view of the enemy's outposts, and permitted them to advance, without being remarked, almost up to them. A picket of the light division of General Brown was almost immediately surrounded and taken. Then commenced a musketry fire, which was the signal for a general *alerte* in the enemy's camp. At the dawn of day, General Codrington had left the camp to visit his outposts. After having made his rounds he was preparing to return, when he heard suddenly some musket-shots in the direction of the heights of the ravine, and immediately afterwards some sentries ran in with the news of the

Russian attack. Codrington returned immediately to camp, and communicated the intelligence to General Brown, who put his division under arms, and directed it towards the upper part of Careening ravine. Scarcely had the first volley rang through the camp, ere the alarm spread to the second division. General Pennefather, who commanded it in the absence of Sir de Lacy Evans (caused by illness), immediately advanced his troops on the position, placing them, with twelve guns, on the ground between the Sand-bag battery and the ravine Michrivkoff. Adams' brigade occupied the right, and Pennefather's brigade the left. Almost at the same time the troops of the light division reached the upper part of the ravine. Codrington's brigade, with six guns, occupied the western ridge of the ravine, and rested its left on the right Lancaster battery; while Butler's brigade, with six guns, having turned the end of the ravine, placed itself in the rear of Pennefather's brigade. Without loss of time, the brigade of Guards, the fourth division, and the brigade John Campbell, were also led to the scene of action. The brigades Airey and Torrens, and the Rifles, remained in the trenches. The troops of the right column, under Soimonoff, supported by their batteries, attacked Sir de Lacy Evans' division briskly, and drove back the English skirmishers. The assault was conducted under great difficulty, as much owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, as to the losses which our troops suffered from the excellent arms of the English." But we must hasten on, as Todleben's account is too minute for a history such as ours. Lord Raglan was informed that the enemy were advancing in force; and soon after seven o'clock he rode towards the scene of action, followed by his staff and several of his aides-de-camp. As they approached, the volume of smoke, the steady unceasing thunder of guns, rifles, and muskets, told that the engagement was at its height. The shells of the Russians were thrown, with great precision, so thickly among the troops, that the noise resembled continuous discharges of cannon, and the massive fragments inflicted death on every one within range. Masses of men maintained the most desperate encounters with the bayonet alone; and the Russian infantry charged the British with incredible fury and determination. There was terrible havoc made among the British troops. Their generals knew not what to do—they could not tell where the enemy was. In darkness, gloom, and rain, they had to lead the British lines through thick, scrubby, and thorny brakes, which broke their ranks. Sir George Cathcart, on rallying together his disordered men, fell mortally wounded. Colonel Seymour, who had accompanied him, was bayoneted whilst standing near the dead body of his chief. In this struggle, where the Russians fought with the greatest ferocity, they bayoneted the soldier as he fell. The Russians lost their General Soimonoff, and the English riflemen did them immense damage. "After recovering," writes Todleben, "the rude blows which the Russians had given them, the English troops advanced again. Thirty 9-pounders on the crest of the heights, which formed the English front, opened fire against our artillery; thirty-eight of our guns on Cossack Hill replied to them. The hand-to-hand engagement had ceased, to give place to a lively cannonade. Our artillery, separated from that of the English by two ravines, could not, having regard to the ground, answer the English batteries otherwise than by a direct fire of shot and shell, at a distance of from 920 to 1,000 yards. Notwithstanding the range, which was particularly great for light artillery, our guns caused considerable damage to the English artillery. But these injuries very imperfectly compensated the enormous losses which the enemy's riflemen inflicted on the Russian artillery. A perfect cloud of riflemen, hid in thick brushwood, opened a very violent and accurate fire against our artillery, at the distance of 800 paces. Some of our guns rained, from time to time, grape upon them; but the discharge only checked the fire of the enemy's riflemen for a moment; for, after their momentary fright, they only commenced to decimate our ranks more effectually. At the same time, the English artillery hurled shrapnel on our artillery and infantry; but it was more the fire of rifled small arms than that of the artillery of the enemy which reached our artillerymen, of whom the greater part were killed or wounded." By eight the

head of the Russian columns had retired. Of all the battalions which were to have attacked the English position by that time, twenty had already quitted the field. The Russians, repulsed after suffering frightful loss, were, as Todleben confesses, harassed with fatigue: still the combat raged fiercely. The Russian General Dannenberg had two horses shot under him. Projectiles of all kinds reached even to the ravine of St. George, where were the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, at the side of Prince Mentschikoff.

Against "the intrepid Coldstreams," as Todleben terms them, "was one of the bravest of the Russian regiments (the Okhotsk) hurled." A bloody and obstinate combat ensued round the battery. Although still unfinished, the Coldstreams defended it with as much tenacity as courage. The soldiers of Okhotsk scaled the parapets again and again, and even reached the interior of the work; but they were repulsed every time, and could not establish themselves solidly. The combat at this point soon assumed the character of a hand-to-hand engagement. In the midst of the sanguinary *mêlée*, these intrepid soldiers carried on, one against the other, a terrible, merciless struggle. Whatever came to hand, whatever could injure an enemy, seemed fit for the combat. The soldiers exchanged shots with muzzles touching; struck each other with the butts; fought bayonet to bayonet; and even threw stones and fragments of arms against each other. At last, after unheard-of efforts to conquer such an energetic resistance, the soldiers of Okhotsk succeeded in expelling the Coldstreams from the battery, and seizing it. Nine guns were the reward of this brilliant feat of arms; three were immediately taken down the ravine, and the others were spiked. Of 600 Coldstreams who defended the battery, 200 were *hors de combat*. But the brilliant victory was dearly gained: the Okhotsk regiment lost its commander; the greater part of its officers; a very great number of soldiers; and was, finally, compelled to retire before the English reinforcements, consisting of the Guards and others.

Todleben continues—"The English remained a long time before they resolved to demand help from the French. Long they fought obstinately against the Russians; but finally they had no more strength. Having exhausted his soldiers, and engaged all his reserves in the battle, Lord Raglan was obliged to resign himself to pray General Bosquet to come to his help. Bosquet replied immediately by sending, without delay, two battalions and a-half, and twelve guns. Soon after, to support these troops, two battalions and four squadrons were directed to the same point; and, finally, Canrobert himself sent three battalions under General de Monet. At the same time, Prince Napoleon was informed that it might be necessary to ask him for reinforcements. At the first onset the French fled; but they re-formed. Meanwhile," continues Todleben, "the fire of the French batteries made terrible ravages among the Russian columns; but the ardour of our soldiers attained its highest degree of exaltation. Exalted by their success, the regiments of the eleventh division pushed back before them the French battalions. One effort, and the issue of that combat would have been decided in favour of the Russians; but, unhappily, the fatigue of our soldiers had arrived at its height. It was a decisive moment for the two armies." Fortunately for the allies more French reinforcements arrived. "In the steps of General Bosquet, rushed the Zouaves, the Chasseurs Endégenes, and the Chasseurs d'Afrique, followed closely by three battalions and a field battery, commanded by General d'Autemarre." The battle was lost; and nothing was left for the Russians but a retrograde movement, conducted with great order and extraordinary bravery. The English having recovered, and being supplied with cartridges, again came into action.

General Dannenberg, seeing the approach of fresh troops to the allies, and having lost all hope of holding the position, took measures for retreat. Todleben writes—"Bosquet, seeing the dangerous condition of our retreating troops, began to press on our rear-guards still more hotly. At half-past two the last four batteries had left the position; and about three o'clock Bosquet placed a battery on a height situated opposite the head of the Valoura ravine, in order to act

against our troops, which were at that time crossing the long Inkermann bridge and causeway: but the steamers *Wladimir* and *Chersonese*, anchored in the roads opposite the mouth of the Souskilnaia ravine, opened such a rapid and well-armed fire on the French, that they were immediately obliged to retreat." The Russians fell back in two different directions. Those from Inkermann made for the bridge over the Tchernaya; and those from Sebastopol returned by the mouth of Careening ravine. The artillery slowly crawled down the Sappers' Road, and were very near being captured by the sharpshooters of the allies. Todleben blames Prince Gortschakoff, down in the valley of Balaklava, for not having rendered more assistance in drawing off the French, upon whom he made a feigned attack.

It is impossible to give a clear idea of Inkermann. We seek in vain for order where all was confusion. Mr. Russell says many incidents of that tremendous day's fighting will never be known clearly for long years to come. Todleben affirms, that out of 34,835 men who took part in the action, six generals, 256 officers, and 10,467 soldiers were killed or wounded. Lord Raglan estimated the forces of the Russians, and their loss, at a much higher number. The loss of the allies was eleven generals, 260 officers, and 4,109 rank and file; of which 147 officers, and 2,465, were English. The discrepancy in the losses Todleben ascribes to the conditions of attack, and to the difference of armament. In his elaborate way, Todleben sets to work to show, first, that the ground prevented the Russians acting in masses together; secondly, that the superiority of armament, on the side of the English, prevented any approach to a charge, and caused enormous losses at a distance; thirdly, that the English infantry was helped always at the proper time by the artillery, and that the Russians were not.

The great battle of Inkermann was sustained by 5,000 English troops alone until the French troops came up; and the whole number of the British engaged in it did not exceed 8,000, and that of the French 6,000 men. On the part of the British it was a confused and desperate struggle—a battle won by the men alone. Colonels of regiments led on small parties, and fought like subalterns; captains like privates: all depended upon personal valour. Every man was his own general: the tide of battle ebbed and flowed in broken tumultuous billows; the combat of infantry was a proof of skill, strength, and courage. Never, perhaps, had the artillery fire been concentrated, for so long a time, on so confined a space: this whole part of the battle-field was not more than three-quarters of a mile. There were nine hours of close fighting. The slaughter of the enemy had been so immense, that there was no exultation on the part of the victors; but a gloom hung over them as they surveyed the Russian corpses, strewing the ground like autumn leaves. The field was literally covered with the dead and wounded; the path was slippery with blood. It was hard work to bury them all, and to tend the wounded. Large trenches were dug in the ground for the former: the Russians lay apart; the French and English were placed side by side. The wounded were carefully tended; and all night long, by the light of the moon, there was searching for the living amongst the dead. The Russian army was primed with raki; whereas most of the British went into battle without their breakfasts. On the 6th of November, Lord Raglan attended the funerals of Sir G. Cathcart, Brigadier Goldie, and General Strangways. The remains of these brave men, with eleven other officers, were buried on Cathcart Hill. At the same time, fourteen officers of the Guards were buried together near the windmill. The work of burying the dead, and carrying the wounded to Balaklava, occupied the whole of that day.

Well, the allies beat off the Russians: nevertheless, the battle produced a profound effect upon them. At first, indeed, they even thought of raising the siege. They changed their tactics, and acted on the defence. The plan of the allies had been, originally, to deliver the assault after a short cannonade. When the English annihilated the Great Redan, they had a chance: losing that, they chose for the principal point of attack, bastion No. 4, or Flagstaff bastion. Towards this the French pushed their way with remarkable activity, considering the nature of the

soil ; but after Inkermann, the assault against bastion No. 4 was put off. It is a fact, that after the 5th of November, the besiegers continued the violence of their artillery fire for only a few days ; and, from the day in question, the gradual decrease of the bombardment could be remarked. The approach of the French to bastion No. 4, did not advance a step after they had opened their third parallel. On the contrary, they took measures to secure the two flanks of their attack, while the English set to work actively to fortify their position on the heights of Careening Bay. On their side, the Russians, profiting by the increasing weakness of the besiegers' fire, were enabled to undertake vast works, to give the greatest liberty of action to the line of defence.

But the allies had other enemies besides the Russians. In the middle of October, the most alarming accounts began to be received, from Balaklava, of the sufferings of the British troops in camp, not from disease only, but from the want of the necessities of life—clothing, food, fuel, &c. The public journals teemed with reports both horrible and heartrending, contained in letters from private individuals on the spot. These accounts created the greatest alarm and anger in England. The "Patriotic Fund" was called into existence by royal commission. Her majesty headed the list of subscribers with £1,000 ; the Prince Consort subscribed £500. The most munificent contributions poured in. Amongst others, we may notice the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, £2,000 ; the Corporation of London, £2,000 ; East India Company, £1,000 ; Goldsmiths' Company, £1,000 ; Grocers' Company, £1,000. On the 2nd of November, a large meeting of the merchants and bankers of the city of London was held in the Egyptian Hall, Mansion-house ; when, after many long and patriotic speeches, the sum of £16,000 was subscribed in the hall. Public meetings were held in all the principal cities and large towns of the kingdom ; and, in the course of three months, the subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund amounted to half a million. Nor was this all. Sir Robert Peel addressed a letter to the editor of the *Times*, recommending that every exertion should be made to relieve the soldiers' sufferings, and to supply them with such comforts as did not come within military regulations ; enclosing a cheque for £400, as part of a special fund for that purpose. This was rapidly followed by other sympathisers ; and, in less than a fortnight, the sum of £10,000 was sent on to the *Times*' office, to be thus appropriated. It was then proposed that a commissioner should be sent out to Scutari, to administer necessities and comforts to the sick and wounded in the hospital at that place ; and the *Times* despatched one of their staff for the purpose, at their own expense. Such was the want of the commonest hospital appliances, and so great were the benefits accomplished by the *Times*' commissioner, that he was entrusted with £5,000 more. At this time, Miss Florence Nightingale, the youngest daughter of William Shore Nightingale, Esq., of Embley Park, Hants, volunteered to leave her home of luxury and ease, to tend the sick and dying at Scutari. The French had already sent out 500 Sisters of Mercy.

Affairs in the Crimea grew worse. On the 14th of November, occurred a storm such as the oldest inhabitant had never known. The tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven in the morning ; and, in two hours, eleven transports had been wrecked, and six dismantled, and rendered unfit for service. The new, magnificent steamship *Prince*, which had arrived only a few days before with the 46th regiment, and a cargo valued at £500,000, was lost. Of her crew of 150, only six were saved. In the camp the tempest was scarcely less fearful. Men and officers are described as walking about drenched to the skin ; the tents blown down ; the French hospitals broken by the gale, leaving the wounded exposed to the sleet and rain. So strong was the blast, that the monastery of St. George was shaken to its foundation, and much damaged ; some of its iron gates flung down, and pieces of stone wall and iron roofing carried away like strips of paper, the distance of a mile. At Eupatoria they suffered more from the storm. In port lay stranded the remains of five merchant vessels ; and many others were similarly

wrecked. The enemy took advantage of the gale by advancing on Eupatoria with about 6,000 cavalry and twelve field-pieces. They were, however, received with such a heavy fire that they retreated, with some few killed and wounded. To show how severe was the storm, we may mention that even the Russian fleet, sheltered as it was in Sebastopol, suffered severely from it. Todleben says—"By order of the commander-in-chief, we took the necessary measures to save, as far as possible, the crews thrown on the coasts." In another chapter he describes what these measures were. It does not appear that they were of a very humane or effective character. After the 14th, the difficulties of the allies were much increased. The weather became wretched: frost set in, and rain alternated with snow. The clay became soft, and turned into deep mud. The besieged suffered from the weather; but they were cheered by the accounts brought in by the deserters, who stated that the *morale* of the besiegers was singularly affected; that they were harassed by fatigue, and suffered from cold; that the hospitals were filled with sick; and that the deplorable state of the roads rendered it exceedingly difficult to supply the batteries. Terrible, indeed, was the state of our poor fellows—rotting away from administrative imbecility and neglect. Cholera and famine did their deadly work, and—

"Men looked to heaven with that frenzied air,
Which seemed to ask if a God were there."

A new phase in the operations was created by the employment of what Todleben calls "ambuscades"—or, as we call them, "rifle-pits"—which the Russians established in the first instance, to enfilade the French approaches towards the Bastion Flagstaff, at the beginning of November. Finding them very efficacious, the Russians extended them gradually in front of the Greenhill batteries, and away to the left, till they were opposite Gordon's batteries, in front of the Malakoff, and Careening ravine. These rifle-pits gave rise to a series of fights outside the works, in which the besiegers and besieged had various fortunes. According to Todleben, the Russians generally had the best of these night encounters and sorties. He repeatedly remarks on the want of vigilance and care of the English; and contrasts us unfavourably with the French. He says—"The enemy opposed the construction of the rifle-pit and lodgment but feebly, while the besieged alarmed them by frequent night attacks. These attacks were most frequently directed against the English, who performed trench duty very negligently. Almost every night our *Tirailleurs*, in small numbers—sometimes one man alone—making the attempt, left the rifle-pit; advanced boldly towards the British trenches; fired on the working batteries, with the muzzle almost touching, and threw them back into disorder."

But we must hasten on. As the winter advanced, the English and Turks, deprived of their warm clothing, suffered frightfully. The situation of the French was less painful; but they were by no means supplied with all the necessaries. Towards the end of October the French army was provided with warm clothing. The English did not receive theirs till November; but the coats were not sent in sufficient quantity, and did not answer the purpose. There was no harmony between the different branches. The commanders of the troops took no care of the food or well-being of their soldiers. Moreover, the English soldier is not in a position to help himself. Todleben remarks—"The ranks of the English army are filled, almost exclusively, by men unacquainted with any sort of trade, and who have no other means of subsistence than entering the service. Such a soldier is quite unfit to get on in the more difficult moments of campaigning; and so it was that the greater part of the misery the British soldiers had to endure, arose from the fact, that the army, as a whole, was incapable, without receiving help from abroad, of overcoming obstacles arising from the circumstances in which it was placed. Rains destroyed the roads, and no one thought of repairing them. Transport and saddle-horses perished of cold in multitudes, and their dead bodies were left to rot,

till the fetid atmosphere forced the authorities to order their removal. In March, 1855, the railway was finished by the English; for which, not only the materials, but even workmen and engineers were sent out from England, which proves how unfit the English army is, of itself, to overcome the difficulties which are so often encountered in a soldier's life. A deplorable confusion prevailed at Balaklava. Ships discharged their cargo wherever they found it convenient. No one knew what had arrived, or was coming. Sometimes the soldiers were in need of the very articles which had been landed in the harbour. The same discreditable management was visible in the treatment of the sick and the wounded; and there was as much disorder there as in the administration of the army itself. As the numbers of the English diminished, those of the French increased; and, at last, the latter occupied, successively, the positions which at first had been reserved exclusively for the English along the Tchernaya, and opposite the Karabelnaia. As to the Turks, the allies despised them, and the English used them as beasts of burden. In short, they lost 300 men a day, till they almost perished out, and the remains of their army were sent away." The siege progressed but slowly under these disadvantageous circumstances. All through January, the Russians directed frequent sorties, sometimes two or three in the night—in the vast majority of instances against the French trenches. Towards the close of the month, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael arrived on the north side. But no remarkable event followed till February the 3rd, when, at nine o'clock in the evening, Todleben fired his countermine, and blew up the French, who were advancing their gallery towards the capital of the Flagstaff bastion, in the most perfect ignorance of the Russian operations. From that date began the conflict of mines, countermines, globes of compression, and all the machinery of subterranean war and strategy, which lasted throughout the siege, and has left indelible traces before Sebastopol, in the very rocks themselves. On the 17th of February the Russians attacked Eupatoria. The attempt was vigorously resisted, and was altogether unsuccessful. The garrison of Turks and French, assisted by the fire of one French and two English steamers, and by the Tartars, repulsed the enemy, with a loss of 769 men killed and wounded, and 365 horses. The czar was intensely mortified by the failure of the attack; but Todleben says it produced advantageous results, as the allies were always obliged to be on the alert against attack, and to keep a considerable garrison there in a vast intrenched camp.

As spring came on, all parties were reinforced. France, by means of the conscription, had no difficulty in the matter. In England it was not so easy a work. The militia were called out to replace the troops, so as to furnish volunteers; but, eventually, the English government was obliged to seek for men in Switzerland and Germany; though, in both places, with but limited success. The allies were also joined by a new state. At the commencement of the year, the Piedmontese, or Sardinian government, signed the protocol of April, 1854; and Victor Emmanuel gave in his adhesion to the western powers, and despatched 15,000 men, under General Marmora, to the seat of war.

On the 2nd of March, news came that the czar—the man whose unruly ambition had plunged Europe into war—was dead. At first a suspicion arose that the Emperor Nicholas had met with the fate that had overtaken so many of his predecessors: the surmise was natural, but it proved to be unfounded. Though his death was unexpected, he had been more than usually unwell for twelve days. It was said that the illness which caused, or rather preceded his death, was brought on by a cold. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the emperor, all the while, insisted on attending to his usual avocation. His anxiety for the success of the war into which he had rushed, induced him to inspect everything himself, down to the minutest details. He visited the soldiers in their barracks; he attended long and frequent reviews, forgetful of the precautions which his age required in such a climate, and in such a season. To all the observations made to him by his children and his most devoted servants, he replied that he had something



NICHOLAS I
EMPEROR OF RUSSIA

else to do besides taking care of his health. He had, besides, treated himself according to his own ideas; and had insisted on his physicians putting him on a regimen which would prevent his getting corpulent—a condition of which he had considerable dread. It was evident to all, that disappointment and vexation with regard to the Crimean war, accelerated the ravages of disease. There is no doubt but that he felt the state of affairs there bitterly. He expired on the morning of the 2nd of March; and his death was attributed to pulmonic apoplexy, or congestion of the lungs. He was born on the 6th of July, 1796. He succeeded his brother Alexander, as emperor, on the 1st of December, 1825: he was therefore in the fifty-ninth year of his age; and had filled the imperial throne of the czars for nearly thirty years.

At first it was presumed that a speedy peace would be the result of the czar's death; and, both in London and Paris, the funds rose considerably. Such hopes were destined to a speedy disappointment. On the day of his father's death, the Emperor Alexander soon made known to his people the course he intended to pursue. On that very day he issued a warlike manifesto, in which he promised to address himself to accomplish the views of his predecessors, Peter, Catherine, Alexander, and of his father.

Dull and dreary is the war chronicle now; and we hasten over it. At Vienna, a congress was held to bring about peace. At this congress, all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Prussia, were represented. It was clear from the result, however, that the time had not yet come to talk of peace.

As the spring advanced, the accounts from the Crimea, of the state of our troops, became more satisfactory. The spirits and the health of the army revived; and, at length, preparations were made for the renewal of the bombardment of Sebastopol. At daybreak on the morning of the 9th of April, a fire from the French and English batteries was opened, such as the annals of the world never recorded. The enemy was taken by surprise; and for some minutes not a Russian gun replied to the tremendous salvo with which they had been greeted. They soon, however, recovered themselves, though it was an hour before they got their batteries into full play. All day long, through the mist and rain, that bombardment continued; nor did night put a stop to it, for a shot was fired every ten minutes. To the intense mortification of all, it was soon apparent that this bombardment was a failure, though it was continued for twelve days. Ton after ton of shot was hurled against the fortress; an occasional, but indecisive, superiority of fire was obtained; the parapets of the Redan and Round Tower were jagged and pitted with holes several feet deep: but the real strength of the place remained unimpaired; and that which was injured by day, the Russians, as usual, repaired by night.

On the 18th of May, the French had a new commander-in-chief. Canrobert resigned, nominally on account of ill-health; and General Pelissier, an older and sterner man, nursed in African warfare, took the vacated post.

At this time, also, the French and English fleets paid a visit to the Straits of Kertch, and penetrated into the Sea of Azoff. Kertch and Yenikale, Taganrog, and other places were captured, and considerable damage was done to the enemy.

The new French commander was determined to do something to signalise his assumption of the command. The Mamelon Tower, with the works fronting and flanking that elevated position, was regarded by many engineers and military judges, as the true key of the entire fortress of Sebastopol. Accordingly, the French commander resolved that the Mamelon should be taken, and chiefly by his own men. On the 6th of June, therefore, a fierce cannonade was opened from the French and English lines, and continued for about three hours. The next morning it was renewed, principally by the English, with great spirit: the attack commenced in the afternoon. The English were to take the Quarries, in front of the Redan, while our allies secured the Mamelon; and both succeeded, though the English had to maintain a murderous fight during the whole night through.

The French had the harder task, but they performed it admirably. Unable to restrain their enthusiasm after entering the Mamelon, they actually rushed on to the famous Malakoff itself, and eventually succeeded in entering the tower, and spiking seven guns; but they were compelled to retire with heavy loss. It was a pity that the allies did not at once follow up this success. As usual, they waited, and gave the enemy time for preparation. On the 18th, it was resolved that the French were to take the Malakoff; and the English, as soon as the former had succeeded, to capture the Redan. The French attacking force consisted of 25,000 men; the English, 8,000, under the veteran Sir G. Brown. The Russians were fully prepared for the allies. The French, unable to control their ardour, made a premature attack. Lord Raglan, seeing their dangerous position, launched his men upon the Redan, who met with a most awful fire, such as Lord Raglan says he never witnessed in his life. In fifteen minutes they were repulsed. The French fared little better: their loss, on this fatal day, amounted to 8,684 killed, wounded, or missing. During the attack the allied fleets played their part, and poured a heavy fire into the town, though not without loss to themselves. It was on this occasion that Captain Lyons, the hero of the Sea of Azoff, received his death-wound.

Scarcely was the repulse of the allies known in England, when it was followed by the information that Lord Raglan was no more. After a few days' illness, he sunk under an attack of dysentery, and expired on the evening of the 26th of June, in his sixty-seventh year. Mental anxiety undoubtedly contributed, to no small extent, to produce this unexpected catastrophe. His lordship was the eighth son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort; and, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, entered the army at the age of sixteen, as a cornet in the 4th Dragoons. In 1807, he accompanied the late Duke of Wellington to Denmark. He afterwards went with the illustrious hero to the Peninsula, as military secretary and aide-de-camp. Lord Somerset obtained distinction at Fuentes d'Onor; at the storming of Badajoz; at the battles of Vittoria, Orthes, Nivelles, and Toulouse. On his return to England, he was rewarded for his services with a cross and five clasps. He afterwards served with the duke at Quatre Bras and Waterloo; and at the latter place lost his arm. After the termination of the war, he was made secretary to the embassy to the Court of France; and was secretary to the Master-general of the Ordnance from 1819 to 1827. He was made colonel of the 53rd Foot in 1830; and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1838. In 1847, he was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; and on the death of the Duke of Wellington, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Raglan, made a Privy Councillor, and appointed Master-general of the Ordnance. Lord Raglan's personal bravery was indisputable. As to his qualities as a leader of armies, they do not appear to have been of the highest order; and it is said Pelissier complained more than once of his slowness. He was not a military genius. He possessed considerable professional experience, great application, and remarkable powers of endurance; but he lacked the energy, vehemence, and decision of character which are essential to the constitution of a renowned general. For the miserable state of our army in the Crimea he was partly responsible. Clearly he was not the man for his place; but he was sent, little dreaming that there would be anything like serious war. His successor was Lieutenant-General Simpson, hitherto chief of the staff, who bore the reputation of having been a very efficient and popular colonel when in command of the 29th Foot; but who, for some years, until the Crimean war broke out, had filled no higher office than that of the commander of the Portsmouth garrison. He had the merit of being considered, as regards military talent, quite equal to any other candidate for the exalted office.

In August, the monotony of camp life was relieved by an attack, on the part of the Russians, on the allied army occupying the Tchernaya line. The latter were well prepared, as a deserter had brought a rumour of some such an event to the parties in danger. During the night of the 16th, the Russians silently quitted

their intrenched camp, under cover of a thick fog; and, by five in the morning, arrived before the advanced posts of the French and Sardinian armies. The Russians were supposed to be 50,000 strong, with 6,000 cavalry, and 160 guns. The first column having crossed the river, advanced with an *élan* seldom seen in the dogged troops of that nation, till they found themselves in the midst of a storm of round shot, grape, and shell, which mowed them down in the most frightful manner. Despite of this, they pushed up the side of the hill till they were taken in flank by the Sardinian batteries, and then they reeled, and fled for shelter to some old willows on the banks of the stream. Here they met and joined the second column, which climbed the hill, and came out on level ground. There they were met by the French, who, after a deadly fire of artillery, charged them with the bayonet, and sent them headlong down the hill, taking many prisoners. A third attack was made, but equally in vain. The losses of the Russians were between four and five thousand in killed and wounded. About 400 prisoners were taken by the French. Their loss was estimated at 180 killed, and 810 wounded; that of the Sardinians, 300 in killed and wounded. A Russian general officer, who had been wounded, was carried to the French ambulances. He was much depressed, and said—"This is a sad day of disgrace for Russia, not to have set free the passage of the Tchernaya, defended by one French division."

This blow was soon followed up by another. In consequence of the defeat of the Russian army of relief at the Tchernaya, the engineers and artillery officers of the allied armies laid a report before the generals, recommending that a terrible bombardment should be commenced on the 5th of September, and continued for three days; after which an assault on the Malakoff and Great Redan should take place. The French were already within twenty-five yards of the former: unhappily, the English, on account of their limited numbers, and the difficulties of the ground, were still 200 yards from the latter. However, the bombardment was arranged; and as soon as the Malakoff was in possession of the French, the English were to deliver their assault.

September the 5th was a bright morning, and auspicious for the allies, who commenced bombarding—happily for the last time—night and day: the shot and shell flew towards the crumbling defences of the ill-fated town. On the 12th, the French rushed on to the Malakoff like waves of the sea, and with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The Russians on the parapets were killed as they stood; and then commenced such a fire of musketry as never echoed round the ravines of Sebastopol before. In half-an-hour the tricolour floated proudly over the Malakoff; though, till half-past seven, the French had to meet and drive back the enemy, who fought with the fury of despair.

It was now the turn of the English. Immediately the signal was given our men bounded from their trenches, and were instantly met with a volley of grape from the Russian guns, which struck down nearly one-third of them. The second body of stormers followed rapidly on the heels of the first; and, as they approached closer to the Redan, the fire of the enemy became less fatal. The *abattis* was crossed without much difficulty, for it was torn into pieces by our shot. The ditch, fifteen feet deep, was the next obstacle. Many of the ladders were left, on the way, in the hands of men who were shot down while carrying them, and the others were found to be short. Whether our men got into the Redan or not is uncertain. Whether they did or not, it is certain that, as the alarm was spread, the Russians soon poured into the work in immense numbers, and opened a terrible fire on our men, who had either neglected to spike the Russian guns, or, perhaps, had not had time to do so. The English general neglected to send reinforcements, and an unequal and bloody contest was maintained for nearly an hour. A scene of strange confusion followed. "In vain," writes Mr. Russell, "the officers, by voice and acts, by example and daring, tried to urge the soldiers on. They had an impression that the Redan was all mined, and that, if they advanced, they would be blown up; but many of them acted as became the men of Alma and Iukermann, and, rushing

to the front, were swept down by the enemy's fire. The officers fell on all sides, singled out by the enemy for their courage. The men of the different regiments became mingled together in inextricable confusion. The 19th men did not care for the officers of the 88th; nor did the soldiers of the 23rd heed the command of an officer who did not belong to their own regiment. The officers could not find their men—the men had lost sight of their own officers. All the brigadiers, save Colonel Windham, were wounded or unfit for duty. That gallant officer did all that man could do to form his men, and lead them against the enemy; but in vain." Every moment, also, our men were diminishing in numbers; while the Russians came up in masses from the town, and rushed down from the Malakoff, which had now been occupied by the French. General Windham sent several officers to General Codrington, begging for support. At last he went himself. Crossing the parapet and ditch through a storm of bullets, he succeeded in getting to the fifth parallel in safety. Sir Edward Codrington told him to take the Royals, who were then in the parallel. He did so, with the assurance that, if the men kept their formation, the Redan would still be taken.

Alas! the Redan was not captured by the English that day. The Russians not only swept down our confused regiments with grape, but charged them with the bayonet. A short, desperate, but bloody struggle ensued. Our men—many of them raw recruits, who never should have been sent on such an errand—fought under every disadvantage, and were finally overpowered. The solid weight of the advancing mass, swelled each moment from the rear by company after company, and battalion after battalion, at length swept the English before them, and hurled them into the ditch, where the dead, the wounded, and the unhurt were all lying in one promiscuous heap. The Russians at first came out of the embrasures, and fired and hurled stones at the struggling soldiers in the ditch; but they were soon driven back by the fire of our batteries and riflemen, under cover of which numbers of our men returned to the trenches. Then there came out the melancholy truth that the English attack had failed. The struggle had lasted about an hour and three-quarters; but the slaughter was as great as the battle of Inkermann. The loss of the English in this disastrous affair, was twenty-nine officers, thirty-six sergeants, six drummers, 314 rank and file, killed; 124 officers, 142 sergeants, twelve drummers, 1,608 rank and file, wounded; one officer, twelve sergeants, 168 rank and file, missing. Total—killed, 385; wounded, 1,886; missing, 176—2,447. The French loss was, in all, 7,551. It is true they carried the Malakoff, the key of the position; but they failed in their attempt on Careening Bay and the Central bastion.

General Simpson made an arrangement for a second assault the next morning—to be undertaken by the Highlanders, under Sir Colin Campbell; supported by the third division, under General Eyre. The attack was destined never to take place; for the Russian general, well knowing that the Malakoff was the key of the south side of Sebastopol, and that the rest must inevitably fall, put into practice an intention he had for some time conceived; and abandoned to the enemy the famous fortress he had so long defended with such consummate skill and persevering energy.

About eight o'clock on Saturday evening, the Russians, under cover of the darkness, began to withdraw quietly from the town. To divert attention from the retreat of his troops, General Gortschakoff ordered a fire of musketry to be kept up from his advanced posts. About eleven, many explosions took place, though it was not known then that the enemy were blowing up their magazines. Shortly after midnight, the men in our trenches observed that there was an unusual silence within the Redan. At length, some of the soldiers crept up to it, and they found it deserted by all but the wounded. About two o'clock, fires broke out in various parts of the city, and the flames soon spread to all the principal buildings. Then came terrific explosions, which shook the allied camps, and enveloped the doomed city in a burning pall, merging into dense and dark clouds of smoke. At half-past five in the morning, two of the southern forts were hurled into the air, accom-

panied by the upward rush of a multitude of shells, which exploded in all directions. The lurid glare revealed the fact that the baffled Russians were passing, in dense masses, over the bridge of boats which spanned the narrow arm of the sea dividing the south from the north side of Sebastopol. Nor could the allies attack them. The Russian general had acted with a wisdom and foresight worthy of the terrible resistance he had made. He had secured his retreat by placing a burning town between himself and his foes, from which immense magazines of gunpowder and shells constantly shot roaring into the air, and threatened destruction to any one who entered it. The allied armies might well pause ere they ventured on a pursuit under such circumstances. Prince Gortschakoff gave, as his reason for the evacuation of the fortress—as he might very properly do—the infernal fire of the allies.

Before seven on the morning of the 9th, the Russian battalions had passed over to the north side. Explosions still rent the air, and added to the awful grandeur of the scene. The Russian men-of-war in the harbour were all abandoned and sunk. In the allied armies there was joy and rejoicing at the sight of Sebastopol a blackened heap of ruins. The French and English generals hastened to congratulate their troops upon the vast triumphs that had been obtained; and, in the language of a poet who is nameless—

“ Now the allied banners float
Above each dreaded moat,
And Victory's trumpet-note
Rings past the Mamelon.
Four nations' flags now sweep
The Malakoff's high steep;
And mirror'd in the deep,
Beneath which lie his ships,
Buried in a deep eclipse,
With all his glory gone.”

The town, when entered by the besiegers, was in an awful state; and the scene in the Russian hospital, where some hundreds of the czar's wounded soldiers were left to die, beggars description. Still the Russian spirit was unbroken. It was evident that the despot of the north would not give way unless the very existence of his empire was in jeopardy. Two days after the fall of Sebastopol, a brief armistice was granted to the Russians, to enable them to remove their wounded to the north side of the harbour. During this melancholy work, an English officer, addressing a Russian one, said—“ Well, now I hope we may look forward to a cessation of hostilities between us.” The Muscovite pointed gloomily to the burning city, and replied—“ With that before us, peace is further off than ever.” Such, it is believed, was the general spirit of his countrymen. The time for peace had not yet arrived.

Thus ended this memorable siege, the glory of which rests rather with the defence. “ The Russians,” says the French engineer, General Neil, “ had more than 800 guns mounted, and a garrison the force and composition of which they could vary at leisure. After the immense quantity of projectiles they expended upon us, it is surprising to see that they were still abundantly provisioned; and I have reason to believe that they have left more than 1,500 guns in the place. The besieging army had about 700 guns in battery during the various attacks, and upwards of 1,600,000 shots were fired. Our approaches, which were in many cases cut through the rock by means of gunpowder, had an extent of eighty kilometres (fifty miles English). We employed 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly 1,000,000 sand-bags.”

Of the Russian loss there have been many estimates. According to Todleben, the whole loss of the garrison of Sebastopol, from fire and combat during the siege, was 89,142. In that total, the losses at Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, and other places, are not included.

In Paris and London, the intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol excited the

utmost enthusiasm. The Queen of England sent an address of congratulation to her army. The French emperor did the same. Pelissier was made a marshal—an event the English government burlesqued by making a field-marshal of General Simpson, for his skilful conduct of the affair of the Redan, possibly. There were those who said that the English government did not wish to hurt Russia. If so, General Simpson must have been, even more than Lord Raglan, a general to their mind.

The warlike stores found in Sebastopol were immense. They were divided into three parts; of which France took two, and England one. Instead of retreating from the Crimea, the Russians commenced throwing up earthworks, and strengthening the north side, with that rapidity and industry of which they had already given so many remarkable examples.

The allies employed themselves in many ways. By land, the French and Turks threatened Perekop. The gun-boats made various expeditions, more or less successful, on their own account. The allied fleets sailed from Sebastopol on the 7th of October, and, in great strength, appeared before Odessa. The city was, however, again spared; and the fleet sailed to Kinburn, which surrendered after an obstinate defence. The land forces attached to the expedition then started on a march inland, towards Cherson; and a flotilla proceeded to the mouth of the river Bug. Another made for the mouth of the river Dnieper. At Nicholaieff, the great Russian dockyard, the Russian emperor had remained during the bombardment of Kinburn. The allied squadron, after the death of the French admiral, Bruat, returned to Balaklava and Kamiesch, leaving a few vessels behind, to preserve the ascendancy gained on the Sea of Azoff. They not only did this, but, in many ways, extended the ravages already committed there.

General Simpson left the Crimea, on his return to England, on November 12th, and General Codrington reigned in his stead. He had been popular till the affair of the Redan. "History," says Mr. Tyrrell, the author of a valuable work on the Russian war,* "will unequivocally declare, that no officer should have undertaken such a terrible exploit as that of the assault of the Redan, with so insufficient a force as that Sir William Codrington sent against it. His conduct, on that occasion, was as if a fireman should attempt to extinguish a fierce and wide-spreading conflagration with a garden syringe."

On the 15th of November an appalling incident occurred. A park of French artillery exploded, killing sixty-five French, and wounding 170: of the English, one officer and twenty non-commissioned officers were killed; four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers and men wounded. Otherwise, the men were well off, and happy, and revelling in a comparative luxury, of which they had no idea the November preceding. M. Soyer, with his improved cookery, also did much service in the camp. When Christmas came it was observed in true old English style.

Towards the end of the year, rumours of coming peace began to circulate throughout Europe. On the 28th of December, the Austrian government despatched Count Valentine Esterhazy to St. Petersburg, with certain propositions for the acceptance of Russia. These propositions had been first presented to the English and French Courts, and received their approval. They were—

"1. *The Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. 2. As regards *the Danube*, its freedom, and that of the mouth of the river, shall be efficaciously assured by the institutions of European international law. Each of the contracting parties to have the right to station one or two light vessels at the mouth of the river, in order to ensure the observance of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube. 3. *Neutralisation of the Black Sea*.—This sea shall be opened to merchant vessels; closed to ships of war. Consequently, naval arsenals will be neither created nor desired. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective

* Published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

ports in the Black Sea, by the establishment of institutions conformed to international law and ancient usages in this matter. The two powers bordered by the coast mutually engage to keep up only the number of light vessels, of a stipulated strength, necessary for the coasting service. 4. *Christian subjects of the Porte.*—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte will be established without injury to the independence or the dignity of the sultan's crown. As deliberations are taking place between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, in order to assure the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, on the conclusion of peace, to associate herself with them. 5. The belligerent powers reserve the right which belongs to them, to produce, in the interest of Europe, some special conditions besides the four guarantees." Russia made counter-proposals; and then, to the astonishment of all, notified to Count Esterhazy (January 16th) the *unconditional* acceptance, by the Russian government, of the Austrian proposals, which were to serve as preliminaries of peace. The suddenness of this acceptance took all men by surprise. In England the news was scarcely welcome. War, we believed, would restore our *prestige*; and we were, therefore, all for war. Our preparations for the next campaign were enormous; and we fancied, after the sad blunders of the past, there was a bright future of glory, and victory, and success before us. With our illustrious allies the case was different. France was jubilant. She had gained reputation all the world over by the war; but her resources had been drawn upon so heavily, that all felt it, and were almost ready to complain. The Emperor Napoleon was also satisfied with the result of the war, and anxious for the return of peace. Not only had Russia been humbled, but Napoleon had given the army and the French public something to think of and do; and many restless spirits, who might have made him very uneasy at home, had thus been got rid of. It was believed, in many quarters, that the war had been undertaken by him for dynastic purposes, and was to be concluded for the benefit of the same dynasty; and certainly, in the conduct and conclusion of the war, there was a great deal to support this view. The German states and Austria were delighted, as they feared France and England, and had no wish to see them carrying on a war which might become a crusade for freedom in Europe. So peace was the order of the day; and, as Prince Napoleon exclaimed, "Then Poland and Italy are sacrificed." Sardinia was less satisfied than England.

The acceptance of the peace proposals by Russia, was attributed largely to the pacific temper and resolution, on that point, of the emperor himself. It is said, that when the acceptance of the Austrian proposals was declared, that Alexander called none of the chief men of the empire to the council; that he sent for no one except Count de Nesselrode, M. de Seniavine, and M. de Jouton (and for them only), to hear his irrevocable decision, and to order them to transmit it to Vienna, and Count Esterhazy. There was no advice, and no discussion: the sovereign gave the order; the great dignitaries of his empire obeyed; and that was all they had to do. The members of the imperial family knew nothing of the affair before the persons just mentioned. One alone, the Empress Maria, was acquainted with the decision of her husband, since it was greatly through her influence that it was arrived at. In addition to her entreaties, it was added, that Prince Gortschakoff was constantly sending despatches of the most alarming character, which invariably terminated with such phrases as this—"I foresee the most serious complications for us if we continue the war. I entreat your majesty to adhere to the conditions proposed; the whole of Europe declares against Russia." The emperor engaged one of his younger brothers to impart the views of the acceptance of the peace proposals to the fire-eating Constantine.

On the 25th of February, the peace conferences opened at Paris. France was represented by Count Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Emperor, and Baron de Bourqueney, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna. England, by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley. Austria, by Count

Buol-Schauenstein, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Baron de Hubner, the Austrian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris. Russia, by Count Orloff, Member of the Council of the Empire, and Aide-de-Camp General of the Emperor of Russia; and Baron de Brunow, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation. For Sardinia, there appeared Count Cavour and the Marquis de Villa Marina; while Turkey was represented by Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of his Majesty the Sultan; and Mehemet Djemil Bey, the Turkish ambassador at Paris. Prussia was afterwards admitted to sign, not to discuss, the terms of peace. The first thing agreed to was an armistice, to last till March 31st. No difficulties were in the way; and the czar signed the treaty March 19th.

The peace congress held its last meeting on the 16th of April. The protocols of the conference were eventually published, and filled a parliamentary paper of 112 pages. They were twenty-four in number. The terms in which they are drawn up, are, as may be supposed, dry and formal; and relate almost exclusively to the details of the treaty of peace. One, reporting a speech of Count Walewski's, attracted much attention, and threatened to have some bad results. The subject was the condition of Europe, with respect to the states of Greece and Italy. That, however, which excited most remark, was an attack on the Belgian press, in which proceedings of an arbitrary character were recommended to the Belgian government, and something very like a threat held out unless they were adopted. In this paper the count remarks—

“He considers it superfluous to state, that there are, every day, printed in Belgium, publications the most insulting, the most hostile against France and her government; that revolts and assassination are openly advocated in them. He remarks that, quite recently, Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called ‘La Marianne,’ the tendencies and objects of which are known; that all these publications are so many implements of war, directed against the repose and tranquillity of France, by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of Belgian legislation, retain the hope of eventually realising their culpable designs. Count Walewski declares, that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire, is to maintain the best relations with Belgium. He readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter; its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret to be obliged ourselves to make Belgium comprehend the strict necessity for modifying a legislature which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of international duties—that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Representations, addressed by the stronger to the less strong, have too much the appearance of menace; and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail, sooner or later, to give rise to difficulties, and every real danger, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand.”

Another proposal of the count's related to a subject on which England has always been very susceptible. The paper continues—

“Count Walewski proposes to the congress to conclude its work by a declaration, which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude. The congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience; the congress of Vienna, abolition of the slave-trade, and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the congress of Paris to lay down the basis of an

uniform maritime law, in time of war, as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object. 1. The abolition of privateering. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, except contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture, even under enemy's flags. 4. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective. This would, indeed, be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent."

On Sunday, April the 27th, the congress assembled, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, and thus peace was formally restored to Europe. On the following day, Lord Palmerston, by command of her majesty, laid upon the table of the House of Commons the papers of the conferences recently held at Paris, and copies of the treaty of peace. Then, amidst loud cheers, he announced his intention of moving that it should be taken into consideration that day week.

On the 2nd of May, information of the conclusion of peace arrived in the Crimea. It was announced to the allied armies by salutes of 101 guns, fired from each of the three camps. Many of the ships were dressed with flags, and presented a festive appearance. The Russians heard the roar of the guns of the allies, but they maintained a sullen silence. In the English camp the news was received with less emotion than might be supposed. Many of the officers and men longed to return home; but there were others who regretted peace, as the British army was in such a splendid condition, and capable of winning much renown.

Extensive preparations were now made for the evacuation of the Crimea, and a considerable stream of stores was poured into the several ports of embarkation. War, and the feelings created by war, had passed away; and the Russians and their recent enemies met together in a very friendly manner. On the 9th, the following notice was issued to the troops:—"The English army is no longer restrained from passing the Tchernaya. All officers are to be present in camp at night; and all non-commissioned officers and men to be present at the usual roll-calls, unless they are in possession of written passes from their own commanding officers." This welcome intelligence added greatly to the growing intimacy between our troops and the Russians. After this the latter formed part of the population which daily frequented the camps and the bazaars; and not only the Russian camp, but the towns of Bakthiserai and Simpheropol were visited by many of our officers, in spite of a friendly warning from the Russians that typhus fever was raging in these places. The Russian officers came frequently to Kadikoi, Little Kamiesch, and the several bazaars and canteens, for supplies, which they obtained for about half the price such articles fetched in their own camp.

In England, as if to show what we could have done, on the 23rd of April there was a grand naval review at Portsmouth, at which the queen was present, and many eminent foreigners. The fleet consisted of 240 steam-vessels, including gun-boats, floating batteries, and mortar vessels. Of these, three had more than 100 guns each, and six had ninety-one. The rest carried from two guns each to eighty. Altogether they mounted no less than 3,002 guns; and possessed 30,671 horse-power. This enormous fleet, covering a space of nearly twelve miles as it lay at anchor, was manned by not less than 30,000 men. On the 4th of May, sermons were preached, in consequence of the peace, of a thankful character. In the same month there was a peace celebration at the Crystal Palace; and a national celebration on the 29th, on a large scale. In London, the day was observed, in most parts, as a holiday. In the evening London was brilliantly illuminated, and exhibitions of fireworks took place, which exceeded in magnitude and beauty all previous pyrotechnic displays in this country. All the resources of Woolwich arsenal had been for some time in operation, in designing and producing what was required. Four exhibitions of fireworks took place—one in Hyde Park; a second in the Green Park; a third on Primrose Hill; and a fourth at Victoria Park. This was done for the convenience of the people of London, and to prevent a dangerous crowding to one spot. Nor were the rejoicings confined to London. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and many other

towns and cities shared in the general joy. Yet it was felt by many of the English public, who believed, somehow or other, the Crimean war would end in a gain to liberty, that peace was incomplete without the freedom of the nationalities. Many quoted Mrs. Browning, and said, with her—

“It is no peace,
Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,
Dazed Naples; Hungary, fainting 'neath the thong,
And Austria wearing a smooth olive-leaf
On her brutal forehead, while her hoofs outpress
The life from Italy.”

Yet such had no right to complain. They had no ground for their sanguine and illusory expectations. As Mr. Cobden, who consistently opposed the war, said, “we made an agreement with a despot, to go to war with a despot, on behalf of another despot.” Certainly the friends of freedom and oppressed nationalities had little cause to grumble.

A few closing words about the Crimea. The impression left on the minds of those officers who made expeditions to Simpheropol and other places in the interior, was, that the resources of Russia in men were reduced to a very low state indeed, in consequence of the war, and that she would have been unable to maintain an army in the Crimea, if the allies had made an aggressive movement with all their forces. From Theodosia to Eupatoria the country was deserted; the fields uncultivated; and the mere necessities of life fetched almost famine prices. At some places the English tourists were unable to procure barley or corn for their horses for any consideration. At others, a mouthful of hay for a horse cost half a rouble; an egg, fivepence; and a fowl a small fortune.

The final evacuation of the Crimea, and its restoration to the Russians, was at hand. In the middle of July, Sebastopol, now a complete ruin—for the allies completed what the Russians had begun—was handed over to the latter. Already the Guards had returned from the seat of war, and had been reviewed by her majesty at Aldershot. Banquets were given to the officers and generals in all parts of the kingdom. Nor were the men forgotten. A public banquet was given to the men in the Royal Surrey Gardens, on Monday, the 25th of August. Sergeant-Major Edwards, the senior sergeant of the Guards, occupied the chair. A similar banquet was given at Portsmouth, to about 2,300 soldiers, sailors, and marines. Of course our brave allies were not forgotten. The queen sent medals, and thanks, and orders in abundance. Indeed, the gratitude of parliament, and queen, and people was somewhat over-done. England had been disgraced in the eyes of all Europe. Todleben frankly states “the inability of our army to struggle against the difficulties created by a rotten civil organisation at home, and an imbecile military administration abroad.” Our soldiers had suffered unheard-of calamities. They had been left to perish by famine, cold, pestilence, and war; and yet their leaders—the men who should have taken care of them, but did not—the men who kept all these things veiled, so that the government of this country actually knew nothing of the matter till the public press revealed the true and shocking state of affairs, were *fêted*, and decorated, and promoted, as if they had covered the country with immortal renown.

But we may not leave this part of the subject without referring to the Baltic campaign, and the siege of Kars.

Sir Charles Napier was superseded in his command of the Baltic fleet, and Admiral Dundas sent in his place. Sir Charles talked well, and promised much. He had under his command the finest ships that ever left the shores of this or any other country. He had, besides, unlimited power, and the confidence of the public at large. At the great dinner given to him (to which we have already referred), he is said to have declared that he would take Cronstadt in a month, or go to a place not to be mentioned to ears polite. He bragged and strutted in the

most absurd and astounding manner. He vowed that if he did not find war declared by the time he got there, he would declare it himself. Soon after he left Spithead, he telegraphed to his crews to "sharpen their cutlasses;" and, as an earnest of what he meant to do, he signalled for large quantities of chloroform, in anticipation of the frightful operations his valour would render necessary; and he ended by capturing Bomarsund, and declaring that the granite walls of Cronstadt, Sweaborg, and Helsingfors were impregnable. He got into parliament, and came before the public as an ill-used man. In reality he was nothing of the kind. Mr. Russell mentions a curious fact in connection with the Grand Duke Constantine and the defences of Cronstadt, which we relate in his own words. "Sir Charles Napier, in the account of his extraordinary experiences of Cronstadt, forgot one important fact. He talked much of the difficulties, and insinuated the impossibilities, of an attack on the place; and mentioned, especially, the impediments created by the genius of Todleben, in the passage at the north of the forts. But Sir Charles did not tell his countrymen what the grand duke is at no pains to conceal—that the passage was quite practicable when the allied fleet first came off Cronstadt; and that the impediments to the passage of large ships were not formed till the winter of the second year of the war. The Russians were perfectly aware that the northern side could be forced, and that it was quite possible for a determined enemy to run past the forts, most of which are constructed on arcs of spheres, have their *maximum* of fire directed in front, and have only part of their guns available for an enemy passing their right flank. They had even such a casualty in view; and the most desperate measures were spoken of in case the fleets forced St. Petersburg, and the city was at their mercy. The opportunity was lost, and the grand duke and Todleben took care it should never occur again. The moment the allies retired before the grip of winter, thousands of men were set to work, who sunk stones all along the northern channel, or heaped piles of hundreds of tons of blocks of granite on the ice, which went through to the bottom as it melted, and formed a line of artificial rocks across the passage. On some of those rocks batteries were erected, guns were placed to cover the approach, and the place was indeed rendered unassailable by large vessels. Why did not Sir Charles tell us when this was done? Surely nothing of the kind took place until after his abortive demonstration in the summer of 1854."

Such charges prepared the people for disappointment. Sweaborg was bombarded, and laid in ashes; other injury was done to the coasts of Russia; many boarding vessels were taken, and much injury was inflicted on her people; but Cronstadt remained impregnable; and the fleet returned home with no laurels worth mentioning—safe and sound it is true, but not in the state, or with the glory, England expected when it sailed away a year before. The vessels passed their time, while preserving the blockade, in firing at targets, or occasionally destroying a Russian telegraph-station. Sometimes a number of gun-boats would come out of their harbour in Cronstadt; but they took care not to venture beyond the protection of their batteries; and, on the advance of our boats, always put their helms, and returned to port with a judicious and amusing alacrity. More mischief might have been done; but, to the deep disgrace of the Admiralty, there was no reserve of mortars. The *Times* observed truly—"The fleet took out just a score of 13-inch mortars, neither more nor less; capable of firing, on the average, about 230 rounds a-piece. As the 13-inch mortar costs, delivered, about £125, it appears that the great Baltic fleet, the mere maintenance of which, for the time it has been in the Baltic, has not cost less than £30,000 a day, has been brought to a standstill, reduced to utter impotence, and rendered a laughing-stock to the enemy, just for want of £2,500—about as much as a man of taste gives for three early Sèvres vases." All this was terrible bad management. It is known how long a mortar is serviceable almost to a few rounds of firing. Yet, in this case, our mortars were disabled in the bombardment of a single fortress; and our operations were brought to a standstill because there were no other

mortars to take their places. If the war had always been conducted in this manner, it might have lasted till the original cause of it was forgotten. It can scarcely be believed, yet such is the fact—while Admiral Dundas was sending home all his mortar-vessels, the Admiralty were loading the *Sanspareil* with mortars at Woolwich, and giving her orders to proceed with them to the Baltic. On learning that the mortar-boats were actually on their way home, the Admiralty had to send out a second steamer to stop them, and collect them somewhere in the Baltic, to receive their new mortars, in the faint hope that something might be done before the winter set in. It was, however, too late.

In another quarter of the world, the British name was more associated with glorious renown. Of the Circassian war, and the heroic Schamyl—of the contest carried on by the Turks with Russia, it is not within our province to speak. But, as Englishmen, we stop to chronicle the defence of Kars, conducted by Englishmen, of whom England had every reason to be proud. “The position of the army of Kars,” writes Dr. Sandwith, “was an innovation on all military science. The artillery was nearest to the enemy; the infantry close to the city; and the cavalry far away on the road to Erzeroum.” There was no organisation, properly speaking, though General Guyon, of Hungarian fame, was *chef-d’état-major*; and General Kmety, also another Hungarian refugee, had the command of the outposts. The army was never drilled; and its unsatisfactory state led to the appointment of Colonel Williams as British commissioner. Even then the colonel was regarded as a highly distinguished officer, and an able scientific engineer and diplomatist. Attended by Major Teesdale and Dr. Sandwith, he reached Kars in September, 1854.

Kars had a fortress, partly in ruins, but which, in time past, was considered one of the most formidable in Asia. The troops inside were in rags, and their pay was from fifteen to eighteen months in arrear. All the effective men it could muster, amounted to only 14,000.

Spring passed away, and summer came. The Russians had a new commander, General Mouravieff; and it was evident warlike operations would be commenced. Meanwhile, the besieged were employed, under General Lake, in throwing up fortifications around Kars, which gradually assumed the appearance of a fortified camp. Attack and defence were the order of the day. On one occasion, 800 Russians were slain by 400 Turks, defending a redoubt. The battle lasted seven hours; and the enemy finally retreated, with the loss of 2,500 killed, and nearly double that number wounded. As the Turkish cavalry had perished, and the Russians dared not meet the foe in the open field, it was resolved to reduce the garrison by blockade. A detail of the horrors suffered by the wretched soldiers and inhabitants of Kars, from this period until when, exhausted by starvation, they surrendered to an enemy whom they had so gloriously beaten, is appalling and hideous. The tortures of disease were added to the pangs of hunger. A terrible change came over the men: they were visibly emaciated; they tottered in their walk; their faces were gloomy and haggard, and their eyes bloodshot and wolfish. Grass was torn up in every open space where it could be found, and the roots greedily devoured. Cats were sold for one hundred piastres each, for the sake of food. A daring peasant who contrived to bring a load of onions into the town, found an immediate sale for them, at the rate of 12s. for two pounds and a-half: emaciated horses were killed, and greedily devoured. Outside the city swarms of vultures were to be seen preying on the mangled corpses, which the hungry dogs had scratched out of their shallow graves. All this was borne in the hope that the Russians might be compelled to retire, or that the garrison might be relieved by Selim Pasha, who had landed with a considerable army; or by Omer Pasha, whom they supposed to be advancing to their assistance. The endurance of these unhappy men was touching, and almost sublime. Dr. Sandwith says—“With hollow cheeks, tottering gait, and that peculiar feebleness of voice so characteristic of famine, they yet clung to their duties. I have again and again seen

them watching the batteries at midnight, some standing and leaning on their arms, but most coiled up under the breastwork, during cold as intense as an Arctic winter; scarce able to respond to or challenge the visiting officer; and in answer to a word of encouragement, the loyal words were ever on their lips—“*Padishah sagh Ossoon!*” (“Long life to the Sultan!”). It would seem that the extremity of human suffering called forth latent sparks of a loyalty and devotion not observed in seasons of prosperity.”

At length General Williams had to renounce all hope. It was evident there was no quarter from which help was to come to these unfortunate men. On the 25th of November, Major Teesdale proceeded, under a flag of truce, to the Russian camp. Before doing so, the Hungarian officers, Kmety and Kollman, were informed of what was to be done. They accordingly made their escape through the enemy's lines, and proceeded to Erzeroum, which they were fortunate to reach in safety. General Kmety's case was a desperate one: he had been formally sentenced to death by the Austrian government, and had no mercy to expect at the hands of Russia. Rather than endure this fate, he declared he would blow his brains out. General Kollman, an officer who had held high rank in the Hungarian revolutionary army, was in the same predicament.

Williams, with his aide-de-camp, was received with great courtesy by the Russian general, Mouravieff. The English hero consented to surrender under certain conditions; adding, if they were not complied with, “every gun shall be burst, every standard burnt, and you may do your will upon a famished crowd.” The Russian general behaved with a generosity which did him real honour. He answered—“I have no wish to wreak an unworthy vengeance on a long-suffering and gallant army, which has covered itself with glory, and only yields to famine.” Then, pointing to a lump of bread and a handful of roots, he said—“Look here! What splendid troops must these be who can stand to their arms, in this severe climate, on such food as this! General Williams, you have made yourself a name in history; and posterity will stand amazed at the endurance, the courage, and the discipline which this siege has called forth in the remains of an army. Let us arrange a capitulation that will satisfy the demands of war without outraging humanity.” Subsequently, the whole garrison, including nine pashas, surrendered as prisoners of war; and thus ended the siege of Kars, the defence of which was one of the brightest and noblest incidents of the war. General Williams, on being restored to liberty, and returning to England, was rewarded with a baronetcy; a pension of £1,000 a year for life; the rank of K.C.B.; the Turkish order of Medjidie; the honorary degree of D.C.L. by the University of Oxford; and the freedom of the city of London. He was, moreover, elected member of parliament for Calne, and appointed commandant at Woolwich. Subsequently he was sent out as governor of Nova Scotia, of which country he is a native. From 1840, when he obtained the rank of captain, to 1852, he was principally occupied with the settlement of peace and boundary questions between Turkey and Persia.

In 1856, a fierce debate was raised by Mr. Whiteside in the House of Commons. It lasted four nights, and was ably illustrated by the best oratory of the chiefs of parties in the House. In his reply, Lord Palmerston criticised the plans for the relief of Kars, proposed by the Turkish and English governments. The ministry disapproved of the former plan, and stated their reasons for that disapproval. “But,” added his lordship, “when we were told, in reply, that those reasons had been considered by the council of war in Constantinople, and the Turkish government adhered to their opinion, it was not for us to maintain the contrary. We had nothing more to say. Sebastopol was the great object of the campaign, and it had resisted us eleven months. If Sebastopol were taken, we might get back Kars, if it had fallen; but, if we failed to take Sebastopol, the calamity would be great, and the object of the campaign entirely lost. I think no man of reasonable views will maintain, that the governments of England and of France were not right in upholding the decision of their generals—that no

portion of the troops should be taken from Sebastopol until it had actually fallen before the attack of the allies." He concluded by saying—"Those who take the trouble to look at the conditions of peace, will find that we have foreseen all these matters, with respect to which provision could be included in a treaty; and that we have provided against any further danger to the Turkish empire, whose protection was the object of the war. Yet, at the very moment when, as I contend, the government have proved their energy in the prosecution of the war, and their foresight in the stipulations of peace—when the country is satisfied with the results of the war, and the peace that has been concluded—the honourable and learned gentleman steps in with a vote of censure—a vote, I undertake to say, not more at variance with the general feeling of the country, than, as the division to-night will show, it is at variance with the opinion of the House of Commons." After an amendment by Mr. Ker Seymer had been disposed of, the House divided on the original motion, when there appeared—ayes, 176; noes, 303. The majority was far greater than was anticipated. The House felt, and the public also, that the surrender of Kars to a beaten enemy was disgraceful; that Lord Stratford had acted with more than his wonted superciliousness; that ministers were negligent; but that the chief blame lay at the door of the timid, the vacillating, the corrupt pashas dominant at the Porte.

The history of the Crimean war is yet to be written. Neither French, nor English, nor Russian historian has yet achieved the task. According to Mr. Kinglake, the allies were sent into the Crimea solely in consequence of a despatch written by the Duke of Newcastle, and read to, and approved of, by his colleagues while suffering from the stupefying influences of a good dinner. The distinguished author observes—

"The Duke of Newcastle took the despatch to Richmond, for there was to be a meeting of the members of the cabinet at Pembroke Lodge; and he intended to make this the occasion for submitting the proposed instructions to the judgment of his colleagues. It was evening—a summer evening—and all the members of the cabinet were present, when the duke took out the draft of his proposed despatch, and began to read it. Then there occurred an incident, very trifling in itself, but yet so momentous in its consequences, that if it had happened in old times, it would have been attributed to the direct intervention of the gods. In these days, perhaps, the physiologist will speak of the condition into which the brain is brought when it rests after anxious labours; and the analytical chemist may regret that he had not an opportunity of testing the food of which the ministers had partaken, with the view to detect the presence of some narcotic poison: but no well-informed person will look upon the accident as characteristic of the men whom it befell: for the very faults, no less than the high qualities of the statesmen composing Lord Aberdeen's cabinet, were of such a kind as to secure them against the imputation of being careless and torpid. However, it is very certain, that before the reading of the paper had long continued, all the members of the cabinet, except a small minority, were overcome by sleep. For a moment the noise of a tumbling chair overturned the repose of government; but presently the Duke of Newcastle resumed the reading of his draft; and then, again, the fated sleep descended upon the eyelids of ministers. Later in the evening, and in another room, the Duke of Newcastle made another, and a last, effort to win attention to the contents of the draft; but again a blissful rest (not, this time, actual sleep) interposed between ministers and cares of state; and all, even those who, from the first, had remained awake, were in a quiet, assenting frame of mind. Upon the whole, the despatch, though it bristled with sentences tending to provoke objection, received from the cabinet the kind of approval which is often awarded to an unobjectionable sermon. Not a letter of it was altered."

In the same spirit, Mr. Kinglake implies, that at the battle of the Alma, what struck terror into the Russian forces, and forced them to retreat, was the apparition, on a knoll in the midst of their position, of "a gay-looking group of horse-

men, whose hats and white plumes showed that they were staff officers. What made the apparition more fatal was, that it was deep in the very heart of the Russian lines, and even somewhat near to the ground where Prince Mentschikoff had posted his reserves." The riders whose sudden appearance thus terrified the enemy, were nothing less than Lord Raglan and eighteen or twenty Englishmen. Todleben quite forgets to refer to this formidable incident as regards the fortunes of the day.

The French historian, Baron de Bazancourt, is equally romantic. He gives an animated account of an exciting contest which took place between the French and the Russians, near the telegraph. Now, as the Russians make no mention of this, and as, during the whole day, the French lost only three officers and sixty-six men, and as their total wounded amounted only to 600, we are inclined to agree with Mr. Kinglake, that, in the smoke, the French kept on firing at an imaginary enemy.

But space will not permit us to extend our criticisms. In this rapid sketch we have been compelled to omit much. We have not told how the Quakers went to St. Petersburg to see the czar, to ask him to be a man of peace, and came back charmed; how we sent a squadron into the White Sea, to damage the Russians there; how the French and English attacked Petropaulovski, a Russian station in the extreme north of Asiatic Russia, and were beaten off; and how the English admiral shot himself through the heart. We have but glanced at the main incidents in this great story. We have only to add, that all this while the international courtesies between France and England were of the most cordial character. The French emperor came to see the queen; the queen returned the visit. Medals—French, English, Sardinian—were given away wholesale; and when all was over, everybody, whether they deserved it or not, was covered with praise. After all, we had something to be thankful for: the *entente cordiale* was strengthened, and Russian ambition had received a check.

CHAPTER VII.

FALL OF THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY; PALMERSTON PREMIER.

THE Crimean war soon shattered the administration, to which it owed its birth. No sooner had the allies fairly entered on it, than people began to find fault—and not without reason—with the manner in which it was being conducted. There were, besides, unpleasantnesses at home. People could not understand why, in December, 1853, Lord Palmerston had temporarily retired from the administration. Rumours, subsequently proved to be utterly unfounded, tended to create much unpopularity for Prince Albert. Some of the Liberal journals, in the bitterness of their anger, went so far as to say that the prince obtruded his presence upon meetings of the queen with her ministers; that he interfered with their counsel to their sovereign; that, possessing the power of free communication with foreign Courts, he constituted an unlicensed channel for information between the confidential council of the queen and the cabinets of foreign potentates—potentates, perhaps, the enemies of England. Actually, in some quarters it was reported, and believed, that the prince was a traitor to his queen; that he had been impeached for high treason, and committed to the Tower.

During the session of 1854, it became evident there was a want of unity and strength in the cabinet. Lord John Russell was compelled to withdraw the Reform Bill which he had introduced, rather than run the risk of an anticipated defeat. His lordship became Lord President of the Council, in the place of Lord Gran-

ville, who succeeded Mr. Strutt as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The discharge of the duties of War Minister having been found incompatible with those of the Secretaryship of the Colonies, with which they had been hitherto combined, a fourth Secretaryship of State—that for war—was created, and conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle. The Colonial Secretaryship thus vacated was filled up by Sir George Grey.

As the winter drew near, and as news of official mismanagement reached us from the seat of war, the nation became angry and indignant; and justly so. They did not put faith in the apology of inexperience, made when any calamity overtook our men. It was felt that experience had not been wanting. It was argued that we are always at war in one or other of our colonies; that in India, at least, we had a fine training-ground for heads of departments; that there, there existed, in full force, all the difficulties and drawbacks—the shortness of supplies, and the obstructions inseparable from war on a hostile land. It was believed, that if there had been proper search, there would have been found no lack of men, with ample Indian experience, to direct our inexperienced commissaries and clerks; to manage our ambulance corps; and to see that our army never made a move without having at hand the means of subsistence and of transport. When cholera and famine came—when our wounded perished painfully in the hospitals, where they should have been carefully nursed, and speedily cured—when unskilful officers recklessly sacrificed, in battle or in attack, the soldiers over whose welfare a nation was longing to keep guard—no wonder that the storm came, and that, before it fell, a minister was never credited even for the little worth he possessed. In old times, men of high rank have been shot, or hung, or beheaded, and their memories handed down to eternal infamy, for deeds much less mischievous than were the blunders, and the oversights, and the mistakes of the Crimean war.

Parliament assembled unusually early after the recess. On the 12th of December the queen's speech was delivered. Senators were told that they were thus unwontedly summoned in order to take such measures as would enable her majesty to prosecute the great war in which they were engaged with the utmost vigour and effect. The first thing done was to carry a vote of thanks to the brave and suffering soldiers of the Crimea. The next was, to carry a Foreign Enlistment Bill, though not without considerable opposition. Mr. Bright's speech on the third reading of the bill was considered one of his best. He dwelt upon the degraded state of Turkey; and declared that, in supporting the Ottoman empire against Russia, we were fighting for a worthless ally and a hopeless cause. He denied the necessity of attacking Russia; denounced the war as based upon visionary and fantastic views; and described the government as "an incompetent ministry." The government also carried a Militia Bill, to enable her majesty to accept offers, made by whole regiments or portions of regiments of militia, for service out of the United Kingdom. It was brought in by Lord Palmerston. Government had been accused of entering on the war without a reserve. To that he answered, the reserve was the British nation. The object the government had in view by the bill was, not to send the militia regiments to the Crimea, but to send them to do garrison duty at Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, and therefore to set free the regiments there. Circumstances might also occur to induce her majesty to send them to the North American colonies; but such an arrangement was not then contemplated. The militia regiments had made such progress, that they would be as efficient in garrison as any regiment of the line. He desired that it should be distinctly understood, that no officer or man could possibly be sent out of the country without his own distinct and voluntary offer of service. On the 22nd, the House adjourned.

On the day following the adjournment, the *Times* began to startle and arouse the public, and thus to pave the way for the fall of the cabinet. It called upon Englishmen to rouse themselves from a sense of false security, and act in a way to relieve the state of the troops, and to improve the prospect of war. "What remains," it asked, "of more than 50,000 men—the best blood of this country—

which now represents, 3,000 miles from home, the glory, the influence, the courage, and the ability of our race? The England of history is now in the Crimea. We have defied the largest army in the world; and if we have not backed our challenge with quite sufficient strength or promptitude, we have, at last, made an effort beyond all former example. At this moment it would be rash to conjecture the fate of those hardy survivors of the 50,000. Do they still maintain the unequal fight—chilled, drenched, famished, utterly neglected? Has a slight aggravation of their many ills, a drop of the thermometer some degrees below zero, or a few more inches of rain, extinguished them altogether, or left scarce enough for a safe retreat? * * * There is no use disguising this matter. We are not speaking from our own correspondence only. We say, on the evidence of every letter that has been received in this country, and we echo the opinion of almost every soldier or well-informed gentleman, when we say that the noblest army ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic *hauteur*, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign, revel, and riot in the camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals of Scutari; and how much nearer home, we do not venture to say." As the *Times* forms public opinion—or did then—it was an augury that the people would soon call ministers to account.

Parliament met again, gloomy and despondent, on the 26th of January. In both Houses several notices of motions respecting the conduct of the war were given. Of these, the more important were—one by Lord Ellenborough, in the House of Lords; and another by Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons. On the very day on which these notices were to be discussed, the country was surprised by the formal announcement of Lord John Russell's resignation. This step, as we may suppose, subjected his lordship to the severest criticism. His conduct was considered a mean and cowardly desertion of his colleagues. It was generally felt that his behaviour would have been more honourable if he had taken his chance of falling with them, rather than desert them on the very eve of a great parliamentary discussion on their past conduct and policy. His lordship's explanation was, that during the recess, it had struck him there might be a better administration of the war department; and he proceeded to read a long correspondence on the subject between himself and Lord Aberdeen. He suggested, as early as the 17th of November, that before parliament met, the seals of that department should be placed in the hands of Lord Palmerston; assigning his reasons confidentially to Lord Aberdeen, without throwing any blame upon the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen did not concur in this proposal; and his (Lord John's) only doubt was, whether he should not then have relinquished office; but he had adopted the advice of Lord Palmerston, and determined to continue his connection with the government, having communicated to Lord Aberdeen his views as to the changes in the war department, which he deemed indispensable to remedy its imperfections. In dealing with the motion of Mr. Roebuck, he was, however, bound to reflect, whether he could fairly and honestly say—"It is true, evils do exist; but such arrangements have been made that all deficiencies and abuses will be immediately remedied." And he could not honestly, or without betraying the confidence reposed in him, make that statement. He considered, therefore, that as he was unable to give the only answer that would stop inquiry, it was his duty not to remain a member of the government.

No sooner had his lordship concluded his explanation than Mr. Roebuck brought forward his motion. Feeble, and suffering from ill-health, he was unable to proceed with his address: but there was no need that he should. He had said enough when he had asked what had become of the 40,000 men who have disappeared from the ranks of the army? The debate, thus initiated, was a lengthy one. Mr. Stafford, who had been to the Crimea, testified to the misery which he saw everywhere around him. Sir Bulwer Lytton, Mr. Disraeli, and others, were all eager in their accusation of government, which was defended by Mr. Herbert,

Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Palmerston. The latter said, that on one point he fully concurred with Mr. Disraeli, that the responsibility did not fall upon the Duke of Newcastle alone, but upon the whole cabinet. Ministers were resolved, on that ground, to abide by the decision of the House. Much had been said about a coalition; but, in the existing state of parties, no government could be formed strong enough to carry on its affairs that was not formed upon the principle of coalition. He would not deny that there had been something calamitous in the condition of our army; but he traced it to the inexperience derived from a long peace, and the state of the military departments. The course pursued with respect to the appointment of a committee would be dangerous and inconvenient in its results abroad. He trusted that the discussion would be confined to the overthrow of the existing government; and that, when the House had determined what set of men should be entrusted with public affairs, they would give their support to that government, and not show to Europe that a nation could only meet a great crisis when it was deprived of representative institutions.

After some words by Messrs. Muntz and Horsman, Mr. T. Duncombe asked the proposer of the motion if he was in earnest, and really intended to nominate the committee in the event of his motion being carried. Mr. Roebuck said he certainly intended to carry out the inquiry, and had heard nothing in the debate which had led him to change his mind. The ministers had failed: they had acted under one continued paralysis. They could not do worse. The resolution, if adopted, would not carry into a single department greater incapacity and inaptitude than had already been exhibited. Their confidence, then, was in that House; and would that House abdicate its functions? Inquiry was requisite then, if ever. Inquire then, and save the army which was in jeopardy. Mr. Roebuck, in consequence of his feeble state, spoke with great difficulty, and was once compelled to stop in his brief reply. The House then divided, and the result was—for the commission of inquiry, 305; against it, 148: thus giving, against the ministry, the enormous majority of 157—an announcement received by the House with astonishment. Never, in so short a space of time, had a cabinet, apparently so strong, succeeded so effectually in drawing down upon itself the censure of parliament and people alike.

Before leaving this part of our subject, it may be well to state that, in time, the public came to see, that on the shoulders of the Duke of Newcastle especially, in consequence of the attack made upon him by Lord John Russell, there had fallen more than a fair share of the blame. Mr. Kinglake says—"The Duke of Newcastle was a man of a sanguine, eager nature, very prone to action. He had a good clear intellect, with more of strength than keenness; unwearied industry, and an astonishing facility of writing. In the assumption of responsibility he was bold and generous, even to rashness. Indeed, he was so eager to see his views carried into effect, and so willing to take all the risk upon his own head, that there was danger of his withdrawing from other men their wholesome share of discretion. He threw his whole heart into the projects of invasion; and if the Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone were driven forward by the feeling of the country, in spite of their opinions and scruples, it was not so with the Duke of Newcastle. The character of his mind was such as to make him essentially one with the public. Far from being propelled by others against his will, he himself was one of the very foremost members of the warlike throng which was pressing upon the cabinet, and craving for adventure and glory. He easily received new impressions, and, nevertheless, a quick good sense, which generally enabled him to distinguish what was useful from what was worthless. He seemed to understand the great truth that, without being military, the English are a warlike people. He also knew, that when England undertakes war against a great European power, she must engage the energies of the people at large, and must not presume to rely altogether upon the merely professional exertions of her small peace establishments. It was not from his faults, but in spite of his endeavours, that, for several months, people

lingered in the notion that our military system was an apparatus sufficing for war. But the duke had not an authority proportioned to the merits which a reader of his despatches and letters would be inclined to attribute to him. Perhaps the very zeal with which he seized and adapted his ideas of the outer public, was one of the causes which tended to lessen his weight; for he who comes into council with common and popular views, however likely it may be that he will get them assented to, can scarcely hope to kindle men's minds with the fire that springs from a man's own thought, and from his own strong will. Moreover, it was by a kind of chance, rather than of intentional selection, that the Duke of Newcastle had been entrusted with the momentous business of the war; and, seemingly, it was only from this circumstance that the propriety of his continuing to hold the office was afterwards brought into question by one of his principal colleagues. They did not perversely thwart him in the business of the war; but, on the other hand, they did not at all fasten themselves to his measures like men who would stand or fall with him. The Duke of Newcastle had not the gift of knowing how to surround himself with able assistants; and it was his misfortune to be without that precious aid which a minister commonly finds in the permanent staff of his office. At the outbreak of hostilities, the little body of distinct public offices, on which the military administration depended, was in a condition unfit to meet the exigencies of war. The first army surgeon who applied for certain of the medical stores, required on foreign service, was met with no less than five official theories as to the functionary upon whom the demand should be made; and when, in the month of June, the scattered departments connected with the land service were gathered at last into one, the office thus newly formed was, after all, so ill instituted as to be wanting in some of the simplest appliances required for the transaction of business." Thus much for a man who was made the scapegoat, and abused far beyond his deserts."

Ministers having resigned, it was no easy thing, in a time of such difficulty, to find successors. The queen sent for Lord John Russell: he accepted her commands to form an administration; but he found insurmountable obstacles in the way. Lord Derby had previously declined the attempt altogether. The country was in a dilemma. At such a time, to be without a government was a serious matter. The queen consulted again the Marquis of Lansdowne (it seems she acted under his advice all the way through); and his answer was—send for Lord Palmerston. His lordship was sent for, and accepted office. A ministry was formed out of the materials of the old, with this exception—his lordship had lost the services of the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle; and gained, as Minister at War, Lord Panmure.

Lord Panmure came of that northern race known, all the world over, according to Mr. Kinglake, for the light crisp hair, and the clear grey eye, known especially in the men of the south, for their full understanding of the art of taking care of themselves and their relations. In his lordship's case this natural tendency was remarkably illustrated. One day, in the crisis of the war, the commander of her majesty's forces in the Crimea, was alarmed by the receipt of a telegram from the War Office, requesting him to "take care of Dowb." Who or what was Dowb? Did it denote some Crimean fort, or a living specimen of flesh and blood? The question was deeply, anxiously discussed. Back to the War Office telegraphed the bewildered Simpson; when the answer came, that Dowb was a contraction for Dowbiggin, a relative of my Lord Panmure. The career of this nobleman (now the Earl of Dalhousie) had not been an unsuccessful one. He was born in 1801, at Brechin Castle, Scotland; educated at the Charter-house; and, as Mr. Fox Maule, entered the army as an ensign in the 79th Highlanders; served for several years on the staff of his uncle, and retired with the rank of captain. He commenced his political career in Forfarshire, in 1835, when he contested the county in the Whig interest, and was returned by a triumphant majority. On the formation of the Melbourne administration, he became Under-Secretary for the Home Department; and, although ejected from the representation of Perthshire in 1837, he retained

his office, and was, in 1838, restored to the House of Commons as member for the Elgin boroughs. Elected a second time, in 1841, as member for Perth, he figured for a brief period as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and, on the restoration of the Whigs to power in 1846, became a cabinet minister and Secretary at War. In that post he continued till 1852, when the expiration of the East India Company's charter rendering it necessary to have a minister of influence to direct the affairs of India, he was promoted to the Presidency of the Board of Control. The dissolution, however, of the Russell cabinet prevented Mr. Fox Maule trying his powers as an Indian reformer; and, having succeeded his father in the peerage, soon after took his place in the House of Lords. He had the wisdom not to take office in the coalition cabinet; but accepted, under Lord Palmerston, the difficult post of Secretary at War. The Premier paid his colleague a high compliment when he spoke of him as a perfect master of all the principles which regulate an army, and of all the details. Another appointment, made at this time, created no little remark. Lord John Russell was to serve under Lord Palmerston, as British plenipotentiary in the peace conference about to open at Vienna.

To a crowded and attentive audience, on February 16th, Lord Palmerston rose to make his first statement as head of the government of the country. It was a proud moment for him. He had attained the object of his ambition; he had won the prize in the political arena. He was now openly acknowledged to the world as the first statesman of his day. Apparently, his elevation made no difference to him. He was still the Palmerston of old—flippant, unpretending, avoiding all rhetorical flourishes; in seeming all things to all men; in reality, unbending and subtle as ever. Having referred to the circumstances connected with the downfall of the Aberdeen administration, his lordship continued—"The present government was then formed; and I trust it contains sufficient administrative ability, sufficient political sagacity, sufficient liberal principle, and sufficient patriotism and determination, to omit no effort to fulfil the duties the members have undertaken, and to justify me in appealing to the House and to the country for such support as men may be considered entitled to receive, who, in a period of great difficulty and emergency, have undertaken the responsibility of carrying on the government.

"With regard to Mr. Roebuck's motion," said his lordship, "I will not attempt to conceal that I feel the same objection to the appointment of a committee, of which he has given notice, as I did when the subject was first under discussion. My opinion is, that such a committee would, in its action, not be in accordance with the true and just principles of the constitution; and that it would not be, for the effectual accomplishment of its purpose, a sufficient instrument. He trusted that the House would at least assent to suspend its decision. The reason he would ask it so to do, would be his belief that the government would of itself do all that was possible to be done. As an English king rode up to an insurrection, and offered to be its leader, so the government offered the House of Commons to be its committee. The object of those who voted for the committee, was to compel the government to such administrative improvements as would restore vigour to the service. The House was aware," continued his lordship, "that he had not felt it to be his duty to recommend her majesty to appoint a Secretary at War; and his opinion was, that in regard to the ordnance, great improvements might be effected, and that the discipline of the artillery and the engineers might be transferred to the Commander-in-Chief. The transport service would be under the superintendence of a Board, to be established for that purpose. Fresh alarm, and well-founded complaints, had prevailed as to the condition of the sick and wounded in the hospitals; and the government were going to send out a commission of civilians, accustomed to deal with sanitary questions, with ample power to examine into the state of hospitals, camps, and ships. Lord Raglan had also been authorised to send to Constantinople for a corps of labourers, whose duty it would be to cleanse the camp. Many complaints had been made—he believed not without foundation—of the want of system in the commissariat department, as regarded the supply and issue of the

necessaries for the army; and a commission was going to be sent out, at the head of which was Sir J. M'Neil, to examine the defects of the commissariat department, and with full power to put it right. Major-General Simpson was likewise proceeding to the Crimea, as chief of the staff, to take the control of the quartermaster-general's and adjutant-general's departments, with power to recommend to Lord Raglan any change of persons. A new hospital was to be established at Smyrna, entirely under the management of civilians; and the Secretary of War was going completely to remodel the medical department at home. He would also introduce into the other House, a bill to enable her majesty to enlist for soldiers under the present limit, and for a shorter time. The commissariat abroad, he had omitted to state, had been charged, not merely with the supply and issue of provisions, and other necessaries, but also with the means of transporting them. This had been a source of great difficulty. And there would be a separate department of land transport, akin to the ancient waggon-train. He trusted that the House would be disposed to see the effects which these improved arrangements would make. In addition to them, no efforts would be spared to reinforce our army. Certain conditions as to negotiations for peace had been opened at Vienna. The government had proposed that Lord John Russell should conduct them on the part of this country; and he had consented. If," said Lord Palmerston, in conclusion, "we succeed in obtaining peace on terms which afford security, for the future, against those disturbances of the peace of Europe which have led to the war, we shall feel that our first desire in undertaking the government at this moment, has been accomplished in a manner as satisfactory to the country as ourselves. But if, on the other hand, we fail, then the country will feel that we have no alternative but to go on with the war; and I am convinced that the country will, with greater zeal than ever, give its support to a government which, having made every possible attempt to obtain peace, and having failed in doing so, has been compelled to carry on the war for the purpose of obtaining those results which the sense and the judgment of this country have approved. We shall then throw ourselves upon the generous support of parliament and the country; and that generous support, I am confident, we shall not ask in vain. I feel sure that, in such a state of things, all minor differences, all mere party shades of distinction will vanish; and that men of all sides will feel that they might support the government of this country, and show the world the noble and glorious spectacle, that a free people and a constitutional government can exhibit a life, a spirit, and an energy, a power of endurance and a vigour of action, that would be vainly sought for under a despotic rule and arbitrary sway."

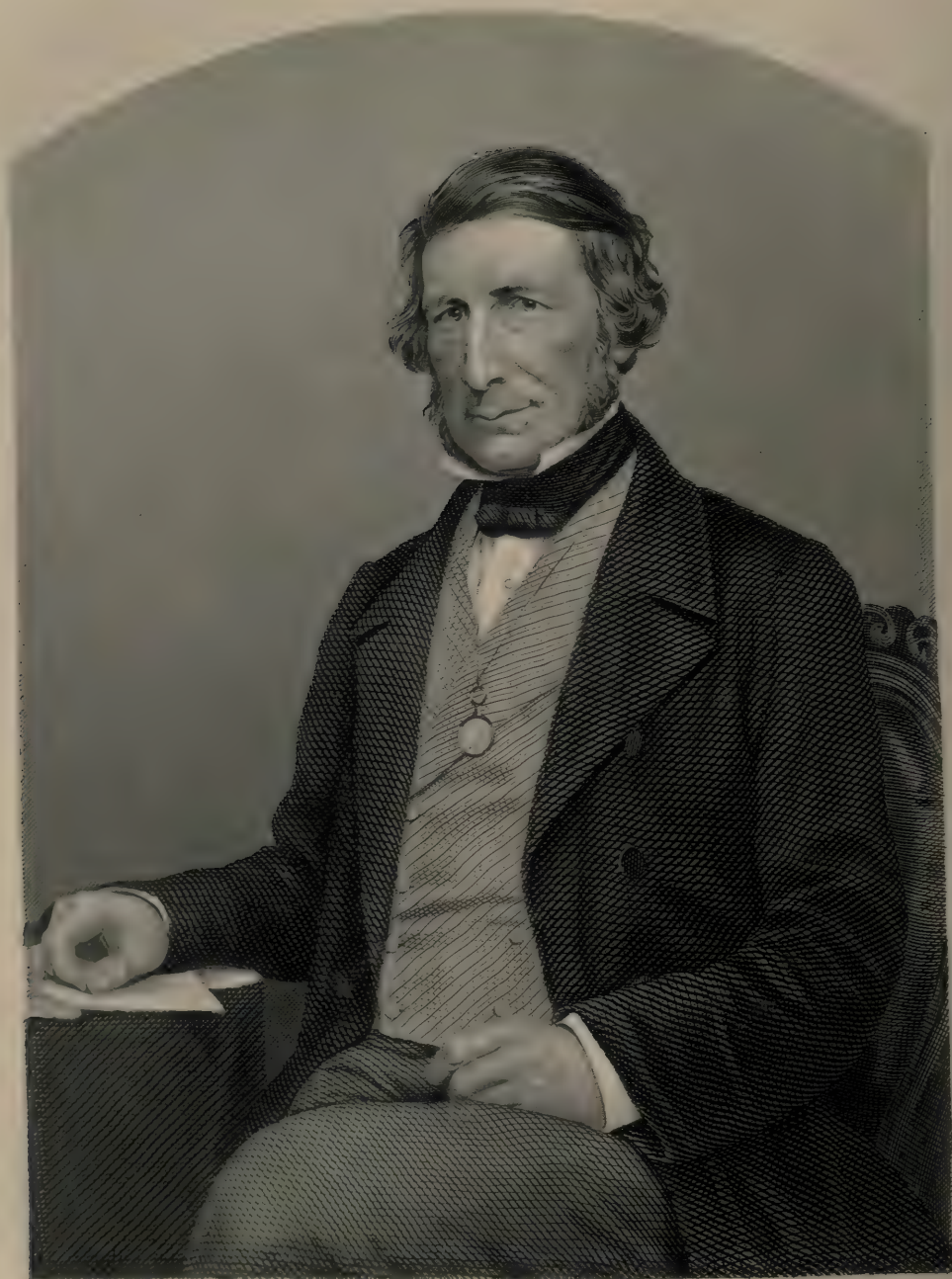
This programme of action found little favour either with the House or the country at large. It was clear the Premier was more anxious to patch up the wounds and imperfections which the late disasters had revealed in our execrable military system, than to cure and eradicate them. Mr. Layard, fresh from the Crimea, sharply criticised Lord Palmerston's propositions. "The country," he exclaimed, "is sick of these commissions. The country wants a man. Don't let me be told that you cannot get a man: that is an insult to the common sense of the country. If your man, however, must be seventy years old, a member of Brooks', and one who has always voted with the government, I grant that you may not find one of that class and stamp fitted for the duties which are required of him."

Lord Palmerston had succeeded in forming a cabinet, but not a very united one. By the 22nd of February, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert had resigned their respective offices. Their motive for abandoning the ministry was said to be, by themselves, in their places in parliament, the stroug objection they had to the proposed inquiry, by a select committee of the House of Commons, into the state of the army, and the causes of the disasters in the Crimea. A year or two later, on occasion of being reproached by a political opponent with having deserted the ministry in an hour of peril, Mr. Gladstone replied—"I never

left the government of my own free-will. I left the government of 1855 because I was obliged to leave it—because Lord Palmerston had changed his mind on a matter of important public policy. In January, 1855, there was a proposal for a committee to inquire into the state of the army before Sebastopol. The government, of which Lord Palmerston was a member, believed that the committee could not lead to any satisfactory result. Lord Palmerston was so strongly of that opinion, that we all resigned our offices in January, 1855, rather than consent to that committee. Three weeks after, the subject of the committee was resumed. I continued of the same opinion. Lord Palmerston changed his, and consented to the committee; and, as I continued unchanged, he would not permit me to remain, and I was compelled to quit office. I defy any man to contradict what I now state. I do not like to trouble the meeting thus; but, as you have chosen to open the subject, I must continue it a few moments longer. The Sebastopol committee was appointed: the Sebastopol committee reported a most severe censure upon the whole of the government of Lord Aberdeen, to which Lord Palmerston and I belonged. The report of the committee was presented to the House of Commons. Mr. Roebuck proposed a resolution on it. There was a division in the House. Lord Palmerston voted to give the go-by to that committee by, in parliamentary language, moving the previous question. I voted for a consideration of the report, for I wanted to have the judgment of parliament upon the question. Lord Palmerston stopped the judgment of parliament at that time: but he afterwards sent a commission to the Crimea. The commission came home, and made a report: that report received the approval of the country; but I need not tell you, for you all know, how the commissioners, Sir John McNeil and Colonel Tulloch, were treated by Lord Palmerston.” Lord Palmerston soon filled up the vacant offices. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was offered to Mr. Cardwell, who not only refused it, but resigned, that he might side with his fellow Peelites. The office was subsequently accepted by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a man of rare industry and vast accomplishments, and who fell a victim to his laborious zeal.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, born in 1806, was educated at Eton, and at Christchurch, Oxford, where, in 1828, he was first class in classics, and second in mathematics. Having been called to the bar in 1831, he was appointed to serve on the commission of inquiry into the relief of the poor, and into the state of the church in Ireland, in 1835; and on the commission of inquiry into the affairs of Malta, in 1836. In 1839, he became a poor-law commissioner. In 1847, he entered parliament as M.P. for Hertfordshire, and was, first, Secretary to the Board of Control; subsequently, Under-Secretary for the Home Department; and then one of the secretaries to the Treasury. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Hertfordshire at the general election in 1852, and at Peterborough soon afterwards; but, upon the death of his father, in 1855, he succeeded him in the representation of the Radnor boroughs. As a literary man, his reputation stood deservedly high. At one time he was the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. His works are many, and on subjects chiefly historical or political; such as—*The Romance Language*; *The Use and Abuse of Political Terms*; *Local Disturbances*, and the *Irish Church Question*; *On the Government of Dependencies*; *On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion*; *On Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*; *On the Credibility of Early Roman History*, &c. As a debater, originally Sir Cornewall Lewis had not much weight in the House. His style of speaking was heavy, and destitute of life; but he had very much improved by practice; and his loss was felt and lamented by men of all parties in the state.

One appointment, at this time, created considerable astonishment. Lord John Russell joined the ministry as Colonial Secretary, he being already plenipotentiary to the congress of Vienna. It was urged, in objection, that either of these positions was sufficient to engross the complete attention of one man: but



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Lord Palmerston said, that Sir George Grey, who had hitherto held the Colonial Office, should look to it during Lord John's absence. Sir George assumed the post of Home Secretary, abandoned by Mr. Sidney Herbert; Mr. Vernon Smith accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, vacated by Sir Charles Wood, who took the post of First Lord of the Admiralty.

On the evening when the retiring ministers gave their reasons for leaving the administration, the committee for a public inquiry into the state of affairs in the Crimea was appointed. The list of names first proposed by Mr. Roebuck to constitute that committee was abandoned; and Mr. Roebuck, in conjunction with Lord Palmerston, prepared one better entitled to the confidence of the House. Mr. Roebuck subsequently proposed that the inquiry into the state of the army should be a secret one. He urged, that if it was not conducted in secret, it would not be both searching and safe, when our alliance with France was considered. Considerable discussion ensued; and as the opinion of the House was mainly in favour of an open inquiry, Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion with regard to secrecy. The committee appointed consisted of—Mr. Roebuck, Chairman; Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Branston, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Ellice, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Sir J. Pakington, General Peel, Lord Seymour, and Sir J. Hanmer. The committee met for the first time on the 5th of March. Its proceedings extended to the 15th of May; and, on the 18th of June, Mr. Roebuck presented the report, drawn up by it, to the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, the war, and everything connected with it, was fiercely debated in the House of Commons, rather, it is to be feared, with a view to upsetting the ministry, than with regard to public interests. The principal debate, however, commenced in May. Mr. Disraeli called upon the House to express its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of the government. To this notice Sir Francis Baring added an amendment—"That this House having seen, with regret, that the conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare, that it will continue to give every support to her majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace." Lord Palmerston closed the debate in an animated speech. He appealed to the common patriotic feeling of members, in support of the crown and government, to carry through a struggle necessary for the honour and interest of the country. He asserted that the peace-at-any-price party were the only members who had introduced bitterness and passion into an important and gravely-conducted debate. He said, that Sir F. Baring having framed, upon the basis of Mr. Disraeli's resolution, almost exactly such a one as government would have taken the initiative in proposing, he foresaw that a large majority would rally to vote for that resolution, as a means of enabling the government to give effect to the wishes of the nation and the parliament in carrying out the object of the war. That object was to prevent the partition of Turkey by a gigantic power, which would stride like a Colossus from the Baltic to the Mediterranean: and, in so doing, not only protect the sultan, but that very trade of Manchester, and our manufacturing districts, which Russia prohibited, and Turkey enlarged. "I trust," said his lordship in conclusion, "that party feeling will, for one night, be set aside; that we shall, at least for one night, and for one occasion, be unanimous in our assurances to the crown that we are determined, as the true representatives of the people of this great country, to give to her majesty the best support we can in the prosecution of the war, to the attainment of a safe and honourable peace." After an amendment by Mr. Lowe had been put, and negatived without a division, Sir F. Baring's motion was carried without further opposition.

Out-of-doors there was less of unanimity. Even when—as at this time was the case—the queen ordered her faithful people to humble themselves before God, on account of the disasters in the Crimea, and the church decreed, accordingly, appropriate services, there were those—by no means a minority—who considered, perhaps

profanely, that the fasting and humbling should have been confined to the higher officers of state; and that the whole thing was a political juggle, to divert the attention of the public. It was a grand achievement in those who had sent our army to die—and for whose death they were responsible—to get the public to believe that it was God's anger, rather than their neglect, which had swept away to Hades so many thousands of our best and bravest sons, and had filled the land with mourning, and lamentation, and woe. Nor even did the miserable trick succeed. Of course the churches were opened; and many—mostly inferior—discourses were delivered; and much was said in the pulpit, that, to the sober ear of reason, sounded as something very like blasphemy. But still, so immense was the dissatisfaction of the nation at the conduct of the war, and the state of the public departments, that an agitation arose, the rallying-cry of which was, "Administrative Reform." An association was formed by certain members of the middle classes, chiefly merchants and traders of the metropolis, for the purpose of promoting a thorough reform in the various departments of the state. Its first meeting was held on the 5th of May, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, and attended by as many as 1,500 persons. At that time, limited liability companies had not made merchants, and tradesmen, and manufacturers perceive that they were just as liable to be imposed on as any other class of men. Nevertheless, the association never made much way, though Mr. Samuel Morley, a great man in city and dissenting circles, took the chair.

On the 15th of June, Mr. Layard brought forward some resolutions on the subject in the House of Commons; and, in a speech extending over three hours, took up, one by one, the great heads of the subject. He spoke of the government as a close monopoly of a few families; of the army, where promotion went by purchase and favouritism, instead of by merit. He severely criticised the diplomatic and civil services—recommending a competitive examination for admission. He then moved, "That this House views, with deep and increasing concern, the state of the nation; and is of opinion, that the manner in which merit and efficiency in public appointments have been sacrificed to party and family influences, and a blind adherence to routine, has given rise to great misfortunes, and threatens to bring discredit upon the national character, and to involve the country in grave disasters." In the debate which followed, Mr. Gladstone characterised the resolution as vague, pledging the House to nothing, and offering no useful object to the people. Sir Bulwer Lytton moved, as an amendment—"That the House recommends to the earliest attention of her majesty's ministers, the necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments, with a view to simplify and facilitate the transaction of public business; and by instituting judicious tests of merit, as well as by removing obstructions to its fair promotion and legitimate rewards, to secure to the service of the state the largest available proportion of the energy and intelligence for which the people of this country are distinguished." Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, on behalf of the government, disclaimed a blind adherence to routine, though not to system, without which no service or law could go on. If, he said, Mr. Layard's resolution were carried, ministers would regard it as a vote of want of confidence, and retire; but that, construing Sir E. B. Lytton's amendment by the simple meaning of its words, he should have no difficulty in accepting it. The tone of the House was adverse to Mr. Layard's motion. At the adjourned debate, Mr. Disraeli said that administrative reform was imperatively required; but that he could not agree with Mr. Layard, that our late disasters were attributable to routine, but rather to an incapable government, unconnected by the mutual sympathy and private regard necessary to the success of the cabinet. He fully coincided with the amendment of Sir E. B. Lytton, which expressed the policy Lord Derby's party were prepared to recommend. Lord Palmerston referred to a recent speech of Mr. Layard, at a public meeting in Drury Lane Theatre, where he had been charged with jesting at the sufferings of the people—a charge he denied indignantly. He defended the composition of the government; no

member of which, he said, was related to him by any family ties. He promised the earnest attention of his government to administrative reform; saying, that it could have no possible inducement to follow any other course; detailed what had already been done, and dilated on the inquiry, time, and consideration necessary before all could be done that was required. He accepted the resolution of Sir E. B. Lytton, as a pledge that the government would direct its most serious attention to a continued revision of the civil offices of the state. After a brief reply from Mr. Layard, his resolutions were rejected by 359 to 46. Subsequently, Sir E. B. Lytton's resolution was adopted without any discussion. Lord Palmerston always stood out till the last; and then, like a wise man, gave way.

On the 18th of June, Mr. Roebuck presented the report of the committee on Crimean affairs (of which he was chairman) to the House of Commons, and it was read to the members by Sir Denis Le Marchant. The report was a lengthy one; and after referring to the complicated nature of the inquiry, laid down the opinions the committee had arrived at—first, as to the condition of the army before Sebastopol; and, secondly, on the conduct of the departments, both at home and abroad, whose duty it was to minister to the wants of the army. Granting that much suffering was necessarily unavoidable, the committee expressed their opinion that it was mainly attributable to dilatory and insufficient arrangements for the supply of the army with necessaries indispensable to its healthy and effective condition. The imperativeness, or otherwise, of the fatal amount of over-work to which the troops were subjected, the committee regarded as a matter beyond the limit of their inquiry.

The second division of the subject was treated at greater length, and under no less than seventeen headings. The first of these related to the conduct of the government at home, upon which the responsibility of the expedition to the Crimea rested. It pointed out, that the government gave orders for the expedition without having obtained the requisite information concerning the harbours, roads, and water-supply of the Crimea; or, what was most important, a statement of the force by which it was defended. They also regretted the delay in the formation of an army of reserve. The report gave the Duke of Newcastle credit for the best intentions, and even put forward some apologies for the difficulties of his position; but it left the reader to infer that he was unequal to the duties of his office. It was also intimated that Mr. Sidney Herbert's influence was not equal to his activity.

The ordnance department was described as working improperly, on account of the absence of Lord Raglan, the master-general, whose duties were imperfectly performed by a substitute. The supply of inferior tools, the report ascribes to carelessness or dishonesty on the part of the persons responsible for it. The committee were unable to decide whether the sufferings occasioned to the soldiers by the deficiency in the transport departments, were due to the "office of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the Secretary at War, or of the Secretary of State for War." In the same way, no one seems to have been responsible for the management of the transport service in the Black Sea. Sir James Graham declared that Admiral Dundas was: the admiral declared that the parties to blame were Lord Raglan, Rear-Admiral Boxer, and Captain Christie.

The report observed of the commissariat, that the soldiers were badly supplied with food, and that the explanation given was unsatisfactory. The circumstance of giving green coffee to the men was dwelt on. "The more immediate comfort of the men was overlooked, while ingenious arguments on the volatile aroma of the berry, and of the Turkish mode of packing coffee, were passing backward and forward." The horses were as badly treated as their masters. After the hurricane, the supply of forage ceased. There was great blame somewhere; but the committee could not say where.

With respect to the medical department at home, Dr. Smith, the director-general, said that he was under the immediate authority of five different superiors—the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary at War, the

Master-general of the Ordnance, and the Board of Ordnance; under which circumstances, it excites no surprise to find that he did not understand, or properly discharge, the duties attached to his office. In this department, as in many others, inexperience proved an obstacle to its efficiency in war. Dr. Smith was animated by a desire to discharge his duty; but, in many points, he suggested and remonstrated in vain. The report observes—"The strict economy enforced during a long period of peace, by means of a rigid system of audit and account, may, doubtless, at the first outbreak of war, have still fettered Dr. Smith, as well as other public servants, who dreaded to incur responsibility for any expenditure, however urgent, which was not guarded by all the forms and documents usually required. An excess of caution in the first instance, led, probably, to some evils which a lavish outlay could not afterwards repair." The committee referred mournfully to the medical department in the East; and declared it to be so wretched and painful a subject, that they gladly avoided repeating its harrowing details. They observed—"The medical men, it is said, were indefatigable in their attention; but so great was the want of the commonest necessities, even of bedding, as well as of medicines and medical comforts, that they sorrowfully admitted their services to be of little avail."

Of the hospitals at Scutari the committee report in terms of sorrow and surprise. Of these hospitals Major Sillery was military commandant; while Dr. Menzies, with Dr. McGregor under his orders, were medical superintendents. Major Sillery was totally incompetent to the discharge of his official duties, and ridiculously timid of incurring any responsibility. Dr. Menzies seems to have been impressed with old-fashioned notions of routine; and to have been, moreover, somewhat deficient in natural kindness to the host of sufferers under his charge. The committee censured him for not correctly reporting the circumstances of the hospital, and stating that he wanted nothing in the shape of stores or medical comforts, at the time when his patients were destitute of the commonest necessities. They modified this censure by adding—"In justice to Dr. Menzies, it must be admitted that he was engaged in incessant and onerous duties. He was consulted in all difficult surgical cases; he performed the most serious operations himself. His time was occupied in invaliding men, holding Boards, making monthly and quarterly returns, daily reports and weekly reports—reports to Dr. Smith, who could not interfere; reports to the Duke of Newcastle, who was never informed of the real state of things. Amid all these labours he had no time left for that which would have been his principal duty—the proper superintendence of these hospitals. Dr. Menzies states, that he was overwhelmed by the work of three deputy inspectors, when he gave up his charge—his health being then broken down. This statement is confirmed by Dr. Dumbreck, who, having heard Dr. Menzies' evidence, says—"The clashing of responsibility and confusion that existed in the administration of the hospitals, was not creditable to our system. We seemed to have fallen into a state of inaction; we had no purveyors, no orderlies, no hospital corps. Dr. Menzies I believe to have been clearly over-worked, and put in a position that no man was able to cope with."

As regards this point, the committee state themselves to be totally at a loss to understand the report of Dr. Hall, which they consider to have misled both Lord Raglan and the government at home; and to have occasioned much delay in measures, taken afterwards, for the remedy of evils which might have been arrested earlier in their progress. The committee referred to the selection of an improper person as purveyor, and to the retaining him in office after he had been pronounced unfit to discharge its duties. They severely condemned the state of the apothecary department at Scutari, of which no account whatever seems to have been kept: at any rate, no entry was made in the books by the officer in charge of that department, from the 24th of September to the 28th of November. "Your committee," continues the report, "are not aware under what instructions he was acting; but the late Secretary at War admits that such conduct was a gross dereliction."

tion of duty. It is, moreover, manifest that the government had been deceived with regard to these hospital stores, since Mr. S. Herbert had stated, in the House of Commons, there had been all manner of forms to be gone through before these stores could be issued. With plenty of materials, the forms were so cumbrous that they could never be produced with the rapidity necessary for the purposes of a military hospital. It is now proved, that if there were cumbrous forms inconveniencing the service of the hospital, and aggravating the sufferings of the patients, there were, at least, no forms to protect the public purse against negligence or peculation. The distress in these hospitals would have been more severe, and the suffering more acute, if private charity had not stepped in to redress the evils of official mismanagement. Assistance, which had been discouraged as superfluous, was eventually found to be essential for the lives of the patients. When the quantities of hospital stores which were sent from England are contrasted with the scarcity, or rather the absolute dearth of them at Scutari, and when the state of the purveyor's accounts is remembered, it is impossible not to harbour a suspicion that some dishonesty has been practised with regard to these stores." In conclusion, the committee remarked, "that the first real improvements in the hospital at Scutari are to be attributed to private suggestions, private exertions, and private benevolence. A fund, raised by public subscriptions, was administered by the proprietors of the *Times*, through Mr. Macdonald, an intelligent and zealous agent. At the suggestion of the Secretary at War, Miss Nightingale, with admirable devotion, organised a band of nurses, and undertook the care of the sick and wounded. The Hon. Jocelyn Percy, the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and Mr. Augustus Stafford, after a personal inspection of the hospitals, furnished valuable reports and suggestions to the government. By these means much suffering was alleviated; the spirits of the men were raised, and many lives were saved. Your committee have now adverted to the chief points contained in the replies to above TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND QUESTIONS; and, in noticing these various subjects, they have divided them under distinct heads, in order fairly to apportion the responsibility. Your committee report that the sufferings of the army mainly resulted from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and, as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation, on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon the country, which will, doubtless, be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may, in future, display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none hereafter may be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

But we must return to parliament, where again Lord John Russell manages to create difficulty and embarrassment. On his return from the Vienna conference, it was generally reported that he had there agreed to the Austrian proposals for peace; and, consequently, that there existed in a cabinet wholly responsible for the war, a minister of great importance, who thought it neither just nor necessary. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who is said to have shared in the same views, resigned his office on finding that he had not the concurrence of government. Not so Lord John Russell: with peace in his heart, he had war on his lips; and acted with a ministry who were always pledging themselves to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. In parliament, in the attempt to catechise him, his lordship gave uncertain and evasive replies. At length, Count Buol, in a circular addressed to the diplomatic agents of Austria, observed, in reference to the peaceable view of

the cabinet, that "the ministers of France and England, in a confidential interview, showed themselves decidedly inclined towards our proposal." Under these circumstances, Mr. Milner Gibson, July 6th, requested Lord John Russell to explain his conduct; and how it was, if the facts were as reported, he retained his place in a government pledged to cripple Russia when those proposals were rejected. His lordship stated that he concurred in the Austrian proposals, which, he thought, would give a very fair prospect of the duration of peace. He told Count Buol that his instructions from London led him to believe that the Austrian proposals would not be accepted; but that his own opinion was, that they ought to be, and might be, accepted: and he promised that he would do his best to put them in such a light that the Austrian government might hope for their adoption. On his return from Vienna these proposals were deliberately considered by the cabinet, which came to the conclusion that the peace proposed would not be a safe one, and that they could not recommend its adoption. Mr. Gibson asked why he could continue in the government which rejected his counsel? But, as a plenipotentiary, it was for him to submit to the decision of his government. As a member of the cabinet, it was his duty to consider the circumstances of the time—the failure of himself and Lord Derby to form a government that promised stability—the attacks to which Lord Palmerston himself was exposed for no other reason than that he held a place of authority. Now though, out of office, he might have given every support to his noble friend, he felt that his resignation would have decreased the stability of the administration, and have been considered the symptom and precursor of other changes. Within the cabinet it was the duty of the minority to yield to the majority, and to leave it to the House of Commons to decide whether or not they were to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs. This speech of his lordship's made matters worse. Mr. Cobden, in a powerful harangue, declared, that by such a surrender of his judgment, Lord John Russell struck at the confidence of public men. Mr. Roebuck considered Lord John's conduct to be inconsistent with the perfect honesty of a public man. Mr. Disraeli was equally severe; and Lord Palmerston defended his colleague in vain.

Nor was the matter allowed to stop here. On the 10th of July, Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of the following vote of censure—"That the conduct of the minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna, and his continuance in office as a responsible adviser of the crown, have, in the opinion of this House, shaken the confidence which the country should place in those to whom the administration of public affairs is entrusted." On the 12th, Lord John stated that it was certainly true that, when he returned from Vienna, he was of opinion that the propositions of Count Buol might secure an honourable peace. But it did not follow that he thought that the same propositions would be equally efficacious now. On the contrary, he was of opinion that this country had no choice but vigorously to prosecute the war. As this explanation did not much mend matters, and as it seemed certain that his expulsion from office by a parliamentary censure was inevitable, on the 16th his lordship announced his retirement from the ministry. Sir William Molesworth became the new Colonial Secretary.

On the 17th of July, Mr. Roebuck introduced his motion for the severe censure, by the House, of the late ministry. He did this as the sequel to the report on the Sebastopol committee. He called upon the House to vindicate the committee by declaring the whole of the late cabinet guilty, and to blame those who so carelessly discharged their duties. It was evident to all, that Mr. Roebuck, in his motion, aimed at too much—that the House would never sanction it. Many urged that the punishment he was anxious to inflict was too retrospective, and was almost vindictive in its character. The debate lasted two nights. General Peel moved the previous question, and contended that the House had not the means of judging of the expedition to the Crimea. On the second night of the debate, additional interest was imparted to it by the presentation of petitions from Birmingham and Bradford by Mr. Roebuck, and from Totnes by Mr. Otway, praying that ministers

might be impeached. The late government was defended by the Attorney-general, Lord John Russell, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir George Grey, and Lord Palmerston (that is, it was defended by itself). It was censured by Mr. Gaskell, Mr. Whiteside, Mr. Bright, Mr. Disraeli, and others. In his off-hand, free, and easy manner, Lord Palmerston maintained that no errors had been committed, and that no war was ever conducted with such judgment and vigour. In his reply, Mr. Roebuck, after vindicating himself from the charge of malice, observed—"An inquiry has been instituted by this House into a matter which deeply affected the happiness and welfare of my countrymen. A committee brought these matters to a conclusion. I came to this House to ask them if they coincided in that conclusion; and the right honourable gentleman, the member for Wiltshire (Mr. Sidney Herbert), says, most candidly, that I did no more than my duty. I now appeal to the House, and ask them to watch over the great interests of England. I ask them to watch over the army of England. In doing so I have done my duty: it is now for the House to decide whether they will do theirs." The House then divided, when there were for the amendment, 289; against, 182. Mr. Roebuck's motion was consequently lost; and men who were guilty of a negligence and carelessness which had produced the most disastrous results, escaped the condemnation they richly deserved.

Not, however, with this debate did all the difficulties of the session pass away. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget had been agreed to; a loan to Sardinia was granted; but a difficulty arose on one to Turkey, and ministers had but a small majority. It appears, a convention had been signed in London by the ministers of Turkey, England, and France, by which England and France were to guarantee a loan of £5,000,000, to be raised by the Turkish government. The loan was to be effected in London, and was to bear interest at 4 per cent. The French Chamber had approved of the treaty; and, on the 20th of July, Lord Palmerston moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution authorising the queen to guarantee the interest on the loan.

In doing so, his lordship observed, that it was no reproach to the Turkish empire that the ordinary resources were unequal to the emergencies of a great and important struggle, because that happened to all countries engaged in war. "It happens here," he observed; "it happens in France; and, from information which we have received, we believe that, in Russia, the difference between ordinary revenue and war expenditure is greater even than in England, France, or Turkey. We are informed, that whereas the ordinary revenue of Russia is about £30,000,000 sterling, her expenses in this war equal, if they do not exceed, double that amount. The ordinary revenues of Turkey amount to about £10,000,000 sterling. Last year they were obliged to increase their available means, and a loan was negotiated, nominally of £5,000,000, but of which only between two and three were actually raised. That has not been found sufficient for the purposes of the Turkish government; and it was put to France and England that, unless additional means were found to defray the current expenses of the naval and military services of Turkey, they would come to a stand, and it would be impossible for Turkey, out of her ordinary resources, to find the means of defraying the necessary and unavoidable expenses connected with her military and naval operations. The matter was long and seriously considered by the governments of England and France. We felt that, while we were making great exertions in support of Turkey by armies and fleets, if we allowed the very body which we wished to support to fall to pieces, we should be defeating the object we had in view, and rendering fruitless those great efforts for her support; that unless the Turkish government were supplied with the means of paying and maintaining their own army, it would be in vain for England and France to assist in defending that territory." Lord Palmerston added, that there was every reasonable expectation that Turkey would make good its engagements, without throwing any real burden upon the finances of its two allies. The security to be given was, in the first place, the available surplus of the tribute of Egypt,

which amounted to about £65,000 a year; and, in the second, the entire revenue of the Turkish empire.

This proposition was met by a powerful opposition. Mr. Ricardo led the way. Mr. Gladstone said—"Such a proposal, at the commencement of the war, was calculated to produce a deep feeling of suspicion, mistrust, alarm, and aversion." Mr. Disraeli considered, that if England guaranteed the loan, she would have to meet it. Mr. Cobden avowed that they had no more chance of getting the money back than if they threw it into the sewer; and urged, that if they were going to advance the money at all, to take the simple course of making Turkey a present of it. Messrs. Cardwell and Walpole both argued against the loan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer represented, that if the resolution were rejected, the queen would have to communicate to the Emperor of the French, that it was not in her power to fulfil the convention into which she had entered. The difficulty started Lord Palmerston into seriousness; and he made an earnest appeal to the House to pass a measure, the rejection of which, he conceived, would affect the honour of England, endanger the alliance with France, and the safety of Turkey. Upon the House dividing, the numbers were—for the resolution, 135; against, 132: leaving the slender majority of three in its favour. Under the circumstances, perhaps, the House had no alternative. Government had a severe lesson read them; but it was as well that they were not defeated. Had the resolution been rejected, the Emperor of the French must have been irritated; Turkey would have felt herself hardly used; and the co-operation of England and France would have been rendered difficult. Nor did the subject drop here. On the following Monday it was renewed. Mr. Ricardo said he was satisfied that the government of France would willingly have reconsidered the subject. He also protested against the doctrine laid down by Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that the appeal to the House of Commons for its sanction to such a measure was a mere matter of form.

On other matters it is scarcely necessary to say much. The war, and what concerned it, chiefly occupied the attention of parliament and people. The Indian budget was brought forward in the House of Commons on the 7th of August, by the President of the Board of Control. It appeared that the expenditure had exceeded the income by upwards of £3,000,000: the excess was partly due to expenditure in public works. He went through the various items of revenue—the land-tax, the opium trade, and the salt duty—in all of which, he thought, an increase might be obtained; but he depended mainly on the development of Indian resources by the opening of railroads, and other means of communication. As for the expenditure, the army could not be reduced; judicial expenses were increased; and he could not anticipate much from the reduction of interest. "If, however," continued the honourable gentleman (so little conscious was he of the coming storm), "the financial prospects of the country were not pleasant, its political prospects were quite brilliant. A treaty had just been concluded with Cabul; satisfactory assurances were received from Nepaul; though Persia was neutral, nothing was to be apprehended from her; and improvements were springing up in all directions." He was obliged to allude to the proofs of torture in the collection of revenue, produced by a document just laid upon the table; the only palliation being that it was done entirely by the natives, though that did not altogether acquit the European superintendent of connivance. A discussion followed, relating almost entirely to the question of torture, as an element in the collection of the Indian revenue; and the report was then agreed to.

In the House of Commons a bill had been introduced, which led to rioting in Hyde Park, of a rather extensive character. It was one for the suppression of all Sunday traffic, and had been proposed by Lord Robert Grosvenor. Its stringent nature caused it to be regarded as tyrannical and oppressive. The small tradesman was to be fined, while the wants of the wealthy would still be attended to by trains of servants, who drove them to church, cooked their dinners, and performed all the duties which fell to their charge on the other days of the week. The

public-house was to be closed to the poor man, while the rich man had only to send to his cellar for all that he required, or might indulge his taste for eating and drinking at his club. This bill excited, as we may justly suppose, much irritation out-of-doors. For some days the metropolis was placarded with posters, appealing to the people, the next Sunday, to go to church with Lord Grosvenor, and then to see his friends in Hyde Park. The appeal was cordially responded to. On Sunday, the 24th of June, many thousands of people assembled in Hyde Park, to see how the aristocracy kept the sabbath. Every carriage seen in the park, or in the adjacent streets, especially if it chanced to be a bishop's, was followed with yells, and that peculiar species of oratory known, in cockney circles, by the slang term of "chaff." When the carriages began to appear for the afternoon drive along the Serpentine, the occupants were saluted with hisses and yells, and cries of "Go to church." The disturbance lasted until dark; and many of the carriage-horses took fright at the shouts of the people, and, by their restiveness, placed their owners in considerable danger. During the following week placards were numerously issued, calling on the people to make a national demonstration against a despotic attempt to coerce them into the better observance of the sabbath. The appeal was responded to, in spite of a notice issued by the commissioners of police, stating that no such demonstration would be allowed to take place: the people collected from all parts of the metropolis. One journal estimated the numbers assembled at 150,000 persons; while another stated the crowd to be a mile long, extending from Apsley House to Kensington Gardens.

If it had not been for the police, this second demonstration would have passed off quietly. In the crowd there were many orators—or men who considered themselves to be such. Naturally, they seized the occasion for treating the public to a specimen of their powers. Quite as naturally, the public gathered in groups around these men, to laugh or applaud, to approve or not, as the case might be. Violent attempts were made by the police to disperse these groups; and many collisions took place, in which the police used their staves with the most culpable freedom. When the carriage company assembled for the afternoon drive, they were not only assailed by yells and shouts of "Go to church," but the mob, irritated by the conduct of the police, began pelting with clods of earth, stones, or anything they could lay their hands on. The police, in their efforts to capture the more prominent orators, charged the people furiously, and struck with their staves with equal impartiality and equal injustice. Men, women, and children were equally obnoxious to the guardians of the peace. So formidable did the disturbance become, that, towards evening, large reinforcements of police were brought from distant quarters. Their services were not needed, as the people began to disperse about eight o'clock. Lord Robert Grosvenor had not been forgotten: his house was surrounded by a mob during the whole day; but, fortunately for his lordship, he did not make his appearance. Nor were the club-houses forgotten. Actually, more than one hundred persons, many of whom were severely hurt, were captured by the police.

During the next week many complaints of the savage conduct of the police appeared in the daily papers, and much indignation was excited on this account. Lord Grosvenor, alarmed for his personal safety, on the 2nd of July, withdrew his feeble and foolish bill. At the same time, urgent appeals were made, by the *Times* and other papers, to the people to stay away, as the object of the demonstration had now been gained. These appeals were largely responded to by the better class of those who had attended in the park; but on the 8th of July, a mob of roughs assembled, and gave way to the most violent and disgraceful proceedings. On account of the outcry raised against the conduct of the police on the previous Sunday, on the present occasion the police kept out of sight altogether, and the mob were permitted to act as they pleased. For a while they amused themselves in forming bodies, which rushed from one end of the park to the other, and in hunting any footman or remarkable person who was rash enough to venture

among them. About five the bulk left the park, and gathered at the top of Grosvenor Place, where they insulted every person who rode or drove by. A part of the mob, consisting chiefly of young blackguards, then detached themselves from the main body, and proceeded down Grosvenor Place, and through Belgrave Square, Eaton Square, and other places, smashing the windows in their progress, and ripe and ready for any mischief that might offer. Fortunately, the arrival of some police dispersed these rioters. By the next Sunday the excitement had nearly died away—not more than 10,000 being present. But it was some time before the park resumed its usual Sunday character; and it was long before the working people forgot the bad feeling created by Lord Robert Grosvenor's obnoxious bill. Of all legislation, that on Sunday trading is the most difficult to preserve from an appearance of one-sidedness and harshness. The poor man is unlike the rich man; nor does the rich man keep the sabbath very strictly: why, then, should he force the poor man to do that which he does not do himself? When will mischievous and well-meaning ladies, and noblemen, and clergy, understand that the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath?

The conduct of the police, on the 1st of July, had been so violent, and public opinion was expressed so broadly concerning it, that an inquiry on the subject was considered necessary. A commission was, therefore, entrusted to the Recorders of London, Manchester, and Liverpool. The inquiry was conducted with some form—a solicitor being appointed to represent the public. It appeared, unquestionably, from the evidence of many witnesses, that instances had occurred in which members of the police had lost their temper, and used much unnecessary violence. The commissioners found that Superintendent Hughes had, without sufficient grounds, ordered his men to use their staves, and had failed to control many excesses of the men under his command. It was also established, that, owing to the large number of persons who had been taken into custody, and placed in the cells of the Vine Street station, they had been there so closely packed as to have suffered, in a degree, much of the horrors endured by the unhappy victims of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

On the 14th of August, parliament was prorogued by commission. Her majesty was made to refer to the Sardinian alliance as follows:—"The accession of the King of Sardinia to the treaty between her majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the sultan, has given additional importance and strength to such alliance; and the efficient force which his Sardinian majesty has sent to the seat of war, to co-operate with the allied armies, will not fail to maintain the high reputation by which the army of Sardinia has ever been distinguished." The speech having alluded to several of the leading measures of the session, referred to the failure of the recent conferences at Vienna, and then observed—"Those endeavours having failed, no other course is left to her majesty but to prosecute the war with all possible vigour. Her majesty, relying upon the support of parliament—upon the manly spirit and patriotism of her people—upon the never-failing courage of her army and navy, whose patience while suffering, and whose power of endurance, her majesty has witnessed with admiration—upon the steadfast fidelity of her allies; and, above all, upon the justice of her cause—puts her trust in the Almighty disposer of events for such an issue of the great contest in which she is engaged, as may secure to Europe the blessings of a firm and lasting peace."

Later in the year, King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, entered into a defensive treaty with the allied powers, with the object of building up a barrier in the north, against the encroachments of Russia. It was signed at Stockholm, on the 21st of November. The treaty was a generous one on the part of the allies. Recognising the dangers to which Sweden would be exposed if she entered into an offensive league against so powerful a neighbour as Russia, they bound themselves to assist her, if necessary, but required no active assistance from her in the war. King Oscar, by this treaty, bound himself not to cede to, or exchange with, Russia, nor to permit her to occupy, any part of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden

and Norway. He engaged, further, not to cede to Russia any right of pasturage or fishery, or of any other nature whatsoever, either on the said territories or on the coast of Sweden and Norway, and to resist any pretension that may be put forward by Russia with a view to establish the existence of the rights aforesaid. About the same time, Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, arrived in this country, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

In the spring of 1856, peace with Russia was finally declared. The treaty consisted of twenty-four articles. Its leading provisions were as follow:—All territories conquered or occupied, on either side during the war, were to be evacuated, and all prisoners of war were to be immediately given up. Turkey was to be admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. All the parties to the treaty engaged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Turkish empire, and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest. The Black Sea was declared neutral, and open to the mercantile marine of every nation, but closed in perpetuity to all vessels of war. This arrangement rendering the maintenance or establishment, upon its coast, of military maritime arsenals alike unnecessary and purposeless, the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey engage not to establish or maintain, upon that coast, any military maritime arsenal. A commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey were each to be represented by one delegate, was formed, for the purpose of removing all obstacles to the navigation of the Danube. The Emperor of Russia, in exchange for the territories occupied by the allies, consented to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. The territory thus ceded by Russia was to be annexed to the principality of Moldavia, under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. Wallachia and Moldavia were to enjoy the privileges of which they were in possession, and no exclusive protection was to be exercised over them by any of the contracting powers. Turkey engaged to preserve to the principalities an independent and national existence, as well as full liberty of worship, legislation, commerce, and navigation. The same arrangement was to apply to the principality of Servia. A mixed commission was to be appointed to verify, and, if necessary, rectify, the boundaries of the mutual possessions of Russia and Turkey in Asia. By a convention, annexed to the treaty, it was declared that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no naval or military establishment should be maintained or credited there. Another convention, annexed to the treaty, adopted Count Walewski's reforms in maritime law (which we have already printed), in order to avoid the disputes which had hitherto arisen from the unsettled state of international law upon that subject. These arrangements were not to be binding except between those powers which acceded to them; and, on being laid before the American government, they did not meet with unqualified acceptance by that power.

In this treaty a clause was inserted, which, it was hoped, would bear golden fruit. It contained an arbitration clause. When the peace was talked of, a deputation waited upon Lord Palmerston upon the subject; but he raised all sorts of objections, and held out no hope. The peace people went to Paris; visited Lord Clarendon, who said, "I will do what I can to bring the matter before the congress." He did so; was supported by the French and Prussian plenipotentiaries; and when the treaty was promulgated, it was found to contain this clause—

"The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the names of their governments, the wish, that states between which any serious misunderstandings may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances will allow, to the good offices of a friendly power. The plenipotentiaries hope that the governments not represented at the congress, will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in this protocol."

Mr. Cobden's biographer observes—"This happy innovation, as Lord Clarendon termed it, consoled Cobden, in some degree, for his heartache of the last two years. In the very House which had laughed at his proposal only a short time ago,

Mr. Gladstone spoke eloquently of this protocol, as 'a powerful engine on behalf of civilisation and humanity;' and said 'it asserted the supremacy of reason, of justice, humanity, and religion.' Even Lord Derby accorded 'endless honour' to the diplomatists for adopting it; and Lord Malmesbury talked of its 'importance to civilisation, and to the security of the peace of Europe,' because 'it recognises and establishes the immortal truth, that time, by giving place for reason to operate, is as much a preventive as a healer of hostilities.'" Alas! it does not seem that the arbitration clause has made much difference. Nor is it easy to see how it should. When people have made up their minds—or their rulers for them—to go to war, arbitration clauses have but little effect. Mr. Cobden's panegyrist exclaims—"This was by no means the smallest of Cobden's triumphs. If Mr. Cobden had not done more than this, he would have effected but little in his day." We quite agree with Mr. Kinglake in his estimate of the doings of Mr. Cobden and the Peace Society anterior to the Russian war. They had certainly weakened themselves with the public: at the same time, they had led the czar into the mistake of taking their voice as that of the public. The passage is worth extracting. "Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were members of the House of Commons. Both had the gifts of a manly, strenuous eloquence; and their diction being founded upon English lore rather than upon shreds of weak Latin, went straight to the mind of their hearers. Of these men, the one could persuade, the other could attack; and, indeed, Mr. Bright's oratory was singularly well qualified for preventing an erroneous acquiescence in the policy of the day: for, besides that he was honest and fearless—besides that, with a ringing voice, he had all the clearness and force which resulted from his great natural gifts, as well as from his one-sided method of thinking, he had the advantage of generally being able to speak in a state of sincere anger. In former years, whilst their minds were disciplined by the almost mathematical exactness of the reasonings on which they relied, and when they were acting in concert with the shrewd traders of the north, who had a very plain object in view, these two orators had shown with what a strength, with what a masterly skill, with what patience, with what a high courage, they could carry a great scientific truth through the storms of politics. They had shown that they could arouse and govern the assenting thousands, who listened to them with delight; that they could bend the House of Commons; that they could press their creed upon a Prime Minister, and put upon his mind so hard a stress, that, after a while, he felt it to be a torture and a violence to his reason to have to make stand against them. Nay, more—each of these two gifted men had proved that he could go bravely into the midst of angry opponents; could show them their fallacies one by one; destroy their favourite theories before their very faces, and triumphantly argue them down. Now these two men were honestly devoted to the cause of peace. They honestly believed that the impending war with Russia was a needless war; there was no stain upon their names. How came it that they sank, and were able to make no good stand for the cause they loved so well?

"The answer is simple.

"Upon the question of peace or war—the very question upon which, more than any other, a man might well desire to make his counsels tell—these two gifted men had forfeited their hold upon the ear of the country; they had forfeited it by their former want of moderation. It was not by any intemperate words upon the question of this war with Russia that they had shut themselves out from the councils of the nation; but, in former years, they had adopted, and put forward in their strenuous way, some of the more extravagant doctrines of the Peace Society. In times when no war was in question, they had run down the practice of war in terms so broad and indiscriminate, that they were understood to commit themselves to a disapproval of all wars not strictly defensive; and to decline to treat as defensive, those wars which, although not waged against an actual invader of the queen's dominions, might still be undertaken by England in the performance of a European duty, or for the purpose of checking the undue ascendancy of another power."

In the debate which was raised on the peace, Lord Palmerston said—"I venture to think, that not only in the treaty, but in the course pursued at Paris, the proceedings of government were such as to deserve the approbation of this House and nation. No doubt, there are many in this country who would have been better pleased if no acceptable offers had been made to us, and if the war had gone on; for they anticipated, in that event, greater success would have attended our arms, and a more brilliant meed of glory. Such a feeling was not unnatural. Those who saw the magnificent fleet that was reviewed at Spithead, who knew in what an admirable condition our army in the Crimea now is, and who are aware that our commerce is unimpaired, and that our resources are undiminished by the recent conflict, cling to the thought, that if the war had been prolonged for another campaign, still greater advantages than those already attained might have been secured. It is probable that such would have been the case; and, certainly, if no conditions likely to effect the object of the war had been offered us, no peace would as yet have been made, and we should at least have had one campaign more. But a grave responsibility devolved upon us; and when we were offered terms of peace that seemed well calculated to achieve the purposes for which we had drawn the sword, we felt that it would ill consist with our duty and the dignity of the nation to reject them. A just and necessary war I regard as a duty; but when a war ceases to be just and necessary, I hold it to be a crime."

His lordship thus concluded—"Many people think that no reliance is to be placed on Russia, but that she will continue her long-cherished habits of aggression. I do not concur in that opinion. My belief is, that the present Emperor of Russia is a man of kind and benevolent feelings; not inspired by ambition of conquests, or, at least, that the conquests at which he aims are conquests over ignorance, undeveloped natural resources, and all those difficulties which prevent the progressive improvement of a nation. My hope is that he will turn the great power he possesses to the promotion of the internal prosperity of his empire. That is a task with which the noblest man might be contented, and which the greatest and ablest man, however long he lived, could not accomplish. It is said that if the resources of Russia are developed, she will only become more able to continue acts of aggression. I think that is a mistake. In proportion as nations become prosperous, in the same proportion they value the wealth and comforts which their exertions have procured for them; become wedded to the arts and pursuits of peace; and are weaned from the occupations and objects of war. If, therefore, the Emperor of Russia should devote his energies to the development of the natural resources of those vast plains which are now arid and barren, and to the connection of different parts of his empire by the modern improvements of railways, he will increase the probabilities of peace. But, on the other hand, if those expectations should be deceived; if a period of repose should only be used for the purpose of organising the means of fresh aggressions, then the alliances to which I have pointed—the common union which has been established between the powers of Europe—would prove an insurmountable barrier to any attempt which might be made to violate the peace of the world. Therefore, in looking east, and looking west—looking north, and looking south—looking from the centre of Europe to the extreme confines of Asia, I see nothing but sources of hope in every direction. I trust that this war will have settled the divisions in every part of Europe; that the nations of Europe will turn their attention to the cultivation of the arts of peace; and that those jealousies and rivalries which formerly divided nation from nation, and turned into animosity those feelings of self-respect and self-pride, will be extinguished. I say, that looking in all directions, I see nothing but sources of consolation and hope; and I trust the time is far distant when it will be the lot of any minister of England again to call upon this noble nation for support in any war. If such an occasion should arise, I am convinced, however distant it may be—however the nation may, in the interval, have devoted itself to the arts and pursuits of peace—the same warlike and manly spirit which was brought out by the late crisis,

will still be living in the breast of England. I trust that period may be long deferred, and that the youngest man who sits in this House may not live to see the time when it will be necessary for the responsible servants of the crown to call upon the people of this country to support their sovereign in the prosecution of any war."

The reader who has heard of the sufferings of the Crimean army, naturally asks—Who was hung? Who was imprisoned? Who was compelled to disgorge his ill-gotten gains, or to renounce honours and rank to which he had no legitimate claims? The answer is—No one. Ministers, still credulous as to the truth of the charges made by the committee of which Mr. Roebuck was chairman, sent out to the Crimea Sir John M'Neil and Colonel Tulloch, as royal commissioners, to inquire into the state of the war. They arrived in Constantinople in March, 1855. After examining the officers attached to the hospitals at Scutari, where they learned that the sick soldiers were chiefly suffering from diseases brought on by improper and insufficient diet, they proceeded to Balaklava, and commenced a laborious examination of the officers on whom the welfare of the army depended. The report, accompanied by corroborative evidence, was dated June 10th, 1855: but it was kept from the public until February, 1856. It was a sad confirmation of all that had been said as to the disgraceful state of affairs in the Crimea. We make one extract:—

"The sufferings of the army in the course of the winter, and especially during the months of December and January, must have been intense. We have not noted all the particulars related to us, many of which were unconnected with our inquiry; but we may state, that it has only been by slow degrees, and after the frequent repetition of similar details, as one witness after another revealed the facts that had come under his own observation, that we have been able to form any adequate idea of the misery and distress undergone by the troops, or fully to appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain had often reason to be proud of her army; but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting, throughout a long campaign, qualities as high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. The strength of the men gave way under excessive labour, watching, exposure, and privation; but they never murmured; their spirit never failed; and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected in those whom he encountered any signs of weakness. Their numbers were reduced, by diseases and by casualties, to a handful of men, compared with the great extent of the lines which they constructed and defended. Yet the army never abated its confidence in itself, and never descended from its acknowledged military pre-eminence. Both men and officers, when so reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty upon their comrades. Yet they maintained every foot of ground against the enemy, and with numbers so small that, perhaps, no other troops would have made the attempt. * * * The deaths, including those at Scutari and elsewhere, appear to amount to about 35 per cent. (*one-third*) of the average strength of the army present in the Crimea, from the 1st of October, 1854, to the 30th of April, 1855; and it seems to be clearly established that this excessive mortality is not to be attributed to anything particularly unfavourable in the climate, but to over-work, exposure to wet and cold, improper food, insufficient clothing during part of the winter, and insufficient shelter from inclement weather." In spite of the damning facts contained in the report, the commissioners avoided casting blame on any one. The Earls Lucan and Cardigan; the Commissary-general, Mr. Filder; Quartermaster-general Airey; and Assistant Quartermaster-general, Colonel Gordon, were implicated, but not directly accused. The officials were indignant. Earls Lucan and Cardigan could not contain their rage. Actually, another Board was constituted to whitewash them. Accordingly, a Board of general officers was appointed to

inquire into the truth of the statements contained in the report. The warrant was dated the 25th of February; but the opening of the commission was delayed for some time. It was presumed that Lord Hardinge, then Commander-in-Chief, would willingly have had the matter forgotten; but it had excited too much attention to be settled, or rather unsettled, in that way.

The *Times* sarcastically observed—"There is great difficulty in converting such an assemblage of ancients as the Chelsea commissioners. They are, for the most part, men on the wrong side of seventy; and the east wind is very keen. The nipping and unkind blast has, for the last few days, searched out all the weak points in the scattered frames of the veterans who have been told-off for duty at Chelsea." At length, in April, they met in the hall of Chelsea Hospital. The commissioners were—General Sir Alexander Woodford, General Earl Beauchamp, General Sir George Berkeley, Lieutenant-General Sir John Bell, Lieutenant-General S. W. Rowan, Major-General Peel, and Major-General Knollys. The Board met seven-and-twenty times; and their proceedings excited great interest, many of the spectators being ladies. The Board did what was wished. It impugned the report of Colonel Tulloch and Sir John M'Neil, who had too honestly and too faithfully discharged their duty. Society was satisfied. Lord Lucan had used every exertion to meet the difficulties with which he had to contend. Lord Cardigan was not to blame for the frightful mortality among the horses committed to his care. In like manner, Sir Richard Airey was discovered to have done the best he could. Colonel Gordon was not only acquitted, but commended; and Mr. Filder was considered to have exercised all possible activity. No one was to blame besides the poor Duke of Newcastle, who had long gone into the wilderness, bearing the sins of others on his shoulders. In the Crimea, noble lords had done their duty!—done their duty, though England's best and bravest had rotted away in that inhospitable Crimea like sheep! A nation's anger had been aroused; a strong administration had been shattered in consequence. Men of skill and capacity had been sent out to investigate affairs, and they confirmed, and more than confirmed, all that rumour had said; and now, to please a couple of noble lords, the government upset the verdict of their own commissioners, and stultified themselves, by finding that no one was to blame. And thus, after the tragedy, the British public were treated to the farce.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND AT PEACE.

THE Crimean war interfered with parliamentary legislation; but progress, nevertheless, was making in Great Britain all the while.

In 1856, the Earl of Derby, on the opening of parliament, referred to the circumstance that her majesty had recently conferred a life peerage upon Sir J. Parke, one of the barons of the Exchequer. The question was raised as to whether that was constitutional or not. It was referred to the committee for privileges. The committee decided that the new peer could not vote and sit in parliament; and, after some discussion, the report was received. The struggle was thus practically terminated, for no further effort was made, on the part of Lord Wensleydale, to claim his seat, and an hereditary peerage was shortly afterwards conferred upon him in the usual way.

Out of this contest between the crown and the Lords there arose another question. The appellate jurisdiction wielded by the upper House was in a very unsatisfactory state. It was with a view to strengthen it that ministers had endeavoured to make Sir J. Parke, under the title of Lord Wensleydale, a life peer;

and it was expedient that something should be done, in order to make provision for the more efficient discharge of the duties of the House of Lords as a court of appeal. On the motion of Lord Derby a committee was appointed, which subsequently made a report to the House. In it they proposed, that two new offices, to be held by law lords, should be created, and sit with the Lord Chancellor on appeals. In reference to the point at issue between the House and the crown, the report observed—"The attention of the committee has been drawn to the difficulty which may, in some cases, be felt hereafter, of appointing the most fit persons to judicial offices connected with the House of Lords, if it cannot be done without conferring on them hereditary peerages. And it appears to the committee advisable, that any person appointed to such an office, should be enabled, by authority of parliament, to sit and vote in the House, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of a peer in parliament, under a patent conferring a peerage for him only, if the crown may have granted, or shall grant, the same to such persons in preference to an hereditary peerage; provided always that not more than four persons shall have seats in the House of Lords at one time as peers for life." A bill, brought forward on this recommendation, was carried through the Lords. In explaining it, the Lord Chancellor said, it was proposed by this bill that the crown should call to the House of Lords, as peers for life, two judges who had sat on the bench five years, to assist the chancellor in hearing appeals. They were to be called Deputy Speakers, and to have salaries equal to those of the judges of the courts of common law. The bill also enabled sittings in appeal to be held during a prorogation. In the Commons the bill occasioned a long debate. Baron Wensleydale petitioned against it; and, after a fierce debate, it was read a second time. On the 10th of July, Mr. Currie moved that it should be referred to a select committee. Lord Palmerston, in defence of it, said that he should be sorry to see the appellate jurisdiction transferred from the House of Lords; and he considered the bill was the best means of reinforcing it. With respect to life peerages, he thought that the House of Lords had acted erroneously in excluding Lord Wensleydale; and he denied that the bill was the result of a compromise huddled up in a committee, for the convenience of parties. It was merely a compromise arising from the conflict of opinions. His lordship added—"A great deal has been said as to the effect of the bill upon the prerogative of the crown. It is manifest, I think, to everybody who reads it, that it acknowledges the prerogative, and limits it: that, on one side, those who object to life peerages have acknowledged the prerogative of the crown to create them; and, on the other, those who maintain the prerogative have consented to a limitation, for the purpose of establishing the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords on a satisfactory basis." In spite of his lordship's speech, the amendment was carried by a majority of 155 to 133, and the bill was lost.

The education of the people was prominently brought before parliament this year. In March, Lord John Russell proposed the following resolutions to the House:—"1. That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend, revise, and consolidate the minutes of the committee of privy council on education. 2. That it is expedient to add to the present inspectors of church schools eighty sub-inspectors, and to divide England and Wales into eighty divisions, for the purposes of education. 3. That it is expedient to appoint sub-inspectors of British, Wesleyan, and other Protestant schools not connected with the church, and also of Roman Catholic schools, according to the present proportion of inspectors of such schools to the inspectors of church schools. 4. That, on the report of the inspectors and sub-inspectors, the committee of privy council shall have power to form in each division school districts, consisting of single or united parishes, or parts of parishes. 5. That the sub-inspectors of schools of each division should be instructed to report on the available means for the education of the poor in each district. 6. That, for the purpose of extending such means, it is expedient that the powers at present possessed by the commissioners of charitable trusts be enlarged, and that the funds, now useless or injurious to the public, be applied to

the education of the middle or poorer classes of the community. 7. That it is expedient that, in school districts where the means of education arising from endowment, subscription, grants, and school pence, shall be found deficient, and shall be declared to be so by the committee of privy council on education, the rate-payers should have the power of taxing themselves for the erection and maintenance of a school or schools. 8. That, after the 1st of January, 1858, when any school districts shall have been declared to be deficient in adequate means for the education of the poor, the quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or borough, should have power to impose a school-rate. 9. That where a school-rate is imposed, a school committee, elected by the rate-payers, should appoint the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and make regulations for the management of the schools. 10. That in every school supported in whole or in part by votes, a portion of the Holy Scriptures should be read daily; and such other provision should be made for religious instruction as the school committee may think fit; but that no child should be compelled to receive any religious instruction, or attend any religious worship, to which his or her parents or guardians shall, on conscientious grounds, object. 11. That employers of children and young persons between nine and fifteen years of age, should be required to furnish certificates, half-yearly, of the attendance of such children and young persons at school, and to pay for such instruction. 12. That it is expedient that every encouragement should be given, by prizes, by diminution of school fees, by libraries, by evening schools, and other methods, to the instruction of young persons between twelve and fifteen years of age." After a slight discussion the debate was adjourned. It was renewed again a few days after, when the opposition was led off by Mr. Henley, on the plea that the whole scheme had a tendency to secularise education. The debate was again adjourned, when Lord John Russell explained and defended the whole scheme; and stated, in conclusion, that he did not ask the committee to go beyond the first five resolutions. Eventually, the scheme was suffered to drop: it found support with neither party in the House.

What was practically done in the way of education in this session of parliament was, to vote £451,000 for the educational estimates—a sum exceeding that of the previous year by £54,292.

In the course of the session, a bill was introduced for the reform of the University of Cambridge, founded upon the report of a commission appointed in 1852. The condition of the university was regarded as unsatisfactory, and its results inadequate to its means, in consequence of its constitution not being equal to the requirements of the times. Accordingly a few improvements were introduced in this respect.

Another educational step, in an opposite direction, was that of Mr. Spooner, a man universally respected in the House; but a very bigoted and prejudiced churchman nevertheless. The annual grant to Maynooth had always been opposed by him, but in vain. However, his annual debate was always looked forward to, by irate and irascible Protestants and Catholics, as a famous opportunity for saying unkind things of one another. This time Mr. Spooner partly succeeded. He defeated the government twice—first, in obtaining a vote in favour of the House of Commons going into committee to consider the subject; and, secondly, by obtaining permission to bring in the bill. Mr. H. Herbert having moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months, the government were a third time defeated by a small majority.

The opponents of government centralisation, and the supporters of local self-government and municipal rights, suffered a defeat by the passing of the County Police Bill. Sir George Grey, in introducing it, stated, that it had originated with the committee of the House of Commons of 1853, appointed to inquire as to the expediency of establishing a uniform system of police in England, Wales, and Scotland. That committee made two reports. It showed that the County Constabulary Act had very beneficial results where it had been adopted; that the

system of parish and superintending constables was totally inadequate for its objects; that the non-adoption of the County Constabulary Act in one part, impeded the operation of the police in another part; and that the efficiency of the police was impaired by a want of co-operation between the forces in counties and boroughs. The expense was greater; but then, against that, was to be set down the saving of property otherwise lost, the convenience of the poor, and the prevention of much disorder.

Financially, the House had an unusual amount of business to discharge. On the 23rd of February, it went into committee to assent to resolutions authorising a loan of £5,000,000, and the funding of £3,000,000 of exchequer bills. This was required on account of the war expenditure. Mr. Gladstone cautioned Sir G. Lewis against supposing that the amount stated by him represented either the real cost of the war, or the real amount of debt incurred. The chancellor considered the cost of the war £43,564,374. He thought it would be much more than that. The debt created was probably £36,000,000; and there were many items of charge yet to come in.

The budget was, of course, a heavy one. War is an expensive luxury—at any rate when made by Englishmen. The expenditure was stated by the chancellor at £88,428,335; the revenue derived from taxes, £65,709,491: thus giving an excess of expenditure amounting to £22,723,854. To this excess, £1,000,000 must be added for the loan to Sardinia, and £213,000 for the redemption of hereditary pensions. With regard to the coming year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to continue the existing high rate of the income-tax for two years, and the increased taxation on tea, sugar, and coffee for one. He anticipated a deficiency of £6,873,000. That sum he proposed to borrow. The budget passed with but little opposition.

On another matter there was a regular party fight. It appears that, during the Crimean war, we had opened a depôt for the enlistment of soldiers in America. This had been felt so great a grievance by the government of that country, that friendly relations between it and ourselves were endangered. On the 30th of June, Mr. G. N. Moore brought the subject before the House of Commons by moving the following resolution:—"That the conduct of her majesty's government on the differences that have arisen between them and the government of the United States on the question of enlistment, has not entitled them to the approbation of this House." This was, in reality, a vote of censure. Mr. Moore, in support of his motion, undertook to prove that the neutrality law of the United States had been grossly and deliberately violated by persons acting with the approbation of her majesty's government, which had contemplated and sanctioned the violation of the law. The American government had dismissed our ambassador, Mr. Crampton; and, for this disgrace, her majesty's government found relief by writing letters, to say "they were gratified that their assertions that they did not intend to violate the neutrality laws, or the sovereignty of the United States, had been unreservedly accepted by the president;" which was not the fact. The issue of the whole affair was very simple. Lord Clarendon had been engaged in a petty intrigue: he had been found out; and had brought discredit, not only on his own character, but on the people and the crown of this country. In reply, the Attorney-general denied that the British government had infringed either international law or the municipal law of the United States. The persons intended to be enlisted, he observed, were not American citizens in the proper sense of the term, but British subjects who had emigrated to America, and political refugees from Europe; and if these men desired to leave the United States (provided the municipal law of the United States was not violated), they could be received into our service without any infraction of international law. But it was said men were enlisted on American soil, which was contrary to the law of the United States. This, however, never was intended by the British government; and, he asserted, was, in fact, never done. The United States' government did not deny

that there was nothing in their municipal law to prevent even American subjects, and, *à fortiori*, persons who were only quasi-American subjects, from enlisting in a foreign service beyond the boundaries of the states; and he denied, on the authority of Mr. Crampton and the consuls, that any such illegal enlistment had taken place with the sanction of the British authorities. The allegations that the sovereign rights of the United States had been violated by enlisting subjects of the United States at all, he disputed; contending that the British government were justified in accepting the services of the persons in question beyond the boundaries of the United States. Sir F. Thesiger contended that the American government had been aggrieved by us, and that we must submit to an insult and indignity, the result of our own acts. Sir G. Grey said, that although every precaution had been taken by Mr. Crampton to prevent any violation of the municipal law of the United States, it did appear that persons engaged in that transaction, professing to act with an authority they had never received, had proceeded in a manner calculated to compromise our friendly relations with the United States. The British government, therefore, put an end to the scheme; and offered an ample, though conditional, apology to the government of the United States for these unauthorised acts. They expressed their regret if the law had been infringed; and stated that any such infringement was entirely contrary to their wishes and positive instructions. The government, throughout, had been animated by the best intentions; and they had done nothing by any hasty, harsh, or even unguarded expression, to place themselves in the wrong in case the affair should not be brought to a peaceful and satisfactory result. In the adjourned debate, Mr. Gibson severely condemned the policy of the British government, which was defended satisfactorily by Lord Palmerston; and Mr. Moore's resolution was lost by 274 to 80.

Another American difficulty followed—this time respecting South America. On the 19th of April, 1850, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the United States, relative to the projected establishment of a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by way of the river San Juan de Nicaragua. This was known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, because it was negotiated by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer on the part of England, and Mr. Clayton on behalf of the United States. By the first article of this treaty, the governments of Great Britain and the United States declared that neither the one nor the other would ever erect or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the ship canal; and agreed, that neither would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonise, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America: nor would either make use of any protection which either afforded, or might afford, or any alliance which either had, or might have, to do or with any other state or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonising Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising any dominion over the same. In the following May, Lord Palmerston wrote to Mr. H. Bulwer, and informed him, that although the British government were bound in honour to protect the Mosquitos, they thought that protection might be afforded, as effectually as formerly, without any direct internal interference by a resident British agent. He proposed that treaties should be concluded with the states of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica (which border on the Mosquito territory), for the purpose of defending the boundaries between those states respectively and Mosquito; saying, that if such boundaries were once fixed by treaty, the duty of protection would then be usefully performed; and he invited the co-operation of the United States' government in making such an arrangement. He added, that as the part of Grey Town, in the Mosquito territory, would be one of the outlets of the proposed inter-oceanic communication, it was necessary that it should be under the control of some official and organised government. For this purpose, he proposed that the treaty to be concluded

between the Mosquitos and Costa Rica, should so fix the boundary between those states as to include Grey Town within the limits of Costa Rica; some suitable compensation being made to the Mosquitos for this concession on their part.

Grey Town was claimed both by Nicaragua and Costa Rica; but the British government considered it as part of the Mosquito territory, and, consequently, entitled to their protection. The United States' government, however, insisted that Grey Town should belong to Nicaragua. The Nicaraguans had seized it in 1843 or 1844; but it had been forcibly taken from them by the British in 1848; and, since that time, had been held by the Mosquitos, under the protection of this country. This was one point of dispute in what was called the Central American question. The United States' government contended that, by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Great Britain was precluded from giving any practical effect to her protectorate of the Mosquitos, inasmuch as she had bound herself neither to occupy, fortify, colonise, nor assume nor exercise any dominion over the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America. To this the British government answered, that, up to March, 1849, one year after the capture of Grey Town by the British forces, the United States' government made no allusion to that act. That in November, 1849, Mr. Lawrence, who had just then arrived in England as the representative of the United States' government, addressed a note to Lord Palmerston, not asking any question as to the British protection of Mosquito, but requesting to know whether the British government would join with the United States in guaranteeing the neutrality of a ship canal, railway, or other communication between the two oceans, to be opened to the world, and common to all nations? and whether the British government intended to occupy or colonise Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America? To this Lord Palmerston replied, that her majesty's government had no intention of occupying or colonising any of the places so named; and that it would feel great pleasure in co-operating with the government of the United States, for the purpose of assisting the operations of a company which might be formed, with a view to establish a general communication, by canal or railroad, across the isthmus.

The question of the Bay Islands gave rise to another American difficulty. In 1852, the colonial authorities at Belize issued a proclamation in the name of the British government, stating that the queen had been pleased to constitute the islands of Ruatan, Bonaca, Utilla, Barbarat, Helené, and Morat, to be a colony, under the title of the "Colony of the Bay Islands." These islands lay about thirty miles off the coast of Honduras; and, in virtue of our settlement at Belize, we had, at various times, asserted a claim to them, especially Ruatan; and a considerable number of settlers had taken up their abode there, under the protection of the British authorities. The formal constitution, however, of the Bay Islands into a British colony gave great offence to the United States, the government of which declared it to be a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In a statement addressed by Mr. Buchanan, the American minister at our Court, to Lord Clarendon, Ruatan was described as an island of great value and importance. "Such is its commanding geographical position, that Great Britain, in possession of it, could completely arrest the trade of the United States in its passage to and from the isthmus."

Lord Clarendon replied, that it never was in the contemplation of the British government, nor that of the government of the United States, that the treaty of 1850 should interfere in any way with her majesty's settlement of Belize, or its dependencies; and that it was not necessary that this should have been particularly stated, as it was generally considered that the term Central America could only appropriately apply to those states at one time united under the name of the Central American Republic, and now existing as free separate republics. But in order that there should be no possible misconception, at any future period, relative to this point, the two negotiators, at the time of ratifying the treaty, exchanged declarations, to the effect, that neither of the governments they represented had

meant, in such treaty, to comprehend the settlement and dependencies in question. Lord Clarendon then intimated the willingness of the British government to arrange its differences with the government of the United States on fair terms. Subsequently, he offered, on the part of the British government, to submit the question of the right of interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to the arbitration of a third power. This proposal the American government declined. Happily, in August of this year, the matter was amicably arranged by a convention between the two governments and the republic of Honduras. By this convention, the sovereignty of the disputed territory was acknowledged to be vested in Honduras. That power, however, engaged not to disturb any British subjects in the enjoyment of their property in the Bay Islands. The Mosquito territory was also conceded, conditionally, on the payment of an equivalent to the government of the republic of Honduras: the rights of all British residents were, however, to be respected; and thus that diplomatic storm in a teapot passed away.

The state of Italy created a great deal of uneasy feeling in this country. It was felt that the peace had done nothing for her. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst had raised a discussion on this subject, which had been met by Earl Clarendon with official reserve. He did not believe that, until the joint pressure of France and England could be brought to bear in all its force, the result desired for the amelioration of Italy could be obtained. Her majesty's government had the subject as much at heart as the parliament or the people of this country had. In the House of Commons the question was raised by Lord John Russell. The debate was chiefly remarkable for an able speech by Mr. Disraeli. He said, after condemning the introduction of the subject into the Paris conferences, there were two modes of dealing with it. We could, in concert with France, go to war with Austria; and, after one of those long wars like the Punic war, we could emancipate the people of Italy. If that was the policy of the government, they were bound frankly to declare it, to appeal to parliament, and to take the verdict of the country upon it. The second practical mode was by diplomatic communications—first friendly advice, and then admonitions—to the ruling powers; and, without fleets or armies, set Italy in flames. Lord Clarendon said—"The state of Naples was 'exceptional;' but what was there in the state of Naples more exceptional than there was in the state of Austria or Russia, except that those were strong powers, and Naples was a weak one? Well, if we admonished Naples, and sent a fleet, then the Neapolitans would know that, if they rose, Austria would not intervene. But it was not only a contest between worn-out dynasties and an intelligent class that was going on in Italy. The secret societies did not care for constitutional governments. We know something more of these secret societies than we did. Since 1848, we have had means of obtaining a knowledge of their numbers, organisation, principles, and objects; and without some consideration of these, it would be absolutely impossible for us to form a conception of what would be the consequence of our interference in the affairs of Italy. It is useless to deny, because it is impossible to conceal, that a great part of Europe, the whole of Italy and France, and a great part of Germany—to say nothing of other countries—are covered with a network of these secret societies, just as the superficies of the earth is now covered with railroads. And what are their objects? They do not attempt to conceal them. They do not want constitutional government; they do not want ameliorated institutions; they do not want provincial councils, nor the recording of votes. They want to change the tenure of land; to drive out the present owners of land; and to put an end to ecclesiastical establishments. Some of them may go further. Do you think that, with their complete organisation, when Austria cannot interfere to occupy the kingdom of Naples, when the king is lectured on his throne by the western powers, and when the feelings of the people are aroused, these societies will be quiet? I am told that a British minister has boasted that, by holding out his hand, he could raise a revolution in Italy to-morrow. I believe it is not impossible; with the means at his disposal, he might. What would happen?

You would have a republic formed on extensive principles; and there may be many intelligent and well-meaning persons who would say—and what then? Nothing can be worse than the present state of Italy. But the question of Italian politics is not of that simple character. Rome is not far distant from Naples. The passage from Naples to the states of the church is not difficult. You may have triumvirs again established in Rome; the pope may again be forced to flee (my honourable friend behind me, Mr. Spooner, may say, ‘So much the better’); and not a cardinal be left in Rome. What will be the consequences of that? The two great Catholic powers in Europe, France and Austria, will pour their legions over the whole peninsula. You will have to withdraw the British fleet; your admonitions will be thrown into the mud; and your efforts to free Italy from the occupation of foreign troops, will terminate by rendering the thralldom a thousand times more severe, and augmenting the miseries of the unfortunate people whose passions you have fired, and whose feelings this night you have begun to arouse. These secret societies were in a higher state of organisation in France than in any other state in Europe. If Italy was in flames, would it have no effect on the French societies? The ruler of France was a man of rare sagacity; he had been schooled in adversity; a triumphant army was devoted to him. But we all remember another great prince, whose sagacity was proverbial—who had been schooled in adversity—who was seconded by an army which he and his princes had formed—yet he fell, solely and entirely by the action of the secret societies. He had touched upon these points because this was no holiday question. He could sympathise as keenly as any one with Italy. He hoped the time would come when, in that country, there would be neither secret societies nor despots: but these were questions for the closet, and not for a practical and popular assembly. As to Sardinia, there was no danger to the king so long as he, within his dominions, pursued the policy he believed to be for the advantage of his subjects. If they were not prepared to interfere in Italy with fleets and armies, they should abstain from stirring up the passions of the people.” However, the motion of Lord John Russell, “for copies, or extracts, of any recent communications which may have taken place between her majesty’s government and the Two Sicilies,” was agreed to without a division.

In ecclesiastical affairs, some little excitement was occasioned by a circumstance which was considered rather discreditable to the parties concerned. In the month of June, the Bishop of London wrote to Lord Palmerston, communicating his desire, on account of continued illness, “if allowed by law,” to resign his bishopric, on a clear annuity of £6,000 being secured to him through life. The Bishop of Durham, who was nearly blind, and incapable, from infirmity, of discharging the duties of his see, made a similar application, on condition of receiving an annual allowance of £4,500. At these doings, on the part of holy men, the profane scoffed. However, the ministry were less squeamish, and the Lord Chancellor brought forward a bill in the upper House, for permitting the retirement, upon pensions, of the Bishops of London and Durham. In spite of strong objections it passed the Lords. On the 22nd of July, Lord Palmerston moved its second reading in the House of Commons, where, reluctantly, the bill was carried; but where, also, it met with great opposition from two parties. The churchmen, such as Sir W. Heathcote, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Napier, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Henley, argued that the bill was partial and incomplete; that it threw difficulties in the way of future and general legislation; and proposed to apply a local remedy to an old evil. The resignation to which it was to give effect was conditional; and they argued that the principle of conditional resignation was not accepted by the church, which required that it should be *absoluté, sponté, puré et simplicité*; whereas the bill was nothing but a resignation upon a pecuniary condition, which was illegal. The transaction, sanctioned by the bill, was of a simoniacal character. It was a bargain between the minister and the bishops. It raised, for the first time, the question whether the tenure of spiritual peers should be for life, or for such period only as parliament should provide? It was an

act for which there had been no precedent since the Reformation. It was further objected that the preamble of the bill did not contain a correct recital of the case. It stated that the bishops had expressed a desire to vacate their sees, on account of their inability to discharge the duties of their offices. If that were true, it would be a perfectly legitimate proceeding; but the preamble suppressed the facts of the contract—the pecuniary conditions upon which they proposed to retire. The remedy suggested was, instead of the ministerial measure, a general one, similar to that brought in by Sir Robert Peel, which applied to all cases. The second section of opponents consisted of Mr. Thomas Duncombe and Mr. Roebuck. The former urged that it would perpetuate a great scandal, and exhibit Christian bishops availing themselves of an act of parliament to break the law. Two prelates, who had become incompetent from age and disease, said, “If you buy us off, we are willing to go.” That was a corrupt contract. If, instead of bishops, they had been rectors, they would have been told at once to relinquish their offices. These two bishops had no right to dictate to parliament the terms on which they would resign. If they had thrown themselves on the generosity of parliament, they would have been generously dealt with. The bill was a scandal, and ought to be branded by the House. So argued Mr. Duncombe. Anti-state churchmen said—What a revelation is this of the mockery of a state church! A bishop professes to exist for the glory of God, and to promote his kingdom. Age renders him unable to do this; yet he will retain his office, incapable as he is, unless he is paid to give it up. Nor were the defenders of this shameful measure able to plead poverty as a defence; as, of all existing prelates, the two in question were admitted to be the most wealthy.

In July, the Lord Chancellor drew the attention of the House of Peers to the subject of the consolidation of the law. The statutes of the realm, he said, were 15,000 in number, and were comprised in forty folio volumes of small type. It had been determined to make a general classification of them, and consolidate them under different heads—as criminal laws; laws relating to property; and laws relating to mercantile matters. It was found, however, it would be useless unless an improved mode of legislation were adopted in future; and the commissioners suggested the appointment of an officer, who should advise on the legal effect of every bill, and on the state of the law affected by it. A great portion of the statutes were not law, but matters of temporary enactment—regulations of the army and navy, local regulations, and acts relating to finance. In the last year, 134 acts passed, and sixty-eight of them were temporary enactments. By classifying the bills into temporary ones, and such as laid down some general rule of conduct, the additions to the statute-book would be diminished one-third. At the beginning of next session, government intended to appoint an officer of the kind indicated; and he hoped that both Houses would acquiesce in the appointment of a committee, through whom that officer might communicate with them. The consolidation of the criminal law had been undertaken by Lord Wensleydale; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and Mr. Greaves. They had found, however, that they could not include, in the consolidation, offences connected with the bankruptcy and custom laws, and laws relating to religion. With these exceptions, all the laws relating to indictable offences had been consolidated into six statutes, under the head of—offences of high treason; against public justice; against the person; of larceny and theft; of malicious injury to property; and forgery. In two short bills they had embodied the laws relating to principal and accessory, and all the acts relating to criminal proceedings. The commissioners thought that the law might be reduced from 15,000 to 300 acts; and that, instead of occupying forty, they would occupy four moderately-sized volumes.

The subject of torture in India was discussed, and strongly reprobated by the Lords, jealous for the honour of English rule. The Earl of Albemarle—who presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Madras, complaining of infliction of torture by the officers of the government, and praying for protection—moved

some resolutions, which, having been amended, were carried, as follows:—"That by a report lately laid on the table, it is proved, to the entire conviction of the House, that torture, or the infliction of pain for the purpose of confession or extortion, has long been practised in India; and that, though derived from former governments, and steadily decreasing, both in severity and extent, under British rule, it still continues to be practised by the native officers of government in the realisation of the public revenues, and the administration of criminal law, to a greater or less extent, throughout all the provinces constituting the government of Madras. That the aforesaid torture, although clandestine and illegal, has been known for many years to exist, and has been repeatedly condemned and denounced by the authorities at home, and in India, as shown in the public records. That this House observes, nevertheless, with great regret and disapprobation, the very inadequate punishments which have been frequently inflicted upon the perpetrators of these atrocious crimes. That the House relies upon the zealous and continued exertions of all persons in authority, in this country and India, to extirpate a practice disgraceful to the character of our government, and calculated to render it odious to the people of England." It seems incredible, yet actually such was the case—at this very time, the commissioners reported the existence of thirty-four kinds of torture in use under British sanction. Amongst these, were deprivation of food and water; hindering a man from sleeping; hanging a necklace of bones, or other offensive materials, round his neck (a punishment peculiarly offensive to a Hindoo); compelling a man to sit on his heels, with brickbats or sharp stones under his hams; striking the heads of two defaulters against each other; tying two persons together, in a stooping position, by the hair of their heads; tying a man, in a stooping position, to the wheel of a cart; tying a man, by the hair of his head, to the tail of an ass, and parading him through the market; forcing a man into a stooping posture with another man on his back; binding a man to one tree, and hoisting his leg by a rope attached to another; suspending a man by his heels to the bough of a tree; suspending by the wrist, and scourging him while in the air; placing the victim on a nest of red ants; pounding the joints with mallets of soft wood; flagellation with every kind of scourge, in every part of the human body, and with such severity as occasionally to cause death; tying rags round the fingers, and setting fire to them; burning various parts of the body with a lighted cheroot, heated packing-needles, and searing-irons; wrapping the body in cotton steeped in oil, and setting fire to it; compression of the sensitive organs of the body; driving thorns under nails; filling the nostrils, eyes, and other parts of the body with Cayenne pepper.

Again Indian affairs came under discussion. Sir E. Perry called attention to the increasing deficiency in the revenue of India. The deficit in the year ending April, 1855, he said, exceeded £2,500,000; and he had no hesitation in saying, that of the passing year would not be less than upwards of £2,000,000. He showed that, over a large series of years, the revenues of India had greatly increased; but that, latterly, there had been a deficiency of revenue, which had been increasing from year to year. To what was this unsatisfactory state of things to be attributed? The President of the Board of Control had said that the deficiency was chiefly owing to the expenditure on public works: but he asserted that the cause was to be found in the series of wars, and the annexation of territory, in which the Indian government had been engaged. After a review of the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and dwelling particularly upon the recent annexation of the kingdom of Oude, he contended that the doctrine of annexation was unsound financially. On the higher grounds, also, of right and justice, the House, he said, was called upon to interfere, and check the system of territorial aggrandisement in India, which must tarnish the British name, and weaken the foundations of its rule.

After-events showed these words were wise ones. But the government saw not their wisdom. Mr. Vernon Smith totally dissented from the doctrine that

annexation of territory was to be considered with reference solely to pecuniary profit. If a particular annexation got rid of a state of perpetual inquietude, it was impossible to say what its value might not be. He questioned the accuracy of Sir E. Perry's figures; and stated that the expense of public works amounted to nearly half the deficit of revenue. With regard to the annexation of Oude, he believed that, when the papers were before the House, the public, so far from being dissatisfied, would wonder that such a state of things should have been allowed to exist so long by a power which was the paramount authority in India. In July, the House went into committee on the East India Company's revenue accounts. Of course there was a deficit, which was said to be caused by the expenditure of money upon the public works. The largest portion of the Indian revenue was derived from land. In the Madras presidency, it seemed desirable that there should be a survey, and fresh reassessments. Lord Harris was of opinion that a reduced assessment would lead to an increase of the revenue. As regarded cotton, some successful experiments had been made; and the prejudices of the natives against the saw-gin, for cleaning the cotton, were giving way. On the whole, he saw nothing that should lead to despair of raising the revenue. But there was another mode of producing a surplus—a reduction of expenditure. He could not concur in the proposal to effect this by employing the native army more, and the queen's troops less: he could not think it possible to reduce the military expenditure. But there was the civil service. Admitting that it ought to be highly paid, he knew of no other service where a man of twenty could enter at £350, and rise to £4,500. Nothing, however, would be done in the way of an immediate reduction of civil salaries; but the government would keep the advantages of reduction in view.

The blind were leading the blind. On the eve of a bitter and bloody tragedy, the official mind was mildly hopeful and cheerful. Mr. Smith referred to the annexation of Oude as a step rendered necessary by the circumstances of the country. As to the social condition of India, that was most promising. There were 350 miles of railway in operation, and 4,000 miles of electric telegraph. The police of India were in a defective state; but Lord Canning had its amendment under consideration. Everything possible would be done to eradicate the horrible system of torture; and any person inflicting it would be punished with the severest penalties, and dismissal. He gave a flourishing account of the progress of education in India, and described the interest the natives took in the subject. He observed, it would be a proud day for England when, maintaining her rule over this distant and populous empire, she could yet say that, to the utmost of her power, she had advanced the physical prosperity, and elevated the moral and intellectual character of the people of India—objects wholly overlooked by their ancient dynasties. When next we return to Indian affairs, we shall have to listen to a sadder tale.

The close of the session ended with a review of it by Mr. Disraeli, chiefly remarkable for a definition of Conservative principles. "I hold," said the orator, "that to be a Conservative principle which regards the parliamentary settlement of 1832 as a satisfactory settlement. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which, without any blind or bigoted adherence to the doctrine on all possible occasions, believes that tampering with the suffrage is a great evil to the state. I believe I am right in maintaining that that is a Conservative principle which holds that the due influence of property in the exercise of suffrage is salutary and beneficial. I think it is a Conservative principle which holds that, in any representative scheme, the influence of landed property ought to be sensibly felt. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which maintains that the establishment of the church should be respected, and that the church itself should not be the stipendiary of the civil power. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would maintain the established church in Ireland, believing that it is perfectly reconcilable with respect for the rights and privileges of all classes of her majesty's subjects in that kingdom. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would

cherish and protect all hereditary influences, because they are the source of a power at once beneficent and economical. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would respect venerable corporations, and uphold a free magistracy throughout the country." On foreign policy, Mr. Disraeli declared his party to be adverse to the dismemberment of the Russian and Austrian empires, and in favour of the expansion of the United States. He argued, that the government, with regard to subjects of internal interest, were pursuing a course in harmony with Conservative principles. It would be better, however, that avowed Conservatives should carry out a Conservative policy. His consolation was, that if the present system continued, it must exercise a deleterious influence on the Liberal party. He called on the Conservatives to take heart, since the Liberal party could not long exist, when its chief and selected men were in power, and continued to hold office, not only without carrying Liberal principles into effect, but without even frankly avowing them.

Some minor events may be chronicled here. In March, Covent Garden was burnt down while a masked ball was being held. Some of the property was insured; but the building was not, as no office had been willing to grant a policy since the fire in 1818.

In February, the political world was startled on learning that the body of Mr. John Sadleir had been found lying dead on Hampstead Heath. A still greater sensation was created when it was found that this patriotic Irish M.P. was a swindler as well as a suicide: yet such actually was the case. Mr. Sadleir was founder of the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank, of which his brother, James Sadleir, M.P., was the manager, and sole director. The latter had permitted his brother John to overdraw more than £200,000; and this, with other fraudulent mismanagement, caused the deficit of the bank to exceed £400,000. The assets were stated to be £100,000; but they proved to be little more than £30,000. A great amount of misery was caused by this infamous affair. Not only were the depositors in the south of Ireland—chiefly small farmers and tradesmen—defrauded of their whole savings, but the shareholders were stripped of every farthing they possessed. The means taken to entrap the latter class were infamous. Only a month before the crash, the Sadleirs had published a balance-sheet and report, representing the concern as most flourishing. A dividend, at the rate of 6 per cent., was declared; and £3,000 was carried to the reserve fund, thus making it £17,000. By means of this deception, a considerable number of persons, most of them widows, spinsters, and half-pay officers, were induced to become shareholders, and lost their all. Endless suits were brought by attorneys, who had purchased debts due by the company, against these unhappy persons. Some became insolvent; others absconded with what cash they could raise. The manager, Mr. James Sadleir, did the same. The direct cause of Mr. Sadleir's suicide, was his inability to obtain from his solicitors a large sum of money for the Tipperary Bank. It was also known he had committed forgery. The firm of Messrs. Wilkinson, Gurney, and Stevens, had frequently advanced large sums to Mr. Sadleir; and latterly the balance had become so large that they required security. This Mr. Sadleir had given about six weeks before his death. It purported to be a deed given on the purchase of an estate in the Encumbered Estates Court. The excited conduct of Mr. Sadleir, on his last application to his solicitors for money, had created suspicion; and, on inquiry, the deed was discovered to be a forgery; and others were subsequently discovered. The wretched man preferred the suicide's grave to the felon's gaol; hence his ignominious end. He had been a great man amongst the Irish Liberals, and had held office.

Another banking revelation added to the uneasiness of the investing public. The Royal British Bank had been started in London under happy auspices, to inaugurate the Scottish system of banking in this metropolis. For a time all went on as well as its most sanguine friends could desire. At length rumours got afloat that its affairs were in an unhealthy state; and it was manifest that the shares

were falling considerably in value. In consequence of this, the directors announced their determination to reduce the dividend from 6 to 4 per cent., in order to make more than ordinary provision for bad or doubtful debts. This, as might be anticipated, instead of making things better, had quite a contrary effect. Sales were pressed; a run on the deposits took place; and on the 3rd of September the bank closed. A general confusion immediately arose among the shareholders and depositors. The share capital was put at £300,000, of which half, it is said, was paid up. The debts due to depositors consisted of £500,000; and the assets were worthless, or nearly so. It came out that more than £100,000 had been advanced upon a Welsh mine, worth not a third of the money; and that the directors, manager, and auditor, had been helping themselves to the funds without scruple. Mr. Gwynne, a retired director, was indebted £13,600; Mr. John M'Gregor, M.P., the founder of the bank, £7,000; Mr. Humphry Brown, upwards of £70,000; Mr. Cameron, the manager, about £30,000. It was hoped that when the shareholders had paid up the calls, there might be eight or ten shillings in the pound for the creditors. This was bad enough; but what did happen was worse. The lawyers got hold of the debts, and sued the individual shareholders right and left. Sometimes a hundred writs were issued for a single claim. To avoid this ruinous procedure an attempt was made to wind up the company, under the Winding-up Act. This proceeded to some extent; an official manager was appointed, who got in a large sum of money, and made a heavy call upon the shareholders. But another set of creditors resolved to have the affairs of the company wound up under the Court of Bankruptcy Act; and a fiat was accordingly issued, and assignees appointed. This step was resisted, on the ground that the Winding-up Act being in operation, the power of the Bankruptcy Court was suspended. But it did not appear that there was any express provision to that effect; and the official assignee proceeded to make a call of £50 per share. Thus the unfortunate persons, having already paid one-half of their undertaking, were actually called upon to pay £125 more. Many were absolutely unable to meet this demand; some went into the *Gazette*; and others went abroad. The two official gentlemen then commenced a fight between themselves for the plunder. In short, such a scene of waste, litigation, and misery ensued as can scarcely be described. The affairs of this unfortunate undertaking did not come to a conclusion until the following year, when, in consequence of the decision of the judge in bankruptcy upon the conduct of the directors and officials, the government ordered some of them to be prosecuted.

England lost her Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge, the successor of the Duke of Wellington. "Few officers," says the *Times*, "have served so long, and with so many opportunities for distinction; and of Lord Hardinge it must be said, that in the field he was always equal to the occasion. We do not claim for this gallant soldier the praise of military genius of the highest order. He was neither a Marlborough nor a Napoleon, nor a Wellington; but the work which he had to do he always performed efficiently and well. From the lowest grade he rose to the very highest rank by his own deserts. He was not connected by birth with any noble family, nor with any influential clique in military circles; and yet he became Commander-in-Chief. Slender; indeed, was the chance that Henry Hardinge, the son of a clergyman in the north of England, who entered the army, as an ensign, in the year 1798, should have obtained the dignities of Governor-general of British India, and Commander-in-Chief. It may be said that the accidents of life were on his side; but they were no more so than in the case of a thousand others, who have passed away, their names unknown. * * * * In October, 1852, four years after the expiration of his Indian government, Lord Hardinge was raised to the highest post within the ambition of a military man: he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, to succeed the Duke of Wellington. This important post he held until a recent period, and throughout the eventful epoch of the Russian war. Few men have actually seen war upon so great a scale, or been concerned in directing operations of such magnitude at home. It was not Lord Hardinge's fault, nor can

it be imputed as blame to him, that he inherited the traditions and practices of a glorious period in the military annals of Great Britain, which had served their turn full well, but were no longer applicable to the exigencies of modern warfare. * * * * In the recent conflict with Russia, his office was one of selection rather than of direct participation; and in his selections he was not very fortunate. The qualities which seem to have recommended Lord Hardinge to honour and fame were, in the first place, unflinching courage in the most terrible trials, or in the most unexpected horrors of war. He was distinguished, moreover, by a buoyancy of spirit, by a cheerfulness, by a geniality which made him ever acceptable to those around him. Almost to the last, when weight of years and of lengthened service was beginning to tell upon him, he was a ready and efficient man of business."

Some pleasing anecdotes have been preserved of him. Mr. Edwards, author of *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, says Lord Hardinge told him, after the battle of Ferozeshakur, as soon as darkness had closed in, and the firing on both sides had ceased, he went from regiment to regiment, lying down on the ground for a short time with each, to feel their pulse, as he said. Finding the men all in good heart, notwithstanding the terrible struggle in which they had been engaged, and the heavy losses they had sustained, Lord Hardinge made up his mind to retain his position, and recommence the action on the following morning, rejecting the many suggestions made to him to march on Ferozepore. He did so, and the victory of Sobraon was gained. Again, when remonstrated with as to the crossing the Sutlej into the Punjaub, his characteristic answer was—"Depend upon it I am right; for the safest and wisest course, when you have knocked the wind out of your enemy, is to go right at his heart at once, before he has time to recover." Another of his sayings was, says Mr. Edwards—"Never wake me for good news, for good news will keep; but come to me immediately, and wake me up, if you have bad, as immediate measures may be requisite." It is in such sayings as these we see the old soldier, determined to fight and win as long as life lasts.

Lord Hardinge's successor was the Duke of Cambridge, son of Adolphus Frederick, the first duke; a grandson of King George III., and first cousin of her majesty Queen Victoria. His royal highness was born at Hanover, 1819, and succeeded his father in 1850. He became colonel in the army (1837.) In 1845, he was advanced to the rank of major-general; in 1854, to that of lieutenant-general, when he was appointed to command the two brigades of Highlanders and Guards, united to form the first division of the army sent in aid of Turkey. In 1856 he became a general. At the battle of the Alma, his royal highness led his troops into action in a manner to win the confidence of his men, and the respect of the veteran officers with whom he served. At Inkermann he was again actively engaged, and had a horse shot under him. After this battle, he was ordered by the medical authorities to retire from the camp (the dangers and privations of which he had shared with his men), in order to recruit his health at Pera. After a short stay in Turkey, he was directed to return to England, and subsequently gave the result of his camp experience, in evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the conduct of the war. In the important office which he now fills he seems to give satisfaction to the public at large.

Turning to the lower ranks of life, we find a very serious question as to combinations against workmen. On the 1st of September, ten respectable-looking young men surrendered to take their trial upon an indictment charging them with misdemeanour, in having unlawfully conspired together to prevent and intimidate certain workmen from entering into the employ of Messrs. Young, Magnay, and Young, ship-builders. The prosecutors carried on business at Limehouse, and employed from 300 to 400 men; and three of the defendants were formerly in their employ. All the defendants were members of the Shipwrights' Union—an association formed to protect the interests of the trade. The customary hours of



labour were from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., during which period the men were allowed half-an-hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and twenty minutes in the morning, and half-an-hour in the afternoon, for beer. The prosecutors found that such frequent intervals of cessation from labour were a great hindrance to business. They therefore thought that an alteration might be made in this arrangement. They accordingly proposed that an hour should be allowed for breakfast; that the men should leave off work at half-past five, instead of six o'clock; and that the intervals for beer should be abolished. The Union, of which the defendants were members, determined to resist this. Before the commencement of the alteration the whole of the men struck. The prosecutors appealed to them, and offered to refer the matter to arbitration; but the Union would not consent to any arrangement.

The intimidation complained of arose in this way. The men hired a room at a public-house opposite the gate of the prosecutors' factory, from whence they had an opportunity of seeing everything that took place in it. The prosecutors endeavoured to obtain fresh hands in London; but attempts to engage men in Wales, at Gloucester, Southampton, Jersey, and other places, proved unsuccessful; as, in several cases where men had agreed to accept employment in the prosecutors' establishment, some of the defendants interrupted them, and induced them to break their engagements. At length Messrs. Young succeeded in obtaining a number of men from Jersey and other places; but their new hands were immediately subjected to a course of intimidation on the part of the defendants, and others connected with the Union: they were watched when they left the premises, and followed and threatened. A crowd of idle and disorderly people assembled every day; great excitement was created; and language was made use of calculated to arouse the strongest feelings of prejudice against the prosecutors. The state of things prevailed at times to such an extent as to put a complete stop to business, and render it necessary to apply for the assistance of the police. The proceedings reached a climax on the 26th of July, when a complete riot took place, and many of the men employed by the prosecutors were severely handled. Several of the defendants took part in this violence, and did all in their power to obstruct the workmen, and intimidate them from going on with their employment. One of the prosecutors was himself assaulted; and they ultimately found it necessary to commence legal proceedings for their own protection.

The question raised was, how far it was competent for trades' unions to interfere with the natural course of the labour-market, and dictate to employers, on the one hand, the terms on which alone they are to be suffered to engage their workmen; or, on the other, by violence and intimidation, to prevent the labouring classes from accepting employment on such conditions as they may think proper to submit to. The law, on this point, was thus explained during the course of the trial:—"It was quite competent for either masters or workmen to combine together for their mutual protection, and for the advancement of their mutual interests. A master is at liberty to say that he will not give employment except upon certain terms; and workmen are equally at liberty to refuse their labour except upon certain conditions. Neither party, however, has a right to go beyond this; and the law will not permit persons who choose to accept other terms to be obstructed, and still less will it permit them to be intimidated."

The upshot of the whole was, that the evidence for the prosecution fully established the lawless proceedings of the unionists; and, on the advice of their counsel, the prisoners retracted their plea of not guilty, and admitted their defence. Under these circumstances Baron Bramwell was content to order them to put in recognizances to appear to receive judgment when called upon.

These struggles between labour and capital are much to be regretted. In reality they are not enemies, but mutual allies. It is difficult to understand how any intelligent workman can fail to perceive this, as it is clear that what injures the capitalist takes from him the power of employing labour. It is also clear that it is the interest of both parties to exercise a mutual good-will and forbearance.

In another, and a better, direction the working classes were combining. They were working for good results—to save their money; to invest it carefully; and to reap the results in increased independence and power. In a speech delivered about this time, Mr. Sothern, M.P. for Wilts, stated that the total number of friendly societies was not less than 33,232; and the aggregate of the members which they included, amounted to 3,032,000. The financial revenue of these societies was £4,980,000; and the accumulated capital was no less than £11,360,000. Here was combination of the right kind—one which has ever since been going on, till we are astonished at the funds in the hands of the working classes. Then, again, there was the freehold land movement, which deserves a place in any history of the time; as, politically, and morally, and socially, it did, and still does, an immense amount of good.

Some time back, the *Times* asked scornfully, as Pilate of old did concerning truth, what was a Freehold Land Society? Viewed in a business light, it is simply a society for the purchase of land. It involves two commercial principles well understood—that purchasers should buy in the cheapest market, and that societies can do what individuals cannot. Till the movement originated, the purchaser of a small plot of ground had to pay, in lawyer's expenses connected with the purchase, frequently as much as he paid for the plot itself. A society buys a large piece of ground. They make roads through it; they drain it; they turn it into valuable building-land: they thus raise its value; and they divide it amongst their members, not at the price at which each allotment is worth, but at the price which each allotment has cost. Being also registered under the Friendly Societies' Act, the conveyance costs the purchaser generally from 25s. to 30s.; and thus a plot worth £50 is often put into the fortunate allottee's hands for half that sum. Of course, different societies have different rules; but they all aim at the same end, and effect that end in pretty nearly a similar manner. Thus a member generally, if he subscribe for a share of £30, pays a shilling a-week, and a trifling sum a quarter for expenses. With the money thus raised an estate is purchased. It is then cut up into allotments, and balloted for. If the subscriber has paid up, he, of course, takes the land, and there is an end of the matter. If he has not, the society gives him his allotment, but saddled with a mortgage. In some societies the members are served by rotation, and "first come" are "first served." The more generally adopted plan, however, is division by ballot. There has been some doubt as to the legality of the ballot: the Conservative Society has taken the opinion of eminent counsel upon this matter, and their opinion is, that the ballot is perfectly legal. The rotation societies offer no inducements to new members to join them; so division by ballot has come to be almost the universal rule. In the National, for instance, there was a ballot daily for all subscribers of three months' standing. This has recently been altered. A ballot takes place every day, to which all are eligible whose subscriptions are paid up. If you join the National, you may go to the ballot immediately.

As the National is the largest of the existing Freehold Land Societies—its receipts being enormous—we will briefly allude to its prospectus as a still further illustration of what a Freehold Land Society is. The especial objects of this society are described as "to facilitate the acquisition of freehold land, and the erection of houses thereon; to enable such of its members as are eligible to obtain the county franchise, and to afford to all of them a secure and profitable investment for money." In the National, all the expenses are defrayed out of a common fund; consequently there are no extra charges; and the net profits, after payment of interest on subscriptions in advance, and on completed shares, are annually divided amongst the holders of uncompleted shares. In this way, last year the National divided £3,161 19s. 3d., and the directors credited each unadvanced share with a profit at the rate of £10 16s. 8d. per cent. per annum. We only add, as a still further explanation of the societies in general, that they are all conducted on the most perfectly democratic principles. Vote by ballot and universal suffrage

are the rule with them. The members elect their own officers. In all the societies, also, provision is made for casualties, such as sickness or death. In case of death, the subscriber's widow or heirs take his place. If he be unable, from sickness or poverty, to continue his subscription, he is not fined, but is allowed to wait for better times. If he wishes his money back, he can have it returned, with a slight reduction for the working expenses of the society. Juniors may be members. Actually these societies so far practically admit woman's rights as to offer to the ladies the same desirable investments they offer to the sterner sex. In short, the freehold land movement appeals to all ranks and conditions of the community. It may be said of a Freehold Land Society, what has often been said of the London Tavern, that it is open to all—who can pay. Primarily the movement was political, and was established for the purpose of giving the people of this country the political power which they at present lack. Originally, the forty-shilling freehold was established to put down universal suffrage. As a part and parcel of the British constitution, it has been religiously preserved to the present time, and threatens to be an excellent substitute for what it was originally intended to destroy. During the anti-corn-law agitation, Mr. Cobden had put the free-traders up to the idea of purchasing forty-shilling freeholds; but it was reserved to Mr. James Taylor, of Birmingham, to give to the idea of Mr. Cobden a universality of which the latter never dreamed. Mr. Taylor had been a purchaser of land more than once, and with the purchase he got an abstract, a legal document, which, when he came to understand it, showed him that he had paid to the vendor much more than it cost him. The idea then struck him, that as the wholesale price of land was much greater than the retail, if the working-men could be got to subscribe together a large sum for the purchase of land, they could thus have, at a wholesale price, a stake in the country and a vote; and when the general election came, and excitement was created, Mr. Taylor felt that the time for action had arrived. Accordingly, when he went to tender his vote, he said to a friend who accompanied him, "Here's a lot of fellows; and all that they can do is to grin and yawn when I go in to poll; I have a strong notion that I can get them into the booth." This friend said, "How?" The answer was, "Meet me to night in the Temperance Hotel." That same evening Mr. Taylor and his friend drew up an advertisement, stating, that "it is expedient that a Freehold Land Society be formed for the purpose of obtaining freehold property at a most reasonable cost to, and to get county votes for, the working-men." Simultaneously with the advertisement in the local paper appeared a leader from the editor, recognising the immense importance of the movement thus commenced. Thus pledged to go on, Mr. Taylor threw his heart and soul into the cause. Within a week a committee was formed, and the support of the principal men in the town secured. December, 1849, is the legal date of the freehold land movement, although the Birmingham society had been in existence nearly two years previous. In that month the rules of the society were certified, and the glorious idea of Mr. Taylor had a legal habitation and a name. At the end of the first year, the Birmingham society reported that it had established six independent societies, in which more than 2,000 members had subscribed for 3,000 shares; that in Birmingham alone the subscriptions amounted to £500 per month, and that it had already given allotments to nearly 200 of its members. Before the termination of the second year, a great conference was held in Birmingham, in order to organise a plan of general union and co-operation amongst the various societies. Delegates from all parts of the country were present. In Birmingham, it appeared, £13,000 had been subscribed, and four estates purchased, 2,500 shares being taken up by 1,800 subscribers. Wolverhampton, Leicester, Stourbridge, had all co-operated zealously in the movement. Nor was the metropolis behind. The National had started with 750 members, subscribing for 1,500 shares, and already had £1,900 paid up. In Marylebone, 800 shares had been taken since the previous July. This conference was attended by Messrs. Cobden, Bright, G. Thompson, Scholefield, Bass, and Sir Joshua

Walmsley. The conference, of course, attracted the notice of the press. The coldly critical *Spectator* termed it a "middle-class movement." *Tait* so far forgot himself as to characterise it as "political swindling." The *Times* said the working classes were being deluded by it. For once the *Standard* agreed with the *Times*, and said ditto. However, the conference did its work, and started the *Freeholder*, which appeared on the 1st of January, 1850. A second conference was held at Birmingham in November, 1850. The report, as usual, was encouraging. Eighty societies, many of them with branches, were reported as existing. The number of members was 30,000, subscribing for 40,000 shares. The amount of paid-up contributions was £170,000. A third conference was held in London in November, 1851. The report then stated there were 100 societies, with 45,000 members, subscribing for 65,000 shares: 150 estates had been purchased; 12,000 allotments made; £400,000 had actually been received; and £2,000,000 sterling was being subscribed for. At the fourth conference, held in 1852, it appeared still greater progress had been made: 130 societies, with 85,000 members, subscribing for 120,000 shares, were in existence; 310 estates had been purchased; 19,500 allotments had been made; and £790,000 had been received. Estimating the shares at the average of £30 per share, the total amount subscribed for was £3,600,000. Such, then, is the movement at the present time. It has been obscured by no cloud. Its progress has been unchecked. No disappointment has retarded its onward way. Forward to victory has been its march. All classes and sects have rallied round it. For churchmen there exists a Church of England Society. The Conservatives have formed a large and flourishing society for the manufacture of Conservative votes. The movement, sneered at, derided, misrepresented, declared unconstitutional, a swindle like a celebrated land scheme popular with the Chartists, has now come to be admitted by all as the greatest fact of the age: to aid it, grave and reverend churchmen, statesmen of all shades of political opinions, combine; even coronetted lords now rejoice to lend it their sanction, and the weight of their illustrious names. Truly the mustard-seed has branched out into a giant oak. A little leaven has leavened the whole lump.

We must tell our readers something of the founder of this movement. James Taylor, junior, of Birmingham, deserves a passing notice at our hands. He was born in that town in 1814, and is consequently now in his fifty-second year; having achieved a popularity such as few men have enjoyed. His father, as a tradesman of the same town, acquired a limited competency by his honest industry; and there, we believe, his business is still carried on for the benefit of the younger branches of his family. Like all other Birmingham boys James was put to work at an early age, and became an apprentice in one of the fancy trades for which Birmingham is so well known. There his industrious habits soon acquired for him the approbation of his master, who gave Taylor his indentures, in consequence of his retiring from business before the latter was of age. About this time, Taylor, earning good wages, and not having the fear of Malthus before his eyes, got married, and lived happily till troubles came, and the demon of strong drink cast its fatal spell upon his domestic hearth. After years of utter misery and degradation, Taylor, in a happy hour for himself and society, signed the temperance pledge, and became a new man; and to the pledge, fortunately, he remained faithful, in spite of ridicule and reproach from the boon companions with whom he had thoughtlessly squandered so much of happiness, and health, and money, and time. No temptation ever led him back. Nor was he satisfied with his own reform alone. He was anxious that others should be rescued from degradation as he had already been. For this purpose he identified himself with the temperance cause, and was honorary secretary to the Birmingham Temperance Society, till he became the apostle of the freehold land movement. Since then his life and labours have become public. No man has worked harder than Mr. Taylor. Our readers would be astonished if they knew the number of miles Mr. Taylor travelled, and of public meetings he attended, in the course of the year, connected with the move-

ment: sometimes the exertion has been too great, and his health gave way for a time. Those who have heard him once will never forget him. Those who have not heard him (if such there be), have indeed a treat in store. With but few or no adventitious aids—without even “little Latin, and less Greek”—an unassuming, plain working-man;—in spite of all this, so fascinating is his unadorned eloquence, that no one can listen to him without admiring his earnestness and moral worth—without feeling that England has no worthier son than the originator of the freehold land movement—without feeling that time alone can tell what he has done for the political, and social, and moral emancipation of her toiling race. We may also add here, that Mr. Taylor has been at times a contributor to the press, as well as a platform orator; that he has been twice married; that he resides at Temperance Cottage, Birmingham, in the enjoyment of a domestic felicity which we trust will attend him to a green old age. It may be said of Taylor what has been said of many infinitely less useful men, that—

“He is a man, take him for all in all,
We ne’er shall look upon his like again.”

This feeling has become common wherever Mr. Taylor has been known. From far and near have reached him testimonials of respect and esteem. At an early stage of its existence, the Wolverhampton society acknowledged its sense of Mr. Taylor’s services by presenting him with a valuable gold watch; and at the last annual conference of the friends of the movement, held in December, 1852, it was unanimously resolved, that “as it appeared that various sums of money have been, from time to time, subscribed with a view of offering some suitable recognition of the valuable and disinterested services of Mr. James Taylor, it is desirable that a committee be appointed to suggest the most suitable testimonial to that gentleman, and to take such steps as may seem to them most desirable in furtherance of the object.” In pursuance of this resolution, a committee was formed to receive subscriptions, of which Mr. Scholefield, M.P. for Birmingham, is treasurer. This committee consisted of most of the gentlemen connected with the London societies.

Having thus considered the nature of Freehold Land Societies, we propose to look at them in a pecuniary point of view. They form an admirable investment for the working classes. This, of course, is the principal consideration. By their merits as investments alone must Freehold Land Societies stand or fall. If they pay, they will flourish; if they do not, they cannot exist, whatever may be the social, and moral, and political arguments advanced in their favour. Now, let us just see what means of investment were within the reach of the working-man. There was the savings-bank—not always safe, as recent examples show, and offering so small a rate of interest as to be but little inducement to the classes to whom it appeals to save. Things are better now, as the government have opened savings-banks of their own. Then there were the benefit societies, which held out such fine promises, which thus have won a support to which they have no claim, and have excited hopes which they can never realise. Of 2,000 of these societies, the accounts of which were submitted to one gentleman in Liverpool a few years ago, *all* were insolvent. Much of the money belonging to them is wasted in drink, in foolish show and mummery: but the societies are based upon wrong principles, and can never become right. Two radical defects taint them all—the contributions have been much too small in proportion to the proposed benefits; and an almost indiscriminate regard to diversities in age has caused persons, differing as widely as from eighteen to thirty-five, forty, forty-five, and even fifty years of age, to be admitted upon equal, or nearly equal, terms. One of the chief of these friendly societies is that known as the Manchester Unity. In 1848 there was an inquiry into the subject before the House of Lords, when it was stated by Mr. Neison, the eminent actuary, “that it would take *three millions of money* to bring the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows out of their present difficulties; and if they went on at their present rates of contribution, no less than *ten millions*

would be required to fulfil all their engagements." So much for friendly societies, which are, indeed, a delusion and a snare, and have always failed when the hour of trial has come. What the savings-banks are we have already seen; yet, actually, till the freehold land movement originated, these were the only investments within the reach of the working-man. A select committee of the House of Commons has twice reported, "that the great change in the social position of multitudes, arising from the growth of large towns and crowded districts, renders it more necessary that corresponding changes in the law should take place, both to improve their condition and contentment, and to give additional facilities to investments of the capital which their industry and enterprise are constantly creating and augmenting;" and "that they doubt not ultimate benefit will ensue from any measures which the legislature may be enabled to devise for simplifying the operation of the law, and unfettering the energies of trade." But at that time nothing was done, and the laws of partnership fettered the working-man who would usefully employ what little capital he had. Clearly, then, the freehold land movement offered him an eligible means of investment. Land cannot run away. So long as England exists, it will always be worth its price. Nay, it will become more valuable every year, for by no effort of human ingenuity can it be decreased.

At Birmingham, several of the allotments have realised premiums as high as £20 or £30. On the East Mousley estate of the Westminster society, allotments costing £23 have been let at a chief rent of £3 and £3 10s. per annum. The Ross society, in one of its annual reports, stated, that out of thirty allotments made by the society during the past year, ten exchanged hands at premiums varying from £3 10s. to £5; and ten working-men each received £10 premium. At Ledbury, several allotments costing £25 each, had realised premiums of £15 each. On the Stoke Newington estate, belonging to the National, premiums of £30, and even of £40, have been realised. At the Gospel Oak estate, belonging to the St. Pancras society, allotments which cost £20 each, have been let off on building leases of 50s. per annum each. Greater sums have been made. We have inspected returns from 120 societies, and in every case the allotments have realised a handsome premium; and while writing this history, we have seen, in our neighbourhood, a plot of ground sold for £250, which cost the owner, when he purchased it of the society to which it belonged, £45. An attempt was made by Dr. Beggs to introduce the movement into Scotland; but we do not know whether it succeeded there or not. Now that the laws of partnership have been altered; now that limited liability companies have been permitted; now that the friendly societies have been revised and reformed; now that the co-operative system is better understood, the Freehold Land Societies are but one of many favourable forms of investment, of which operatives gladly avail themselves, and of which we see the fruits in their greater intelligence and respectability. The money-power of the working classes is much larger than we are in the habit of thinking. It appears from an elaborate return, prepared by Mr. Leone Levi, in conjunction with Mr. Bass, M.P., that there are 10,697,000 working people in the United Kingdom between twenty and sixty years of age, and that their total earnings amount to £418,300,000 per annum, distributed as follows:—England, £311,500,000; Scotland, £42,700,000; Ireland, £64,100,000. This gives an average weekly income of 22s. 6d. in England, 20s. 6d. in Scotland, and 14s. 4d. in Ireland.

In foreign affairs not immediately connected with our rule, the chief events, about this time, were the birth of the prince imperial, and the coronation of the czar.

In 1853, the French emperor had married, and, to the wonder of Europe, out of a royal family. The lady of his choice was Eugénie, the daughter of Donna Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn, Countess-Dowager de Montijos. The father of this lady had been English consul at Malaga at the period of her marriage with the Count de Montijos, an officer in the Spanish army, who was connected, more or less closely, with the houses of the Duke de Frias (representative of the ancient admirals of Castile), and others of the highest rank, including



Shown, & Engraved by J. P. H. 1841.

the descendants of the kings of Anjou. The death of the count left the countess a widow, with two daughters, one of whom married the Duke of Alba and Berwick, literally descended from Miss Churchill and James II. For Eugénie, the second, a higher fate was in store. After a residence in London, where, according to Viscount Combermere, her beauty was noted in the circle of the upper ten thousand, she, accompanied by her mother, paid a lengthened visit to Paris, and was distinguished at the various entertainments given at the Tuileries, by the dignity and elegance of her demeanour, and by her great personal beauty—of the English rather than of the Spanish type. Her mental gifts were proportionably attractive; for she is reported to be naturally *spirituelle*; and her education, partly conducted in England, was superior to that generally bestowed on Spanish ladies. Shortly after the opposition of the other northern powers had put an end to the idea of the union between the Emperor Louis Napoleon and the Princess Caroline Wasa, of Sweden, he apprised the council of ministers of his intended marriage with the daughter of the Countess Montijos—a measure which excited some displeasure among them, and even led to their temporary withdrawal from office.

The emperor, publicly, in a formal address read at the Tuileries to deputations from the senate, the legislative corps, and the council of state, declared the step he was about to take in language which touched the heart of France. He proudly stated that his marriage was not in accordance with the traditions of ancient policy. "It is not forgotten, that for the last seventy years, foreign princesses have ascended the steps of the throne only to behold their offspring dispersed and proscribed by war or revolution. One woman only appeared to bring with her good fortune, and to live longer than the others in the memory of the people: and that woman, the good and modest wife of General Bonaparte, was not the issue of a royal family." Of his future empress he thus spoke:—"She who has become the object of my preference is of high birth. French in heart, by education, and by the remembrance of the blood which her father shed for the cause of the empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having in France any family to whom she would wish to give honours and dignities. Gifted with every mental quality, she will be the ornament of the throne, as, in the hour of danger, she would become one of its most courageous supports. A pious Catholic, she will address to Heaven the same prayers as myself for the happiness of France. Gracious and good, she will exhibit, I firmly hope, in the same position, the virtues of the Empress Josephine."

At noon on the 29th of January, the marriage was celebrated at Nôtre-Dame, and the emperor and empress, after making their appearance to the multitude, retired to the solitude of St. Cloud. Everything was, of course, conducted on the most gorgeous scale. On point d'Alençon lace alone, 4,600 francs were expended. No mark of honour was withheld from the imperial bride. The dotation asked for, of 130,000 francs per annum, was freely accorded; and the municipal council of Paris voted 600,000 francs for the purchase of a *parure* of diamonds, as a present from the city to the empress. Instead of accepting it for herself, however, she declined the rich gift; alleging that the city was already overburdened, and praying that the sum in question might be employed in the foundation of some charitable institute for the poor and destitute. In accordance with this suggestion, the money was devoted to an establishment for the maintenance and education of sixty young girls, chosen from the working classes of Paris. In works of charity and piety, the empress has ever since greatly distinguished herself.

In September, 1856, the coronation of the czar took place. It was celebrated at Moscow with unparalleled magnificence; indeed, it was reported to have cost the government no less than £1,000,000 sterling. The Count de Morny represented the French, and Lord Granville the English Courts. The coronation festivities were prolonged for a whole month; and Alexander, moreover, distinguished the occasion by an act of grace, which bestowed many acceptable boons

upon his people. It conferred a commemorative medal upon such of his subjects, either military or civil, as took part in the events of the late war. It released the whole of Russia from the burden of military conscription for four years. It directed the minister of finance to obtain a new census of the population of the empire, with the object of a more equitable assessment of the capitation-tax. All arrears of taxes were remitted. All criminals whose conduct had been irreproachable since their condemnation, were either pardoned, or received a considerable commutation of their punishment. Of political prisoners, many were pardoned; while the lot of others was much alleviated. The Jewish subjects of the emperor, also, were relieved from the special burdens hitherto imposed upon them.

France and England addressed, at this time, a remonstrance to the King of Naples on the sad state of his dominions, in consequence of his vindictive and arbitrary government. The poor infatuated monarch rejected the warning voice; and England and France, to show their displeasure, recalled their legations from Naples. This step was taken at the end of October, and a French squadron held itself in readiness at Toulon; while a British squadron, at Malta, prepared to appear off Naples, if the withdrawal of official protection threatened the least danger to the subjects of either France or England, resident in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. At this step the Russian government professed to be much annoyed.

We also managed to have a little war with Persia. Herat, as we have already implied, is a position of vast importance, and has always been so considered by Indian authorities. The Persians were always desirous to possess it; and, at length, it surrendered to them in 1856, and the Governor-general of India immediately declared war. Four British men-of-war appeared off Bushire—a town on the east side of the Persian Gulf, and the great emporium of the Indian trade. After a cannonade, under the command of Sir Henry Leeke, the town surrendered. How severe was the defence is manifest when we state that not a single casualty to life or limb, on our side, occurred. Our troops suffered, however, from the climate, and were not sorry to receive Sir James Outram with reinforcements. In February, 1857, they attacked the Persian camp. In a day or two after they fought the battle of Khooshab, where, with a loss of ten men killed, and sixty-two wounded, they defeated the Persians, with a loss of 700 slain, 100 prisoners, and a couple of guns. On the 19th of March, Sir James Outram sailed from Bushire, and captured Mohammerah, at the mouth of the Euphrates. A tragical event occurred in connection with this expedition. General Stalker, who remained in command of the force left at Bushire, and Commodore Etheredge, of the navy, terminated their existence, in consequence, it is said, of continued anxiety in connection with the duties of their command, acting upon nervous systems shattered by the heat of the climate.

Before this, however, a treaty of peace had been concluded at Paris, between Persia and Great Britain. This document was dated March 15th, and consisted of fifteen articles. The principal provisions were—the evacuation of the Persian territory by the British troops; the withdrawal of the Persian military from Herat, and every other part of Afghanistan, within three months of the date of the ratification of the treaty; the relinquishment by the shah of all claims to sovereignty over Herat, and the countries of Afghanistan. In the event of any difference between the shah and his neighbours, recourse was first to be had to British arbitration before there was an appeal to arms. Should there be any violation of the Persian territory by the states referred to, the shah might undertake military operations for the repression or punishment of the offenders; but the forces were to retire within their own territory as soon as the object was accomplished, and not permanently to occupy or annex to the Persian dominions any portion of the said states. The consuls, agents, subjects, and commerce of England and Persia, were to be mutually received in each country, on the footing of the most favoured nation. The British mission was to return to Teheran, where it

was to be received by the Persian government with apologies and ceremonies. A commission, on each side, was to be appointed to decide on the pecuniary claims of British and other subjects; and the amount of such claims as were pronounced just, were to be paid within one year from the date of the award. The agreement for the suppression of the slave-trade, which would have expired in August, 1852, was to be continued for the further space of ten years from that date, and afterwards, until formally annulled.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHINESE WAR.

IN 1857, the speech from the throne announced that we were at war with China.

How did it arise?

In this way. By the supplementary treaty of 1843, it was provided that criminals from China escaping to Hong-Kong, or to British ships of war, and British criminals escaping into Chinese territory, should be given up to the proper British or Chinese authorities. Furthermore, it was agreed, that "every British schooner, cutter, or lorch, shall have a sailing-letter, or register, in Chinese and English, under the seal and signature of the chief superintendent of trade, describing her appearance, burden, &c. Every schooner, lorch, and similar vessel, shall report herself, as large vessels are required to do, at the Bocca Tigris; and when she carries cargo, she shall also report herself at Whampoa, and shall, on reaching Canton, deliver up her sailing-letter or register to the British consul, who will obtain permission from the hoppo for her to discharge her cargo." In March, 1855, a colonial ordinance was passed by the local government at Hong-Kong, which enacted that no ship or vessel whatsoever, owned by a British subject, should be at liberty to trade in any of the harbours of the colony, unless, in the case of an outward trading-ship or vessel, she be provided with a certificate of registry; and, in the case of a trading Chinese ship, similar compliance was required. By this ordinance the colonial legislature took upon itself to grant registers to vessels, provided they were owned by British subjects. But this was not in conformity with English law; for that law required other conditions besides that of British ownership (such, for instance, as that a certain number of the crew should be British subjects), as preliminary to the right of obtaining a register. Moreover, the ordinance had not been confirmed by any competent authority in this country; nor could it confer upon a Chinese vessel the rights and privileges of a British ship.

A lorch, or vessel built after the Portuguese fashion, furnished with a colonial register, had, under the name of the *Arrow*, been for some time trading in the Chinese waters, under the protection of the British flag. Her master was a British subject, but the rest of her crew were Chinese. The register was renewable annually, and had been renewed on the 27th of September, 1855. Her licence, therefore, expired on the 27th of September in the following year; and, after that year, she ceased to have any privilege which the colonial register could confer. The Chinese authorities at Canton had received information that one of the crew on board the *Arrow* was a native pirate, who had been actively engaged in a pirate fleet which had come into collision with a Chinese vessel of war. Accordingly, on the 8th of October, during the absence of the master of the *Arrow*, it was boarded by a body of Chinese officers, and twelve of the crew seized, pinioned, and carried off, notwithstanding that the British colours were flying over the *Arrow* at the time.

Mr. Parkes, the British consul at Canton, on hearing of this outrage to the national flag, demanded that the men who had been seized in the *Arrow* should be brought to the consulate, that the charge against them might be there investigated. This the Chinese officers refused, on the ground that, as they had reported the matter to their own authorities, they must wait for orders from them. The consul then wrote to the same effect to Commissioner Yeh, the governor of Canton; and at the same time sent an account of the proceeding to Sir John Bowring, the British plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong. In his reply, he observed that, though it appeared the *Arrow* had no right to hoist the British flag, in consequence of the expiration of the licence, yet, as the Chinese had no knowledge of this fact, it was clear they had violated the clause in the treaty, which required that all Chinese wrongdoers in British ships should be claimed through British authorities. He added—"You will inform the imperial commissioner that I require an apology for what has taken place, and an assurance that the British flag shall, in future, be respected; that forty-eight hours are allowed for this communication; which being passed, you are instructed to call on the naval authorities to assist you in enforcing redress."

Commissioner Yeh, in reply to Mr. Parkes, stated that it had been ascertained that the *lorcha* was not the property of a foreigner (*i.e.*, British subject); that no foreigner was seen on board; nor was any flag hoisted at the time of the capture. He stated that care should be taken with respect to the seizure of people belonging to foreign *lorchas*; but declined to make any reparation for the insult to the British flag.

A wise diplomatist here would have waived somewhat of his pretensions, in order to preserve peace. Sir John Bowring, however, determined to resort to force, and applied to Sir Michael Seymour, the commander-in-chief of the British fleet on the China station. A Chinese junk was seized, and brought down to Whampoa; but this retaliatory proceeding produced no effect on the Chinese. Admiral Seymour, therefore, took a number of forts that defended the approaches to Canton, and burnt several of the buildings. Amongst the former was Dutch Folly, a fort mounting fifty guns, and situated on an island opposite Canton. The defences of the city being then in the hands of the British, an attempt was made to arrange matters amicably before further hostilities were resorted to. Commissioner Yeh offered to surrender ten out of the twelve men who had been seized; but this was declined. He then sent the twelve; but demanded that two of them, who were charged with being guilty of piracy, should be at once returned, to be dealt with according to Chinese law. As Mr. Parkes, however, had, in his original demand, required that the men should be sent back to the *Arrow* as publicly as they had been taken, and no apology was tendered by Commissioner Yeh, he refused to receive them, and the men were again taken away by the Chinese.

And now the quarrel was widened, and the last chance of a peaceful settlement was thrown away.

Sir John Bowring directed Mr. Parkes to write to the Chinese high commissioner, and to require for all foreign representatives the same free access to the authorities and city of Canton, as was enjoined by treaty at the four other ports, and denied at Canton alone. This claim was put forward in consequence of a stipulation to that effect in the convention of 1842. Up to this time the claim had been evaded; and the British government, anxious to avoid any cause for an unfriendly feeling, had quietly acquiesced in this evasion, and enjoined upon the authorities at Hong-Kong the greatest circumspection in attempting to secure its fulfilment. Sir John Bowring took a different view of the subject, and thought that a favourable opportunity offered for compelling the Chinese to yield the point. As, to this demand, the Chinese made no reply, on the 27th of October Admiral Seymour opened fire on some government buildings in Canton, and at the same time shelled a body of Chinese troops, who had taken up their position on some rising ground in the rear of the city.

Commissioner Yeh retaliated by offering a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. The latter went on firing. On the 29th, a breach having been effected in the walls, a body of seamen and marines entered the city. At sunset the attacking force was withdrawn, with a slight loss of life, and re-embarked. The admiral next proposed to Commissioner Yeh a personal interview, in order to effect a pacific arrangement. This having been declined, on the 3rd of November the attack on Canton was renewed; but our fire was confined, as much as possible, to the destruction of government buildings and property. On the 5th, our fleet destroyed a body of war-junks, and captured French Folly Fort, beneath which the Chinese vessels had sought protection.

On the 13th, the whole of the Bogue Forts were taken, with hardly a casualty on the side of the assailants. The Chinese revenged themselves by setting fire to, and almost entirely destroying, the foreign factories close to Canton. Admiral Seymour had now placed himself in a defensive position, and waited for reinforcements.

Parliament met in February; and the Earl of Derby moved resolutions regretting the occurrence of hostilities between her majesty's subjects and the Chinese authorities at Canton; regretting the course pursued with reference to claiming the admission of British subjects into Canton, and declaring that no hostile operations should have taken place without the sanction of the home government. Lord Derby had the advantage of being out of office. Had he been in, he would have had to do as Lord Palmerston did, and upheld the honour of the British flag; for at this stage of the proceedings it was too late to retract. As it was, he pleaded in vain in the Lords. After a debate, lasting two nights, there was a majority of thirty-six in favour of government.

In the House of Commons it was different. On the 26th, Mr. Cobden moved—"That this House has heard, with concern, of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river; and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton, in the late affair of the *Arrow*; and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China." In support of this motion, Mr. Cobden contended, that it was a violation of all international law for the English to attempt to assume a protection over Chinese subjects, against the Chinese government. The *lorcha* was a Chinese vessel, belonging to a Chinese owner, and we had no right to let them possess a protection under the British flag. But supposing that we did possess this right, it could not create a cause of war in the case of the *Arrow*; for the licence had expired before the Chinese authorities had boarded her for the purpose of seizing men, who had violated, not only the laws of their country, but of humanity. He referred to the manner in which smugglers availed themselves of the illegitimate use of the British flag, for the purpose of obtaining protection against the Chinese authorities during the day, while they carried on their illicit traffic by night, under their own flag; and, to the disgrace of this country, the English authorities never attempted to put a stop to these disreputable proceedings. Without going too definitely into what we had actually done, he said he contented himself with inquiring—Would we have done what we had, had the government we dealt with been at Washington, and the transaction had taken place at Charleston? He conscientiously believed that there had been a preconceived design to pick a quarrel with the Chinese, for which the whole world would cry, "Shame upon us." The papers he looked upon as a garbled record of trumpery complaints against the Chinese. He quoted extracts from travellers, testifying to the civility and inoffensive habits of the Chinese; and reminded his auditors of the haughty demeanour and inflexible bearing towards the natives of other countries, which

Englishmen carried abroad with them. As for the clause in the treaty enforcing the admission of Englishmen into Canton, he expressed his opinion that it was a chimera. It was not worth fighting for. If this part of the treaty could be at once enforced, it would be of no use to us. He also specially blamed the conduct of Sir John Bowring, alleging that he had acted directly contrary to his instructions. The debate lasted four nights. The Tories and the Peelites united with the Radicals in support of the motion. Among the speakers adverse to the government, were Sir Bulwer Lytton, Messrs. Warren and Whiteside, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Phillimore, Sir Frederick Thesiger, Sidney Herbert, Roundale Palmer, Mr. Henley, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli. In a word, the whole character and oratorical power of the House, save what was possessed by ministerialist office-holders, ranged themselves under Cobden's leadership. To such a phalanx, undauntedly, Lord Palmerston replied; and proceeded to defend the conduct of Sir J. Bowring, comparing him with Commissioner Yeh, the governor of Hong-Kong, whom he described as one of the most savage barbarians that ever disgraced a savage nation—a creature guilty of vices that are a disgrace to human nature. Lord Palmerston characterised the speech of Mr. Cobden as being pervaded by an anti-English feeling. It was an abnegation of all those ties which bind men to their country. Everything that was English was wrong: everything hostile to England was right. The British merchants were described as a set of haughty, overbearing, selfish, irritable, grasping men, perpetually getting into local disturbances wherever they were stationed. He should not go into the legal argument as to whether the vessel was English or not. This fact did not lie at the base of the question. We had a treaty with the Chinese, stipulating that British vessels should not be boarded without a previous application to the British consul. And the question was—What did the Chinese know, or believe, as to the nationality of the *Arrow*? Did they consider her a British vessel? He said they did; and if they knowingly violated the treaty, it was immaterial whether, according to the technicalities of the law, the register had expired. It was the *animus* of the result—the wilful violation of the treaty—that entitled us to demand reparation of the Chinese authorities for the wrong, and an assurance for further security. He, however, thought that the vessel was entitled to the British flag, and that the objections to the register were mere quibbles. He insisted that, after the refusal of reparation—only one of many violations of treaty-right by the Chinese—hostilities were amply justified; and that our proceedings were marked by extreme forbearance, compared with those of the Americans when their flag was insulted. The outrage committed upon the *lorcha*, therefore, was only part of a deliberative system, on the part of the Chinese officials, to wrest from us a right essential to commerce in those waters. The barbarities of the local authorities of Canton, the beheading of 70,000 men in less than a year by the commissioner, and the deformities of Chinese society, were strongly urged by Lord Palmerston, who complained that there had been, in the debate, a disposition to excuse or palliate these enormities. It had been said that reprisals should have been resorted to; and so they were, but without effect. The execution of ulterior operations rested with Admiral Seymour, who, if of opinion that they were excessive, would not have permitted them. We were not at war with China: by the last account the quarrel was still only local. To the question, What the future policy of the government would be?—he replied that this would depend, in a great measure, upon the course of events. Their first duty would be to protect British subjects in China. What, he asked, was the government expected to do? To send out a message to Commissioner Yeh that he was right, and that he might repeat his outrages upon other British vessels? This would be withdrawing from the British community protection against a merciless barbarian; it would disgrace this country in the eyes of the civilised world, and especially in the estimation of Eastern nations. After attributing the motion to a coalition of the enemies of the government, thus seeking to destroy it, Lord Palmerston continued—"You would

think, sir, if you read the speeches of those advocates of every quibble, and who endeavour to make excuses for the most atrocious crimes—who take part with every foreigner against every Englishman, and who almost repudiate their country—that these events were a combination of unjustifiable circumstances. You have now to determine a question of great importance, from which great and important issues may accrue. You have not merely the interests of your country, not merely the property of your countrymen to protect, but I will venture to say that you have the lives of your countrymen to defend; and those who are averse to the laws which defend that property and those lives, will pause before they give a vote which may be passing sentence of death on many of their countrymen. I do trust that honourable members will not allow themselves to be led astray by the eloquence of some gentlemen who have taken part in the debate; but, looking to the matter as bearing upon the great interests of the country, I am satisfied that impartial men will prove that the decision of this night will be such as to maintain the known dignity and greatness of this empire.” His lordship concluded amidst loud cheers; but his anticipations were not fulfilled. The numbers were—for the motion, 263; against it, 247. Ministers were beaten by a majority of sixteen.

Lord Palmerston could either dissolve or resign. He, very wisely, chose the former alternative. Before the dissolution, certain matters, relative to the business of the country, chiefly of a financial character, were attended to. On the 10th of March, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the Speaker, resigned his office, after having held it nearly eighteen years. On the following day, Lord Palmerston moved that the thanks of the House be given to the honourable gentleman, who had ever discharged his important and onerous duties with ability, justness of judgment, and firmness of purpose. The motion having been seconded by Mr. Disraeli, was carried with acclamation. A motion that an address to the crown be carried, praying that a special act of royal favour be conferred on Mr. Shaw Lefevre, was also unanimously agreed to. An annuity of £4,000 per annum was subsequently voted, as a retiring pension; and he was called to the House of Lords, under the title of Viscount Eversley, of Hickfield. Nor were these honours undeserved. Nature and art had alike combined to render Mr. Lefevre, in no common degree, qualified for the Speaker's chair.

Parliament was dissolved on the 21st of March, the ceremony being performed by commission. The royal speech was without interest, its object being merely to express “her majesty's intention immediately to dissolve the present parliament, in order to ascertain, in the most constitutional manner, the sense of her people upon the present state of public affairs.”

That sense was Lord Palmerston's sense. His triumph was signal and complete.

His lordship's unqualified approval of the conduct of our authorities in Canton increased his popularity to an immeasurable extent; and a determination to support him existed throughout the country. In his speech at Tiverton, when presenting himself for re-election, he managed just to express the real feeling of the nation. “The outbreak in China,” he said, “was adopted as a question on which to try the strength of parties. But what was that question? Why, unexpectedly by the government at home, independently of any orders from them, and not in consequence of any act of theirs, a collision arose between their officers, civil and naval, and that insolent barbarian Yeh, who unites in his person all the obstinacy, perfidy, and cruelty ever collected in one single man. He began, after long-continued neglect, and violation of treaty engagements, by an outrageous attack upon the British flag. It was the duty of our officers upon the spot to resent it; to demand an apology for the past, and to guarantee us from similar outrages for the future. They were unable to accomplish this, or obtain any concession from the Chinese minister. We have heard a great deal of technical argument about registers, colonial orders, and imperial laws; but the question submitted to parliament was broad and simple. Here was a vessel with the British flag flying, with a British register, and commanded by a British subject, assaulted by a Chinese

force—her crew taken away (with the exception of two men, whom the Chinese authorities, at the request of the commander, left on board to take charge of her); and the only pretence set up for this outrage was, not that any one of these twelve men who formed the crew had committed any offence, but that one old man was the father of a son who, in some other port of China, and not at Canton, was believed to be a pirate. Then there was a quibble raised, and it was said that when they boarded the vessel no British subject was found on her, but the master of the lorch was at breakfast in another ship, not fifty yards off. However, before the Chinese left the *Arrow*, he speedily came on board; and it was specially at his entreaty that two of the twelve men who formed the crew were left in the vessel. It is, therefore, preposterous for the Chinese to say that they did not know it was an English vessel. It had been lying ten or twelve days in the river as a British vessel; and it was distinctly as such that it was boarded, and deprived of its crew. This was a violation of our treaty; and what did our officials do in consequence? They began by reprisals. They took a junk, and the Chinese commissioner snapped his fingers at them, and said, 'You think you have got a government vessel, but it is only a merchant vessel; and I don't care a sixpence about it.' Our officials then proceeded to disarm the forts, but allowing an interval between each successive operation, to afford the commissioner an opportunity of doing that which, in reason and justice, he should have done before. Notwithstanding all that has been said about cruelty, I say that never were the rights of a nation enforced with more forbearance, and absence from unnecessary violence, than they were by Sir Michael Seymour, a man well known for his humanity and moderation, and one utterly incapable of abusing the power with which he was entrusted. Again, we have been told that officers abroad ought not to involve the country in war without distinct orders from the government; and that the government ought not to act without appealing to parliament. But will any one tell me that officers at the other extremity of the globe, when a violent outrage has been committed on the honour of their country, are to remain with their arms folded, till they can send home for orders, and receive instructions? Why, months would elapse between insult and resentment; and the purpose for which redress had been demanded would have been forgotten in the apathy and want of exertion which would have ensued."

By such speeches Lord Palmerston carried the public with him. In many places, indeed in the majority, the merits of the question were but little discussed. All that was thought of, was to give to Palmerston more power; and he had it. Never were such results obtained by a minister before. All his opponents, or nearly so, were unseated—Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, Layard, J. W. Fox, Miall, and not a few of the Peelites of the second grade. Cobden had not again sought the suffrages of his West Riding constituents. He had discovered, in the course of his canvass, that he had no chance of success there. He then solicited the suffrages of the citizens of Huddersfield; but the voters there gave the preference to a thorough-going ministerialist, and Cobden was, for the first time since he entered parliament, without a seat. A beautiful incident occurred during this stormy period of our recent history. While the general election was going on, Bright, who had been compelled by ill-health to leave the country, was still so ill as to be unable to conduct his own canvass at Manchester. Cobden and others discharged that task for him. Shortly after the rejection of Cobden and Bright, the former attended and addressed a meeting at Manchester. In the course of his speech, he alluded to his friend's defeat, and dwelt upon the fact, that the Manchester men had rejected the man of whom they had been so proud, at a time when he was afflicted, and necessarily absent by reason of ill-health. He became at once deeply affected; he could not go on; his eyes filled with tears, and, for a time, he was reduced to absolute silence.

On the 30th of April, the new House of Commons met; and Mr. Evelyn Denison was elected to the Speaker's chair, in the place of Mr. Shaw Lefevre. The House was occupied until the 7th of May with swearing-in new members; and

on that day parliament was formally opened by commission. The royal speech contained little of interest beyond the information that her majesty had sent Lord Elgin as plenipotentiary to China, "fully instructed in all matters of difference;" and that he would be supported by an adequate naval and military force in the event of such assistance being necessary.

We now return to China.

While Admiral Seymour was waiting for reinforcements, several attempts were made to burn or blow up our vessels, and the greatest caution was found to be necessary to prevent some such catastrophe. The mandarins, in various districts, issued the most bloodthirsty edicts against the English, and offered large rewards to those who succeeded in assassination and incendiarism at Hong-Kong. All Chinese were ordered to quit the service of foreigners, and return to their homes. The captain and crew of the English postal steamer, on her way from Canton to Hong-Kong, were murdered by seventeen Chinese soldiers, who managed to get on board the vessel in disguise. In Hong-Kong, a Chinese baker was charged with attempting to poison the Europeans by mixing arsenic with his bread. The Chinese at Savarrah, in Borneo, rose in insurrection, and murdered several Europeans; and Rajah Brooke only saved his life by swimming across a creek. But they were speedily punished, as Sir James Brooke returned with one of the Bornean company's steamers, and killed a thousand Chinese; while as many more fled, or, ultimately, died of starvation. The arrival of the *Tribune* and *Amethyst* enabled Admiral Seymour to undertake offensive operations. The Chinese fleet, in Canton river, was destroyed by the British gun-boats in two effective expeditions.

On the 29th of May, Admiral Seymour hoisted his flag on the *Coromandel* steam-tender, and, accompanied by Admiral Keppel and a force of gun-boats, proceeded up the Canton river, with the object of attacking the war-junks, which had, for some time, been visible up the Fatshan Creek. A fort, with outworks, which mounted sixteen guns, was taken; and, after a resistance, more or less severe, between seventy and eighty heavily-armed junks—mounting, on an average, from ten to fourteen guns, many of them 32-pounders, nearly all of European manufacture—fell into our hands.

Lord Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, arrived at Hong-Kong on the 3rd of July. In answer to an address by the British residents, he replied—"The powerful fleet already assembled on these coasts, which will soon be supported by an adequate military force, is a pledge of her majesty's determination to afford protection to her faithful subjects, and to maintain the rights to which they are by treaty entitled. It is essential to the permanence of political relations with China, and to the security of trade, that the Court of Peking should be apprised, that an arrogant refusal to treat with other powers on the terms prescribed by the comity of nations, or the alleged wilfulness of a provincial authority, will not be held to release it from the responsibility of faithfully adhering to engagements contracted with independent and sovereign states. You refer, in language of much force and justice, to the difficulties which beset the mission on which I am entering. I am not insensible to those difficulties. But knowing, as I do, that the government which I serve is pursuing no selfish object; that we may count on the cordial sympathy and active co-operation of other great and generous nations interested with ourselves in the spread of commerce, and the extension of civilisation; knowing, moreover, the valour and discipline of the forces, both military and naval, which, under able and experienced commanders, are prepared, if need be, to support the honour of our country's flag—I see no reason to doubt that, by prudence and patience, moderation and firmness, they may be overcome."

This allusion to other powers reminds us that England invited the co-operation of France, Russia, and America, in order that it might not be considered that she was carrying on a war of conquest.

France sent a small force to co-operate at Canton with that of England; and, on the 12th of December, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros sent in their demands to the

commissioners. They comprised the opening of Canton; compensation for the damage done to the property of British merchants; and the surrender of the island of Honan, as a material guarantee. Yeh sarcastically rejected the terms. On the 16th of December, the ships and gun-boats of the allied forces went up the river, and landed a body of men on the island of Honan. On the 25th, the allied commissioners notified to Yeh that they would grant him forty-eight hours more to deliberate. They extended that period to seventy-two hours; still a sullen silence was preserved; and, as Yeh would not return an answer, the bombardment of Canton was determined on. Early on the 28th, the gun-boats, ships, and batteries opened a slow but heavy fire of shot and shell upon the walls and defences. About noon, a body of troops, mainly English, but partly French, landed on the east side of the city, and captured Lin's Fort. During the night, rockets were fired at the houses near the walls, causing a fierce conflagration, and the destruction of many frail tenements. The next day, the troops stormed, successively, the Five-storied Pagoda, the Magazine Hill Fort, and Gough's Fort. The fighting continued until dark; but, at the close of the second day's operations, the English and French were in possession of the heights. This possession they had purchased with the loss of 140 English killed and wounded, and thirty-four French.

Thinking, as Canton was now at their mercy, Yeh would make some sign of submission, the allies waited before proceeding to further extremities. As he did not do so, three columns of English, and one of French, entered the city on the 5th of January, 1858. One column proceeded to the house of Peh Kwei, the governor of the city, and captured him at breakfast. A second column made for the treasury, of which they took possession. They found in it fifty-two boxes of royal silver, each heavier than a man could lift, and sixty-eight packets of ingots. These were carried by coolies into the British lines. The French column caught the Tartar general hidden in a closet, in a desolate house; while Commodore Elliot, accompanied by Mr. Parkes, went in pursuit of Commissioner Yeh. On finding the house, one man surrendered himself as Yeh; but the attempted deception failed, as he was not fat enough for his chief. Pushing on, the pursuers saw a stout man attempting to scale a wall. Captain Key rushed forward and seized him by the waist, while a sailor twisted the tail of the imperial commissioner round his arm. Yeh trembled violently when he was captured, and, at first, denied his identity. However, when he had been several times assured of his personal safety, his old arrogance returned. Seating himself magnificently in his chair, he said he would wait there to receive the men, Elgin and Gros. This insolent desire was not complied with, and he was taken in a chair to head-quarters. After some conversation, the allied admirals and generals directed Mr. Parkes to assure "his excellency" that every care would be taken for his personal safety and convenience, but that he would be removed on board ship. "I don't see any necessity for going on board ship," replied Yeh; "I can do everything that requires to be done just as well here." But when he observed that the admirals were grave and immovable, and that they were about to retire, he added—"Well, I will accept your invitation. In fact, I shall be very glad to have an opportunity of seeing one of your ships." After many fruitless delays, he was seated in his chair, and, accompanied by an escort of marines, carried down to the landing-place, and sent on board the *Inflexible*. On the 9th of January, Peh Kwei and the Tartar general were reinstated in the city, under the protection of the allied plenipotentiaries, in order to preserve it from being sacked by the populace. British commissioners accompanied them, and Canton was placed under a British protectorate. Lord Elgin informed Peh Kwei that the allies intended to hold Canton until the questions in dispute were settled. He added, that any treachery would meet with signal punishment; but, when all questions were settled, Canton would be given up. Commissioner Yeh was sent to Calcutta.

Matters progressed but slowly. The demand of the allied powers, that a commissioner should be appointed to treat with the ambassadors, was forwarded

to the emperor at Peking; but no answer was returned. The Peiho river was then ascended, and the forts at the mouth of it captured. During these proceedings, the Russian and American ministers abstained from taking any active part; accompanying the allied forces in the character of neutrals. Their communications had been courteously received by the Chinese authorities, and they were disposed to think that the imperial commissioner, Tau, had proper power to treat. The British and French ministers, however, declined opening negotiations until credentials on both sides had been interchanged. This, Tau averred, was contrary to custom; and when he was shown the powers which Keying had interchanged with Sir Hugh Pottinger in 1841, and which Lord Elgin had in his possession, he declared that the British plenipotentiary had been imposed on, for the pretended power was a forgery.

The day after the capture of the forts, the allied expedition, with the ambassadors, proceeded up the river Peiho, as far as the town of Tien-tsin. There the ambassadors landed, and took up their residence in an imperial yaman, or palace, waiting the arrival of the Chinese commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. At first the interview was not satisfactory. Time went on, and the docility and submission of the natives changed into a sullen demeanour, and even active hostility. About the 12th of June, two naval officers, walking through the city, were hooted and pelted, and one of them lost his hat. A body of marines was sent to make prisoners of the parties implicated; but they found the gates barred, and a mob was collected inside, who could not be persuaded to open them. About half-a-dozen officers and sailors were enabled to climb, through a half-decayed house, into the embrasures, from whence they jumped, revolvers in hand, on to the ground, giving a hearty shout. The chains and bars which secured the gates were immediately broken; the marines entered, and captured some householders, who were known to be present at the outrage offered to the officers. This led to the restoration of the hat; and there were no more insults offered to the British while they remained at Tien-tsin.

At length the negotiations came to a favourable conclusion. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Chinese government to submit, all difficulties were overcome; and the terms which Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were instructed to insist upon, were at last yielded with a good grace.

The four treaties concluded at Tien-tsin were signed in the following order:—the American, the Russian, the English, and the French. The demands of the United States were the least extensive, extending little beyond increased means of commercial intercourse; and Mr. Reed, the American ambassador, appears to have been content: indeed, it is said that he thwarted, rather than advanced, Lord Elgin's views. Count Putiatine, the Russian ambassador, acted a more friendly part; for when he had concluded his own treaty, he did not desert the interests of England and France. The terms the count obtained were of great importance to Russia, as China conceded not only greater facilities for trade, but also yielded up an extensive tract of country at the mouth of the Amour. The terms of the French and English treaties were nearly alike, except that the former contained no stipulations for an indemnity. The conditions were considered favourable. China was thrown open; Britons were no longer to be called barbarians; commerce was to be encouraged; and we were to receive £1,200,000 for losses sustained at Canton, and the expenses of the war.

No sooner was the treaty signed, however, than it became apparent that in many quarters there was very little intention of keeping it. While in the north the allied ambassadors and the commissioners of the emperor were concluding it, the new commissioner at Canton was issuing proclamations, urging the populace to attack the foreigners. He even demanded the evacuation of the city, and affected entire ignorance of the existence of the negotiations. Confusion and terror were produced within Canton by this proceeding. The "braves" assassinated several Europeans; and, on the 21st of July, they advanced with the avowed intention of expelling the allies from the city. They were, of course, unsuccessful, and the English

and French retaliated with severity. In August, Sir John Bowring issued a proclamation in the Chinese language, announcing the conclusion of the treaty, which was distributed and placarded in the country. Two officers went in the gun-boat *Starling* to distribute this proclamation at Namtom, opposite Hong-Kong. The officers were driven back, and the boat was fired upon, though a flag of truce was flying. As this insult could not be overlooked, a force of 700 men was landed on the 11th, who drove out the Chinese "braves" from the fort which they destroyed, and brought off two brass guns as trophies. No injury was done to the inhabitants, or their property. Shortly after, Hwang, the viceroy, issued a notice that he had received despatches from the Court of Peking, informing him of the cessation of the treaty: but affairs continued for some time in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state.

While waiting for the Chinese negotiators, who were to discuss with him the terms of the tariff, Lord Elgin resolved to proceed to Japan, to see what could be done in the way of opening up that country, so closely sealed against foreign intruders. Arrived at Nayasaki, communications were opened with the Japanese authorities. The English government had sent the Tycoon a yacht—a most inappropriate present, as he never leaves his palace—and this had to be presented. For this purpose, to the astonishment and terror of the Japanese, Lord Elgin sailed to the capital, Yeddo, where he landed, and was treated with much courtesy, he having an armed force with him, and it being known what the British had done in China. Six commissioners were appointed to consult with his lordship as to a treaty. On the 26th of August the treaty was signed, and was all that could be desired. His lordship and his followers were delighted with everything they saw, and came back very enthusiastic in favour of Japan and the Japanese.

Lord Elgin arrived at Shanghae, upon his return from Yeddo, on the 2nd of September. The Chinese commissioners appointed to arrange the tariff with his lordship, did not arrive from Peking till the 3rd of October. About the middle of the month, Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Wade, on the part of the British ambassador, and two local officers on the part of the commissioners, were appointed to settle preliminaries. The negotiations extended into November. On the 8th of that month, the new tariff being finally arranged, was signed by Lord Elgin and the commissioners. By this document the export duties on tea and silk remain as before; the only reduction of any importance is on cotton manufactures. Opium was legalised, and the import duty fixed at thirty taels per picul. The transit duties to and from the interior, were fixed at one-half the amount levied at the ports; and this applies to all imports and exports, with the exception of opium, which is not included in this arrangement. It was expected that a great increase of trade would result from this treaty. Even before the signing of it, many of the foreign firms had established branches or agencies in temporary abodes on the island of Honan, and were doing a fair trade. The Hon. Frederick Bruce was appointed first ambassador to Peking, under the provisions of the new treaty. Consuls were also appointed for the Chinese ports which were to be opened under the treaty; and a consul-general for Japan. Mr. Rutherford Alcock, who had long been her majesty's consul at Canton, received the first nomination to this latter important post.

Immediately after the tariff regulations were adjusted, Lord Elgin determined to make an expedition up the Yang-tse-Kiang, as far as Hankow—the limits fixed by the treaty for the advance of merchant vessels—for the purpose of testing its commercial capabilities, and of ascertaining the temper of the people. He left Shanghae on the 9th. On the 20th, Nankin—then in possession of the rebels—was sighted, and the little *Lee*, with Mr. Wade, the interpreter, was sent ahead, to see whether the rebels would fire upon her. Lord Elgin was not desirous of coming into collision with the rebels; but it was not known how they felt disposed. The little vessel was, therefore, anxiously watched as she fearlessly passed one battery after another. It was thought she had cleared them all, when a little white puff of smoke was seen. The rebels *had* fired upon her; and the men on board the

other four steamers were instantly piped to quarters. As soon as the first shot was discharged from the shore, the commander of the *Lee*, in obedience to his instructions, hoisted a flag of truce, of such large dimensions that the men in the batteries could not fail to see it. This was fired upon eight times; and the other steamers coming up, fired upon the batteries. This was replied to; and while daylight lasted, a pretty smart cannonade was kept up on both sides. The next morning it was resolved to inflict summary chastisement on the rebels for their temerity; and the ships having taken up their positions, bombarded the forts pretty well for an hour, when they passed on. In ascending the river, the imperialist army was discerned crowning the hills in the rear of Nankin, their encampments forming a complete and extended semicircle round the devoted city, which they had so long and ineffectually besieged, but which active and enterprising commanders, seconded by only moderately brave troops, would have taken long before. The rebels had also possession of Taeping, near which the rebels anchored for the night. At length, on the 6th of December, Hankow, the terminus of their journey, appeared in sight. The first view of the city was anything but pleasing. However, it greatly improved upon acquaintance. Scarcely two years had elapsed since it was sacked and destroyed by the rebels, who did their work so effectually that the British were informed that not a single house remained standing. In the short space of time that had elapsed, however, the greater part of the ruins had given place to the abodes of a persevering and industrious population. The streets were handsomer and broader; and the shops better stocked than those of any city as yet open to Europeans; and it was pervaded by an air of activity and bustle quite refreshing after the torpor and apathy which had succeeded the rebel reign elsewhere. The river was filled with junks, and the streets of the town were crowded with natives from almost every province in the empire. On the 10th, Lord Elgin, accompanied by about thirty diplomatic and naval officers, paid a visit to Kenan, the governor-general of the provinces of Human and Hupeh, whose official residence is at Woonang, a city occupying a noble site on the south shore of the river. On the 11th, the visit was returned; and when the Chinese officials departed for the shore, the squadron weighed anchor, and started on its return. They arrived at Shanghai early in the new year.

On the 17th of January, a numerous body, representing the English and Indian firms at Shanghai, waited on Lord Elgin at the British embassy, by appointment, to present a complimentary address on his lordship's successful career in the north of China. The address was well written; and, in his lordship's reply, there was much to be seriously weighed and carefully remembered. The treaties concluded with China and Japan undoubtedly did impose weighty responsibilities. "Uninvited," said his lordship, "and by methods not always of the gentlest, we have broken down the barriers by which those ancient nations sought to conceal from the world without, the mysteries—perhaps, also, in the case of China at least, the rags and rottenness—of their waning civilisation. Neither our own consciences, nor the judgments of mankind, will therefore acquit us, if, when we are asked to what use we have turned these opportunities, we can only say, that we have filled our pockets from the ruins which we have found or made." There were two critical phases which, in his progress as a negotiator with China, Lord Elgin said he found, "in mid-channel, right ahead"—the trade in opium, and the Chinese custom-house system. He had long, and sincerely, commiserated the false and cruel position in which men of high standing and integrity, engaged in commerce with China, were placed by the irregularities which characterised the administration of the one, and the anomalous condition under which the other was carried on; and he did not consider that the difficulties attending the removal of these evils, and the risk of misconception to which those who undertook the task must necessarily expose themselves, would justify him in abstaining from the attempt to grapple with them. He had legalised the opium traffic by the tariff; but the modifications introduced with reference to the drug, do not, in any way, fetter or restrict

the discretion of Great Britain with respect to the article. If the British people and the British government see fit to do so, they may still make it penal for a British subject to be engaged in the opium trade; and, by so doing, although they will not, probably, in any material degree, lessen the consumption of opium in China, they will, no doubt, do something more or less effectual towards preventing British subjects from being the importers. His lordship said he had induced the Chinese to bring the trade from the region of fiction into that of fact, and to place within the pale of the law, and under its control, an article which was openly sold, and taxed by them beyond that pale. He anticipated, however, that it would make but little difference as regarded the trade itself. As to the custom-house administration, he endeavoured—and, he hoped, not without success—to impress on the imperial commissioners the importance of establishing such a system as will be uniform in all the several open ports, equal in all its operations, and controlled by persons of integrity and competent knowledge. Alluding to his recent expedition up the Yang-tse-Kiang, his lordship said it had fully realised the expectations which induced him to undertake it. He was enabled, during its progress, to obtain much information respecting the political condition of the country, which would, he trusted, be useful to her majesty's government; and the interests of commerce would be undoubtedly promoted by a knowledge of the navigation of the rivers, acquired by the able officers of her majesty, by whom he was accompanied. His lordship's speech gave great satisfaction. Those officers, as well as his lordship, did everything in their power to render the expedition successful; and, in England, there was great rejoicing over the termination of a mission which, it was felt, could not have been placed in better hands. It was henceforth hoped we should have no further difficulties with either Chinese or Japanese. It was believed that an unlimited market was opened to our wares and Manchester manufactures; and London merchants voted Lord Elgin to be of ambassadors the chief.

In a few years after, his lordship died—died just as he had become the Governor-general of India. He was only fifty-two years of age, and had been a member of the House of Peers for upwards of twenty-two years. Lord Elgin may be said to have first entered upon public life in 1841, when he was returned to parliament as member for Southampton; but in a few months he succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, known as the collector of the celebrated "Elgin Marbles." His rare abilities early gave him prominence and distinction in the House of Lords; and on a vacancy occurring, in 1842, in the governorship of Jamaica, his lordship was selected to fill that office. Here his administrative ability was displayed with so much satisfaction, that, in 1846, he was nominated to the still higher post of Governor-general of Canada. In the latter colony he governed in difficult times, but with a wisdom and impartiality that rendered him exceedingly popular; and socially, politically, and commercially, his rule was of the highest benefit to the people. In 1855 he returned to England, honoured and esteemed by all parties. In March, 1857, the earl was sent as plenipotentiary to China. On his way out to the East, he heard of the outbreak of the Indian mutiny, and, by a happy act of sound judgment (which was invited, indeed, by the viceroy), diverted to India a large portion of the troops that were under orders for China, and thus strengthened the hands of Lord Canning. While the mutiny in India proceeded in its course, Lord Elgin was pushing on his own line of policy in China, the results of which he beheld in the taking of Canton, and in the signing of the treaty of Tien-tsin. Returning to England, he became Post-master-general under Lord Palmerston, in 1859, but was shortly afterwards again despatched to China, to insist on the reception of his brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, at Peking. He also went to Japan, and, under the terror created by our imposing fleet, obtained from the Tycoon a treaty of commerce, which has been very imperfectly carried out, and threatens to involve us in war with that exclusive people. Scarcely had he returned to the shores of England, when he was selected to succeed Earl Canning in that splendid but fatal prize for statesmen's competition, the vice-

royalty of India. He took up the work where Lord Canning's hands had laid it down, and he was just about to behold the first fruits of the harvest which had been sown by his predecessor and Lord Dalhousie, when he was laid prostrate by the stroke of the hand of death.

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

IN 1857, the alarming intelligence reached England, that our Indian empire was in peril—that the native army was in a state of mutiny—and that our countrymen and countrywomen were being butchered in all directions.

For some time past the storm had been gathering; but no one of the official class had sense to perceive and interpret the signs of the times.

In the native army, ever since the disastrous occurrences in Afghanistan, in 1840-'41, the feelings of loyalty and attachment that at one time existed had ceased to operate. The charm of our invincibility and good fortune then received a rude shock. It was apparent to our native subjects that we had been forced to abandon our position beyond the Indus, in consequence of the successful resistance of the Afghan nation, supported in their efforts to drive us out by the corps raised, disciplined, and armed by us, from among the people of that country. From that time forward, the idea had been gaining ground in the minds of many of our subjects in India, especially among the Mahommedan portion of them, that a similar course—a mutiny of the native regiments forming our army, backed by a rising among the people—might prove as successful in Hindostan as it had in Cabul, in expelling the British authority, and restoring native rule; that is, the authority of the Emperor of Delhi. "Although," writes Mr. Edwards, in his valuable *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, "in our opinion, the position occupied, for the last thirty years, by the emperor was of the most insignificant and contemptible description, very different was the estimation in which he was held by Hindoos as well as Mahommedans generally. In their eyes he was still the legitimate sovereign of India, and, as such, was looked up to with feelings of reverence and loyal attachment. Our generous, but, in my humble opinion, impolitic treatment of the king, had directly tended to keep alive and foster those feelings of veneration. We permitted him to occupy his palace in the ancient seat of empire, and there to surround himself with the symbols of royalty, and to exercise powers, such as conferring honorary titles on our subjects, which, in native estimation, are indissolubly connected with sovereign authority. Although a pensioner, the king was regarded, by all in India, as the fountain of rank and honour; and the most insignificant marks of his favour were more highly esteemed than the most costly gifts and highest titles which could be conferred by the head of the British government on any of its subjects. Up to the rebellion, the state papers, such as sunnuds issued by subordinate native chieftains, always contained an acknowledgment of their holding as vassals under the King of Delhi; and the coin they issued bore a legend to the same effect. Up to 1842, the governors-general who visited Delhi, were in the habit of presenting, through their secretaries, a nuzzur of 101 gold mohurs to the emperor, as a mark of fealty, and an acknowledgment of holding the British territories in India subject to his authority." In the composition of the army itself, also, there was much to create a feeling of mutiny: the Bengal army believed that the government was afraid of them. They entered that army, as they confessed, from no feelings of patriotism, but to fill their bellies; and they bitterly resented, therefore and regarded as a breach of faith, the stoppage of

higher rates of pay for service beyond the Sutlej, when the Punjab became a British province. The deprivation of the privilege of having their letters franked since the introduction of the half-ana postage, and of petitioning on unstamped paper since the annexation of Oude, was also regarded by them as a great hardship and indignity. They attributed these changes to a grasping, avaricious spirit on the part of the state, and they often termed it a low government of shopkeepers, whom they were ashamed to serve under. The sepoys were also under the persuasion, that as our government extended its empire to Burmah and China, they would, sooner or later, be required to serve beyond sea. They knew that the government felt that the only obstacle to their proceeding on general service was the dread of the loss of caste; and they regarded the enlistment of the Sikhs into the line regiments, and the new rules for recruiting, as the commencement of an insidious attempt to break up the regimental caste, and fit the corps for foreign service. While our native army was in this state of discontent and restless suspicion, Oude was, to their astonishment and extreme dissatisfaction, annexed. "There is not the slightest doubt," writes Mr. Edwards, "that this act was regarded by the native army as one of rude and unjustifiable spoliation; and I believe that they would have resented at first had they not been under the conviction that the home authorities would annul the decision of the Governor-general, and restore Oude to the king."

While the minds of the sepoys were thus full of resentment against the government, and suspicious of its good faith, the report was spread among them, by the instigators of the rebellion, that the government intended to take away their caste, and compel them forcibly to adopt Christianity; and, for this purpose, had cartridges prepared with pig's fat, to destroy the caste of the Mahomedans; and with cow's fat, that of the Hindoos.

So much for the sepoys. As regards the people, they had also many and serious grounds of complaint.

First, as respects the revenue system, introduced into the North-West Provinces within the last thirty years. It has been generally supposed that this system was one of unmixed good. Mr. Edwards writes—"My acquaintance with the system, during the short time I was collector, has led me to form a different opinion as to its adaptation to the people; and the light in which they regard the basis of the system is, it must be borne in mind, a survey of all lands held under the government, and a record of the government claim accruing therefrom, and of all rights and interests connected therewith. But a record of this description, to be of any value, must be accurate in all its details, completely trustworthy, and beyond suspicion. If it falls short of this it becomes one of the most powerful engines of evil and misgovernment which it is possible to devise. I fear that the revenue records of the North-West Provinces, however correct they may originally have been, have, from constant mutations in occupancy, and corruption of native officials, become a mass of falsehood, inaccuracy, and confusion, and the source of much of that litigation which has made our civil courts the opprobrium of our rule." Again, the assessments were far too heavy in nearly every district, "and could not have been imposed had not the attachment of an agricultural people to their hereditary lands been so great, that they preferred agreeing to pay any amount of revenue for them, rather than desert, or be ousted from them. The result was that the gentry had disappeared, or were in very reduced circumstances; and the mass of the agricultural body were in the most extreme and hopeless poverty. Long before the rebellion, their state of increasing destitution had attracted my notice, and so deeply impressed me, that I had always regarded some great convulsion of society as extremely probable. But I never realised fully the extent of their poverty and wretchedness until, when traversing the country as a fugitive, and having to pass through thousands of villages, hearing of the plunder of those they had attacked, I saw what the plunder consisted of, and for what the people evidently thought it worth risking their lives to steal."

Our civil courts were cumbrous, dilatory, and expensive. Our police, as a body, Mr. Edwards describes, as "most corrupt, and a scourge to the people."

But there was another cause at work, besides the discontent existing in the army and amongst the people.

The Calcutta rulers, seeing through the false medium surrounding them at the presidency, had been lulled into a state of dangerous security; and the result was, that they denuded Bengal and the North-West Provinces, to an extent unprecedented at any former period. In fifteen years our empire in India had been gradually extending, but our European force had not been increased in proportion. The chief part of our forces had been collected into the Punjaub; and, in 1857, the total European force available for the maintenance of tranquillity was not above 5,000 of all arms, for Bengal and the North-West Provinces. The people, besides, had got the idea that we were used up, and that, in consequence of the Crimean war, no more forces could be spared for India. Under such circumstances, that the mutiny should have occurred, and spread rapidly, can surprise no one.

The first actual rising of the native troops took place at Meerut, an important military station, about thirty-two miles from Delhi. On the 9th of May, eighty-five of the men had been arrested, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, for refusing to receive the cartridges. The next evening, while many of the Europeans were at church, the men of the 11th and 20th native regiments assembled, in armed and tumultuous bodies, upon the parade-ground. Several officers hurried from their quarters to endeavour to pacify them. Colonel Finnis, of the 11th, one of the first to arrive, was shot dead while exhorting the mutineers to return to their duties as soldiers, and remain true to their colours. Other officers fell with their colonel, or in the terrible moments that ensued; for the troopers of the 3rd cavalry poured out of their quarters to join the insurgent infantry, and the whole body rushed through the native lines of the encampments, slaying, burning, and destroying. Every house was fired, and every English man, woman, or child, that fell in the way of the mutineers, was cruelly murdered. Happily, most of the officers and their families succeeded in escaping to the English lines. The eighty-five mutineers who had been confined were liberated, and all at once made their way to Delhi, where they were received by the native garrison of that city with open arms.

It fared with the English at Delhi as at Meerut. The infantry attacked and murdered their officers; the artillery, before joining the mutineers, stipulated for the safety of theirs, who were thus enabled to reach Meerut alive. The representative of the Great Mogul lent a favourable ear to the representatives of the mutineers. Pillage and murder ravaged the streets, and no mercy whatever was shown to the Europeans. Delicate ladies were stripped of their clothing, violated, turned naked into the streets, beaten with canes, pelted with filth, and abandoned to the brutality of the blood-stained rabble, until death or madness deprived them of all consciousness of their unutterable misery. The demoniac fury of the excited multitude knew no bounds; and, in a few hours after sunrise on Monday, the 11th of May, the interior of Delhi was an utter pandemonium. The arsenal and magazines were saved from falling into the hands of the mutineers by the gallantry of Lieutenant Willoughby, of the artillery, who blew them both up—an act which caused the death of about 1,500 of the town rabble and insurgents, who were crushed beneath the ruins. The English lost Delhi; and, for a time, the Mogul empire was restored.

The mutiny spread rapidly. There were demonstrations of it at Umballah, Ferozepore, Lahore, Museerabad, and, in fact, at nearly every station throughout the Bengal presidency. To such an extent was this the case, that one corps, which had been publicly thanked by the Governor-general in person for its loyalty, was obliged to be disarmed; while another regiment of native infantry at Allahabad, which had been loud in its attachment to the government, rose upon its officers and murdered them. Fortunately, the disaffection was confined to the Bengal

army, and did not make its appearance in the troops of Madras or Bombay. Great excitement also prevailed at Calcutta and its neighbourhood. A conspiracy for a general rising on the part of the Mussulman population was discovered, and a regular plan for the capture of the city found among the papers seized.

Delhi, the head-quarters of the rebellion, was one of the first places to be attacked by the British troops. Great difficulties lay in the way of General Anson, the commander-in-chief, destitute, as he was, of men upon whom he could rely. In making preparations for the advance he was attacked by cholera, which terminated fatally. General Sir Harry Barnard was appointed to the command of the army for Delhi; and Sir Patrick Grant was appointed chief commander of the forces in India. After a few skirmishes, General Barnard was compelled to wait for reinforcements.

Of all the fearful tragedies at this time, that of Cawnpore was the chief. The town and military station of Cawnpore was situated on the Ganges, fifty-two miles from Lucknow. On the 16th of May, news of the mutiny reached there. On the 5th of June, after a few preliminary symptoms, the outbreak took place. The native cavalry deserted, and the infantry broke into open revolt, plundered, and then abandoned their lines. The rebels then sent messengers to Nana Sahib, the Rajah or Mahratta chieftain of Bithoor, announcing their determination to march to Delhi, and their desire that he would place himself at their head. He acceded, and shortly after joined them with 600 men and four guns. His first advice was that they should slay all the English in Cawnpore. Nana Sahib then summoned General Wheeler to surrender the intrenched position and town to the King of Delhi: this being refused, the town was attacked, and captured on the 6th of June, and Nana Sahib took up his quarters there. The intrenchments were, however, kept by General Wheeler and the British troops, who held out bravely. On the 27th of June, General Wheeler, who had received a wound which ultimately proved fatal, agreed to surrender the position he occupied, and abandon Cawnpore, with the public treasure, guns, and magazines, on condition that the lives of all Europeans and native converts at the station should be spared, and that they should be at liberty to depart in boats, provided for their conveyance, down the Ganges to Allahabad.

The party embarked in about seventeen or eighteen boats; but no sooner had they done so, than a fire of artillery and musketry was suddenly opened upon them. Many were killed in the boats, and others shot while attempting to escape by swimming. Most of the boats were brought back, and the swimmers compelled to re-land. Having done so, the men were immediately shot, and the women and children—many of whom were bleeding from wounds—were taken to a house formerly belonging to the medical department of the European troops, where they were left for three days without food, with the exception of a small quantity of parched grain and some water.

In the meanwhile, Cawnpore rapidly filled with the rebel troops; so that about the 10th of June, Nana Sahib was at the head of more than 20,000 armed men. He then issued a proclamation, stating that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign had been completed. Measures were, however, speedily taken for the relief of Cawnpore. On the 3rd of July, General Havelock marched against it, and, after defeating the enemy in three battles, gained possession of the town. Nana Sahib retired to Bithoor; but on finding defeat inevitable, he first caused the whole of the women, children, and other Europeans, to be put to death, under circumstances of the most revolting barbarity. The court-yard of the building in which the women and children had been confined, appeared to have been the principal scene of the slaughter. This place, on being entered by our men, was covered with blood, and with the tattered remains of female apparel. The latter seemed as if hacked from the persons of the living wearers; while tresses of human hair lay trampled among the blood that had yet scarcely congealed upon the pavement. In all the apartments there were traces of brutal violence,

and atrocious bloodshed. In a huge well at the rear of the building, naked and mutilated, lay the bodies of 208 females and children, festering together. Upon the walls and pillars of the room in which the massacre had taken place, were the marks of bullets, and of cuts made by sword-strokes, not high up, as if men had fought with men, but low down, and about the corners, where the poor crouching victim had been cut down. Scraps of pencil-writing were seen upon the walls, and scratchings upon the plaster, amongst which were the following sentences:—"Think of us." "Avenge us." "Your wives and children are here in misery, and at the disposal of savages." In one apartment was a row of women's shoes and boots, with amputated bleeding feet; and, on the opposite side of the room, a number of children's shoes, filled in a similar way.

After General Havelock had taken possession of the city and cantonments, he caused all the rebel sepoys, and troopers captured during the recent engagements, to be collectively tried by court-martial, and hanged. The men met the fate they richly deserved with the most transcendent stoicism. Nana Sahib unfortunately escaped; but his palace was very properly given to the flames.

In other quarters the progress of the British arms was not so rapid. Oude was in a state of insurrection; but the garrison at Lucknow held out in spite of the death of the brave Sir Henry Lawrence. The British forces before Delhi were too small to effect the capture of that city. The resources of the mutineers far exceeded those of the assailants. The new commander also died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Wilson. At Agra the rebels had been successful in an engagement, and in its fort were shut up, and besieged, about 4,500 men, women, and children.

In Oude, so universal was the rebellion, that General Havelock, who had advanced from Cawnpore with the view of relieving the garrison at Lucknow, was compelled, after obtaining a victory over the enemy at Busserutgunge, to retire again upon Cawnpore. His force at this period was reduced to 900 men, who were worn out by fatigue, sickness, and constant fighting, and stood in need of repose. To advance against Lucknow under such circumstances, was merely to court annihilation.

Troops, however, originally destined for service in China, were now arriving in quick succession in India; and, on the 14th of August, Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta to assume the chief command of the armies in India; the veteran having left England in July, at some twenty-four hours' notice, in obedience to the wishes of his sovereign. This circumstance had the effect of reassuring the civilians; imparting new energy to the government; and of giving confidence to the queen's troops, who were highly gratified at having a favourite and highly-distinguished officer of their own service placed at their head. In a proclamation, which he issued on assuming office, he said—"In former years I have commanded native troops in India, and by their side I have been present in many battles and victories, in which they have nobly borne their part; and it is to me a subject of deep concern to learn that soldiers of whom I had been accustomed to think so favourably should now be arrayed in open and defiant mutiny, against a government proverbial for the liberality and paternal consideration with which it has ever treated its servants of every denomination."

At Delhi the time had come for action. By the 6th of September, the siege-train, and all the reinforcements that were looked for, had arrived at the camp, and General Wilson resolved that siege operations should be at once commenced. The actual force of all arms before Delhi amounted to 8,748 men, of whom 2,977 were in hospital. This force included Lascars, newly-raised Sikh sappers and artillerymen, and the recruits of the Punjaub corps. Of British troops there were only—artillery, 580; cavalry, 443; infantry, 2,294. The insurgent forces within and under the walls of Delhi, consisted of disciplined troops, 12,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry. In addition to these there were about 4,000 non-military combatants, calculated to prove effectual as auxiliaries to the regular troops.

After a severe bombardment, the assault took place soon after daybreak on the 14th of September. Under a heavy storm of grape our men rushed on, and carried all before them. In two quarters the assault was delivered, and everywhere successfully. As the troops advanced into the city, they were subjected to a heavy fire of grape and musketry from the houses and loopholed walls. So severe was this that one column was repulsed, and compelled to retire into the camp. The city was, however, held by the British, who eventually obtained quarters in covered positions. But the struggle was a prolonged one; and the dogged resistance and ferocious cunning by which our men were encountered at every step, and from behind every wall of the narrow thoroughfares and hiding-places, through which they had to make their way, often compelled them to fight from house to house. During the day many of the inhabitants of the city stole into the camp, and applied for protection, of course disavowing any participation in the rebellion. Slowly, and amidst fierce fighting, the English made their way. The 15th of September was occupied with street-fighting. On the 16th, the magazine was stormed and taken. On the 17th, all the mortars of the English force kept up a fire on the palace, and in the part of the city still occupied by the enemy. On the 19th, the latter abandoned their camp in the suburbs, and, after destroying their surplus ammunition, took to flight. During the night, the king, his sons, and a large portion of the troops within the palace, followed their example. On the morning of the 20th, the British troops pushed on, and occupied the Lahore gate, from which an unopposed advance was made on the other bastions and gateways, until the whole defences of the city were in their hands. During the day, the gates of the palace were blown in: the troops then entered it; and General Wilson established his head-quarters there. On the night of the 21st, the general proposed the health of Queen Victoria, in the beautiful white marble hall of the palace, and the toast was drunk with enthusiastic cheers. Delhi, however, was not recaptured without cost; our loss on the day of the assault amounting to 1,145 killed and wounded.

The king and his sons were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and his cavalry. His majesty stipulated for his personal safety as the only condition on which he would consent to return to Delhi alive. As he was extremely old—said to be nearly ninety, and, therefore, scarcely to be considered responsible for what had been done in his name—this was granted. He was confined in a small building in the court-yard of his palace, together with his favourite wife, until their fate could be decided by a military tribunal. Two of his sons, and one of his grandsons, were afterwards captured; and, on an attempt to rescue them, were shot by Captain Hodson with his revolver. Their fate was a deserved one, as they had both ordered and witnessed the massacre and exposure of women and children, in the cruelties practised at Delhi on the outburst of the mutiny there. Two other sons of the king were captured, and tried by a military commission, for aiding in the revolt and massacres. They were shot. Shortly after the capture of Delhi, General Wilson was compelled to relinquish the command, and General Penny succeeded. Delhi, after its capture, presented an appearance of mournful desolation. Its houses were in ruins; valuable property lay about the streets; whilst but few inhabitants were to be seen. With its conquest, the *prestige* of the Indian rebellion had passed away. Unfortunately, the war was prolonged for a considerable period; but the chief seat of rebel power was lost. So long as a descendant of the Moguls could spread the banner of his race from the ramparts of his palace at Delhi, rebellion had an aim and a cause.

The next important step was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. General Havelock again pushed forward for that purpose. He was accompanied by General Outram, who, in an order of the day, said that he, "in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity of chief commissioner of Oude," tendering his military

services to General Havelock as a volunteer. The advance upon Lucknow was a series of skirmishes, during which the British killed many of the enemy, and captured several guns. Their own loss was but trifling until they reached the city. On the 22nd of September, the firing at Lucknow was heard by those who were approaching to its assistance, and a royal salute was fired, to make the besieged aware that help was at hand. On the 25th, the latter had their eyes gladdened by beholding the approach of the relieving force. On the 26th, the batteries of the besiegers were assaulted and taken; but the British loss was heavy, amounting to about 450 killed and wounded. Several officers perished; and amongst them Brigadier Neil, who, during a brief career, had made himself conspicuous as an intelligent, self-reliant soldier, ready of resource, and stout of heart.

Arrived thus far, the difficulties of the place were, unfortunately, by no means vanquished. Havelock could only relieve the wants of the besieged by supplying them with provisions—that is all: and he himself was in danger. General Outram was in the citadel, while Havelock was outside, surrounded by an enemy from 20,000 to 30,000 strong.

Sir Colin Campbell at length took the field in person, leaving Calcutta on the 27th of October, with a body of 5,000 men, including his own Highland brigade, and a heavy train of artillery. On the 11th of November he reached Alumbagh, about three miles from Lucknow, where he was joined by further reinforcements. He then proceeded, as far as possible, to turn the strong positions of the enemy, and reach Lucknow by a circuitous route. For the next six days there was a series of severe and bloody struggles with the enemy, who fought with great courage and determination. On the 17th, communications were opened with the imprisoned garrison and inhabitants; and, on the evening of that day, the three generals—Outram, Havelock, and Campbell—met at dusk, and congratulated each other. The loss of the British had been very heavy; many officers fell, and Sir Colin himself was slightly wounded. On the 20th, the women, children, sick and wounded, who had been shut up at Lucknow, were sent on to Cawnpore. In order to accomplish this, the general was obliged to spread his force into one outlying picket, every man remaining on duty, and being subject to constant annoyance from the enemy's fire. Though the garrison was rescued, Sir Colin was unable to take the town, on account of the immense numerical superiority of the rebels. He therefore commenced a retreat, which was so skilfully effected, that the enemy contemplated an assault while the British general was leading his men silently away. Sir Colin Campbell, in his despatch, observed—"The movement of retreat was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combinations. Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns, with which I myself was to pursue the enemy if he had dared to follow up the pickets. The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous path; and all these precautions were absolutely necessary, in order to ensure the safety of the force."

The partial success at Lucknow was dimmed by the death of the brave General Havelock. He fell a victim to anxiety, hardship, and the climate.

Major-General Havelock, whose name and fame will always be dear to his countrymen, was born at Bishop Wearmouth, in the year 1795. Educated at the Charter-house, he entered the Middle Temple, and studied under Chitty, with a view to practising at the bar. But all the while he longed to enter the army; and at length an opportunity for doing so arrived. His elder brother, who was in the army, had gained distinction at Waterloo, where he was wounded. It appears that he possessed sufficient influence to obtain for his brother a commission, which Henry gladly accepted. But peace came, and, for eight years, he was obliged to endure a life of mere military routine, in various stations of the United Kingdom. At length, in 1823, an opportunity offered for him to exchange into the 13th Light Infantry—a regiment under orders for Indian service. The necessary steps were

taken, and Henry Havelock landed at Calcutta towards the close of that year. He served in the first Burmese war. In 1827, he was appointed, by Lord Combermere, to the post of adjutant of the military depôt at Chinsurah, on the breaking-up of which he returned to his regiment. Shortly after this he visited Calcutta; and having passed the examination in languages at Fort William, was appointed adjutant of his regiment by Lord William Bentinck. In 1838, Sir Henry was appointed to a company. He served through the Afghan campaign, and was present at the storming of Ghuznee. Next we find him in the Punjaub; then in Cabul, under Sir Robert Sale, where, for his services, he obtained his brevet majority, and was made a Companion of the Bath. In 1843, Major Havelock was with the troops at Gwalior, and at the battle of Maharajpore; shortly after which he obtained the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel; and, in 1845, he proceeded, with Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough, to the Sutlej, and was actively engaged at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. On the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed deputy adjutant-general of the queen's troops at Bombay. Thence he obtained sick-leave, and visited England; returning to India in 1851. Lord Hardinge, who had watched Havelock's career with great interest, then made him quartermaster, and afterwards adjutant-general of the queen's forces in India. When the Persian war broke out, in 1856, he was sent there, and led the troops at Mohammerah. On his return, he was wrecked off Ceylon, in his passage to Calcutta. When the vessel struck, between twelve and one in the morning, half a gale of wind blowing, Colonel Havelock sprung upon deck, and seeing some confusion, said, in that sharp military tone that always commands attention—"Men! be steady, and all may be saved; but if we have confusion, all may be lost. Obey your orders, and think of nothing else." They did so, and behaved in the most exemplary manner. The lives of all on board were saved; and, on the following day, all were landed, together with the mails and specie. Immediately afterwards, Colonel Havelock mustered the men on the shore, and said—"Now, my men, let us return thanks to Almighty God, for the great mercy He has just vouchsafed to us." They all knelt down, and he uttered a short prayer of thanksgiving. Another anecdote, illustrating his character, may be given here. When he was travelling in India, he always took with him a Bethel tent, in which he preached the gospel; and when Sunday came, he usually hoisted the Bethel flag, and invited all men to come and hear the gospel: in fact, he even baptized some. He was reported for this at head-quarters, for acting in a non-military and disorderly manner; and the commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, entertained the charge; but with the true spirit of a generous military man, he caused the state of Colonel Havelock's regiment to be examined. The reports descriptive of the moral state of various regiments throughout the presidencies were obtained, and laid before him. These were severally referred to for some time back, and he found that Colonel Havelock's regiment stood at the head of the list: there was less drunkenness, less flogging, less imprisonment in it than any other. When that was done, the commander-in-chief said—"Go and tell Colonel Havelock, with my compliments, to baptize the whole army."

Upon the colonel's return to Calcutta, almost the first news that met him was the report of the mutinous outbreak at Meerut and Delhi. He was immediately despatched to Allahabad, to command the movable column employed against the rebel force under Nana Sahib. How he succeeded in his perilous task we have already described. For his first exploit, in the early summer of 1857, he was rewarded with a good-service pension of £100 a year. Subsequently he was raised to the rank of general; and other honours followed. By his sovereign, the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath was awarded. The Houses of Parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 a year for two lives. He was made colonel of the 3rd Buffs, and a baronet. But he had passed away ere intelligence of the fresh honours reached him. The honours which the father needed not, were lavished on his family. His son was made a baronet, and promoted to a majority:

his wife was ordained to "have, hold, and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence to which she would have been entitled had her husband survived." His bust was placed in the Guildhall of the city of London; and for his surviving daughters, a provision was made by the public at large. The *Times* correspondent thus described him—"A slight, spare man; about five feet five inches in height; with an emaciated face, and an eagle eye. He belonged, emphatically, to the class who have never to contend with disobedience or mutiny. As a general, he was the best tactician we have had in India; and as an officer, though stern, and sometimes exacting, his antique heroism made him the idol of the men. He was, perhaps, the bravest man in his own army, and never so chatty and agreeable as when under fire."

Cawnpore had been left by Sir Colin Campbell under the command of General Windham, the hero of the Redan, who had with him about 3,000 men, besides artillery. It is said that his orders from Sir Colin were on no account to risk an engagement. However, on hearing that the Gwalior rebels were advancing on Cawnpore, General Windham went out to attack them. After defeating a body of undisciplined rebels, he allowed himself to be taken by surprise. Still, one of the British regiments charged a battery of the enemy's, and took it. The rebels retired before them; and if these brave men had been supported, it is presumed that victory would have attended their efforts. They were, however, left alone, and the enemy closing on them, they were compelled to abandon the guns they had obtained. Confusion soon prevailed—no decisive orders were issued, and the British troops had to beat a hasty retreat into their intrenchments, leaving their stores and camp equipage in the hands of the enemy. Our loss was heavy, and several of our men, and even some of our officers, were captured. On the following day the enemy attacked the intrenchments, commencing with a heavy cannonade. General Windham attempted a sortie, in which, after some hard fighting, the Rifles managed to capture two guns, but the British right was driven back with much loss. On this occasion the sound of the firing reached the ears of Sir Colin Campbell, who was returning from Lucknow to Cawnpore; and, at the same time, a messenger arrived with a critical account of the state of Windham's party. Had the rebels at this time cut the bridge of boats, which afforded the only means of communication with Oude, Sir Colin would have found it a difficult matter to cross the Ganges; but not expecting his return, and making sure of Windham's force, they were, probably, anxious to avail themselves of the bridge, to crush the forces under Sir Colin Campbell; and this negligence proved fatal to them. With his artillery and cavalry Sir Colin marched thirty-eight miles in fifteen hours; crossed the Ganges by the bridge on the night of the 28th; and the next day fell upon the rebels, and drove them back. He then returned to escort the ladies and the wounded across the river, which he did successfully, though threatened on the left hand by the Oude insurgents.

For the present no further military events of importance took place in India. The mutiny had received some check, but it was far from being crushed. The whole province of Oude remained in the hands of the rebels. Notwithstanding the detachments arriving from England, the cry was still for more troops. The work of the British army in India at this time is thus stated by a writer at Calcutta:—"It has to conquer Oude, defended by 60,000 soldiers, aided by the armed budmashes or bravoes, numbering 200,000 more. It has to reconquer the north-west, now overrun by armed ruffians, animated by the bitterest hate. It has to garrison a country as large as Austria, filled with armed men. It has to protect Bengal, a country 10,000 square miles larger than Great Britain. It has to garrison Calcutta. It has to watch 20,000 disarmed, but unpunished sepoys: and all this time it is losing numbers, at the rate of 150 per battle, or about 300 per week, exclusive of the losses caused by sickness and drinking."

Early in 1858, Sir Colin Campbell advanced upon Furruckabad, and took possession of it after defeating the rebels. It is impossible here to give a complete

history of the war, which was rather a succession of skirmishes than decided by any great events. Distinct operations were carried on under Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Hugh Rose, General Whitelock, and General Roberts. Early in the year the aged King of Delhi was placed upon his trial, and found guilty of participating in the rebellion against the British authority in Delhi, and the inhuman massacre of our countrymen and countrywomen which attended the result. Some time elapsed before sentence was pronounced. It was banishment for life; and he was ultimately removed, with a few attendants, to Rangoon.

Sir Colin Campbell was making preparations for another advance on Lucknow, after which he contemplated pouring down all the British forces upon Oude, in the hope of thus crushing out the head of the rebellion. Many minor operations took place, and the rebels experienced several reverses; but Lucknow, where the begum, one of the ex-king's wives, had a numerous army intrenched, was the theatre in which the next important act was to be played. Sir Colin had returned to Cawnpore, and, after collecting his resources, advanced upon Lucknow, before which the British force was concentrated. On the 6th of March, General Campbell had with him more than 20,000 troops, and 160 guns.

On the 11th, the British were joined by the Maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, and the Ghoorka force under his command. On his march on the 5th, a division of the army under Captain Plowden, defeated the enemy, 4,000 strong, who attempted to defend the passage of the Kindoo Nuddee. Soon after his arrival, he took up a position between the British troops and the Alumbagh, from whence his troops were sent in aid of the attacking force, as occasion required. On the day of Jung Bahadoor's arrival, the begum's palace was stormed and taken by the British troops, chiefly Highlanders, assisted by the Sikhs. The rebels were unnerved at the prospect of a hand-to-hand encounter with our brawny soldiers. Many fled at once, and were pursued, and shot down in the court-yard without resistance; others fired their muskets or matchlocks once, made a random thrust with the bayonet, and ran also; others, surprised in holes and corners, fought with the ferocity of wild beasts. One officer of the 93rd killed, with his own hands, eleven sepoy, whom he shot with his revolver or sabred in the court-yard. By 5 P.M. the palace was in the hands of the Highlanders and the Sikhs, who were rioting amidst the ruins of mirrored and brilliant saloons. "Some of these," said a spectator, "were veritable chambers of horrors. I looked in at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies; and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were far exceeded by what I witnessed. Upwards of 300 dead were found in the courts of the palace; and if I put the wounded carried off at 700, we may reckon that the capture of the place cost the enemy 1,000 men at least." The works of the British were then carried beyond the palace towards the Imaumbarra—a noble mosque, regarded as one of the finest in India—and the batteries and mortars were brought to bear on that position, and the buildings near it. A cannonade was kept up on it, and on the Kaiserbagh, during the night of the 13th. On the 14th, the Imaumbarra was stormed and taken; the enemy, dismayed by the stern onslaught, and by the fierce fire of our artillery, abandoned their position, and fled in disorder into the Kaiserbagh, which is described as "a series of palaces, kiosks, mosques—all fanciful, oriental architecture; some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected generally by long corridors, arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls." So disheartened were the rebels, or so resolute was the attack, that the Kaiserbagh was soon taken. Our troops were delighted with the gay dresses they found; and it was with difficulty that they were induced to take off the crowns of lace, and peacock's plumes, and birds of paradise feathers, which they stuck over their heads and shoulders. In one room was found an immense amount of jewellery, and other valuable property, which had belonged to the King of Oude. Two English ladies, who had long been in captivity, were discovered, and restored to liberty.

By the 19th of March, the whole of Lucknow was in the hands of the British. The number of guns captured amounted to 117. About 2,000 of the rebels were slain during the siege. They had previously fled in great numbers, and as many as 50,000 made for Rohilcund and Bundelcund. Great exertions were made, as soon as the plundering was over, to restore order. Protection was extended to the townspeople, and the submission of the principal landowners was accepted.

Whilst we write, news reaches us from India of the satisfactory settlement of the land question in Oude—a measure which has been described as the proudest monument hereafter of Sir John Lawrence's viceroyalty. To understand it, we must pause awhile, and return to the very beginning of things. When the Mogul conquerors descended upon Delhi, and founded their dynasty in the North-West, Oude was one of their acquisitions, and they made a viceregal appanage of it under a Moslem nawab. But Oude was full, beforehand, of a strong and proud Brahmin and Rajpoot nobility, much like the Dane and Saxon ruling in England when the Normans came. Hence the nawabs soon found themselves obliged to make terms with the Hindoo barons, who thus remained upon their various fiefs, "thanes and earls" in the land, paying tribute to the central government at Lucknow, but occasionally rebelling when the screw was put on too tightly, or the bajri crops happened to prove bad. As time went on, the Mohammedan vice-court became the most sensual and abandoned in India, while the barons, or "Talookdars," grew more turbulent and independent. Lucknow, under its last king, was positively the Gomorrah of the East: its revenues were all spent on fiddlers and courtesans; filthy vices occupied the palace; the lazy soldiers plundered the townsmen in lieu of pay. Meanwhile, in the country districts, the Talookdars waged war with each other, or with the royal troops; but, in either case, harried the fields and villages of the unhappy cultivators, whose only chance was to get the protection of some one of the robber chiefs, so as to be fleeced by him alone. At the time of the annexation of Oude, these hereditary rascals had each his stronghold in the heart of some cactus jungle. If no cactus and thorn were growing conveniently, he tore up the crops, planted whole tracts with it, and sallying thence he fed his "budmashes" with plunder—slaying, ravishing, roasting alive, and burning in oil the wretched peasantry. The Court neither would nor could interfere; we gave the destroyers unnumbered chances and warnings; and, at the last, confiscating the province, in accordance with our public obligations and treaties, we brought the detestable House of Lucknow to a condign end. Something else also came—the mutiny; which was undoubtedly incited and abetted by the savage discontent of the native soldiery of Oude, whom the change of masters had turned loose, and, by the disgust of the Hindoo Talookdars, at the advent of law and order into the land.

The mutiny broke forth, raged, and was crushed out—one of the last rebels to surrender being a grim, ugly, square-built chief of Oude, named Maun Singh, who is now the ornament of the province, but whose neck had then the narrowest possible escape from the halter. We, in our turn, found the Talookdars as stiff-backed and strong as the Moslem had found them before us; and to secure their surrender, Lord Canning was fain to offer them very favourable terms. Their jungle lands were, according to the viceroy's circular, to be assured to them by "sunnud" or charter; and the queen's proclamation spoke also the same indulgent language. Thus—and herein is the gist of the whole business—when India was quiet again, and we began to think anew of what was to be done for unhappy Oude, we found our efforts to elevate the peasantry checked, first, by the pledge which had been given to the Talookdars; and, secondly, by a class of sub-proprietors, midway between the two orders, who in many districts shared the title to the land, being the relics of those original Rajpoot and Brahmin farmers who had been mainly swallowed up by the few great chieftains. The righteous, constant, and paramount desire of Sir John Lawrence was to give the peasants, if it were possible, a secure occupancy of the soil, and thus to make our rule, what would

finally justify it, a blessing. Against him, writers at home, and officials in India, urged the claims of the Talookdars—the sub-proprietors being, to say the truth, a little driven out of sight in the discussion; and for two years the question of oriental tenant-right has “ragged,” if that phrase can apply to the leisurely way in which all policy must be pursued with the thermometer at 90 degrees. It was, in fact, the eternal problem of all political economists transferred from print to practice; and such was the fierce ignorance of Tory views at home and in India, that pets were made of the Talookdars, and people shuddered at the beneficent viceroy, who “wanted to pull down the aristocrats, and establish a territorial democracy.” Even if inquiry had shown that a peasant proprietorship had once existed, there would still have remained for fulfilment the hasty pledge made to the Talookdars. But inquiry could not show it: all ancient rights were buried in the ruin of a century of horrible anarchy; the wretched people stood without claim or plea; and the viceroy found himself foiled and misinterpreted. Sir Charles Wingfield, the commissioner, negotiated with the Talookdars in vain, and a year ago the Oude land question seemed hopeless.

But the Talookdars themselves felt that the good-will of Sir John Lawrence and his advocates towards the Oude ryots could not for ever be void of effect; so the negotiations were renewed, and they have now been terminated in a satisfactory compromise. When we say that the Oude nobles, with Maun Singh at their head, gladly agree to the terms of the settlement, not a word need be added as to its justice towards them. Never yet in India—perhaps not very often elsewhere—did “those who have” surrender more than they could possibly help. But the Talookdars are now confirmed in their estates and pre-annexation rights; and as they are already becoming the mildest-mannered country gentlemen, devoted to expositions of industry and education, instead of throat-cutting, our formal concession makes them friendly to us for good and all, until luxury and peace put an end to the race. With respect to the sub-proprietors, the Talookdars agree to recognise as rights the tenures that have hitherto been held only as “favours,” while government accepts part of the seigniorial loss that may accrue. Thus, at a stroke, has been created a substantial class of yeomen, or the nearest thing to it, which India can furnish. If the great predial treaty stopped here, bitter would be the injustice to the ryots, and heavy the disappointment to well-wishers of India, including, we are convinced, the wise viceroy himself. But, by a third most important arrangement, a tenant-right is conferred upon the peasants, so that no man can be evicted without receiving due compensation for his improvements, though the landlord may compound by transferring him, with a new and proportionally favourable lease, elsewhere. So momentous an innovation renders the liberal policy of Sir John Lawrence, after all, victorious. When the new guarantees shall be thoroughly understood, we believe that Oude will possess a settlement that will redeem her millions of ryots, and make the country smile again with the glorious fertility and prosperity which the old “shlokes” recount with such delight. Each Talookdar is made our friend; each Talook is rescued from the old entanglement of proprietary and ex-proprietary rights; above all, the humble peasant may at last grub up his jungle, or dig his well, or build his bund, or wall his tank, in the certainty that the work of his hands will not be lost to him.

But we return to the mutiny. Five days after the rebels had been expelled from Lucknow, a considerable detachment of the British army, under the command of Brigadier Walpole, marched for Rohilcund, in pursuit. This movement was undertaken in the anticipation that the fugitives from Lucknow would concentrate themselves at Bareilly. At the same time, successful operations against the rebels took place in other districts. Jhansie, in Central India, where about 12,000 of the insurgents had taken up a position, was invested by the force under Sir Hugh Rose. On the 1st of April, 25,000 rebels, with eighteen guns, endeavoured to raise the siege, and were defeated, with the slaughter of 1,500 men. The town and fortifications were captured on the 2nd; and, on the 5th, the garrison escaped from

the fortress during the night. Great numbers were cut to pieces in the flight; about 3,000 perished.

The capture of Lucknow was not, however, attended with such important advantages as at first anticipated. The rebel force, though driven from the city, was not destroyed, but remained in arms in various parts of the country. Nana Sahib, the inspiring genius of the rebellion, and the director of the massacres at Cawnpore, still remained at the head of a considerable force, and baffled the attempts to capture him, notwithstanding that a reward of 50,000 rupees, which had been set upon his head by the Governor-general, was increased to one lac, accompanied by a promise of a free pardon to any one who might deliver him up. Some slight reverses were also experienced by the British—one near Allahabad, and the other near Azimghur. Colonel Mileman, commanding at the latter post, having defeated and dispersed a body of rebels at Atrowlia, on the morning of the 21st of March, found them assembling again in such large numbers while his men were preparing breakfast, that he was compelled to retire, first to his camp, and then to Azimghur, leaving some of his tents and baggage, of which the rebels took possession.

The rebels who fled to Rohilcund and Bareilly, submitted to a new chieftain, one Bahadore Khan, who had risen to distinction from the ranks. This man commenced building up a regular administration, collecting revenue, and striking coins in his own name. A hot weather campaign was inevitable; and Sir Colin Campbell made his preparations accordingly. Leaving a body of 8,000 men, under Sir H. Grant, at Lucknow, and placing small garrisons at Cawnpore, and other points, the commander-in-chief proceeded with the remainder of his forces, not exceeding 8,000 men, to Rohilcund, where he suffered, as he had done all along, from want of men. Jung Bahadore, our ally, and the Nepaulese contingents, fell back upon their own frontier, to protect it from the rebels; and Sir Colin had, with his handful of troops, to follow up the enemy in large masses, and to reduce vast provinces. The strongholds of rebellion were broken up by our generals, at Delhi, Lucknow, and elsewhere; but, unfortunately, always with the same result. The sepoys retired, after suffering a loss but trifling in comparison with their numbers. Oude remained unconquered; and beyond the suburbs of Lucknow, the country bristled with fortresses, the strongholds of powerful zemindars, many of them able to command the services of thousands of armed peasantry. The insurrectionary war now assumed a new phase, and one of a most embarrassing kind to the historical narrator. A war, in the European sense of the word, no longer existed; for there was no central point. Instead of one great campaign, there were several little ones, all tending to delay the desired pacification. But this was slow work; indeed, in the opinion of many persons in India, it was considered that anarchy must be looked upon as an established institution for many years to come.

Thus, Brigadier Walpole experienced a reverse in his advance on Rohilcund, being repulsed in an attack on the fort of Rhodamow, in Poonah, on the 14th of April, when Brigadier Adrian Hope was killed; and the total loss in killed and wounded was near a hundred. On the 22nd, however, he defeated a large body of the enemy at Seisa, where they lost 500 men. On the 28th, Sir Colin Campbell joined Walpole, and a combined movement on the place was completely successful. But the day before, the British had experienced a great loss in the death, from small-pox, at Cawnpore, of Sir William Peel, who had so gallantly commanded the naval brigade in India and the Crimea, and who was wounded in the last advance on Lucknow. From Bareilly, Nana Sahib and Khan Bahadore escaped, to prolong the struggle in other quarters. No sooner was Bareilly in our hands, than Sir Colin Campbell learned that the 82nd was besieged in the gaol of Shahjehanpore, by 8,000 rebels. Brigadier Jones was instantly despatched to relieve them, a service which he successfully accomplished. The Gwalior contingent, after being defeated by Sir Colin Campbell earlier in the year, took up its quarters at Calpee. This body of men, amounting to about 25,000, had all the organisation of a regular

army, and was composed of the best native troops in India. For some time they had remained inactive at Calpee, an excellent strategetical position, on the banks of the Jumna, within fifty miles of Cawnpore. From this point they could, at any time, menace the flank and rear of the British line of operations. Sir Hugh Rose, who had fought his way across the peninsula, came into the neighbourhood of Calpee in the middle of May. The Gwalior men attacked him twice as he advanced, and were each time repulsed with loss. On the 23rd of May, he entered Calpee, which the enemy made no effort to defend. They fled across the Jumna, leaving large stores of guns and ammunition behind. A flying column, sent in pursuit, inflicted great loss on the retreating rebels.

Rohilkund, by this time, was entirely in the power of Sir C. Campbell; but while our troops were beating the enemy wherever they could, fresh disturbances were breaking out all over the country. Lucknow was again threatened by a force from the north; and the Southern Mahratta country was still threatened by the insurrection of petty chiefs, who carried on a wearisome guerilla warfare. During this period our troops suffered severely from the heat, and our losses from the climate far exceeded those sustained in battle. Under such circumstances, the campaign was terribly costly to European life. The rebels, accustomed to the scorching heat, could outmarch our troops, and when driven from the position in which they made a stand, were usually able to retire in tolerable order. Thus the main body of the Gwalior contingent, after being driven from Calpee by Sir Hugh Rose, were rallied by Tantia Topee, and, being reinforced by other bodies of rebels, proceeded rapidly to Gwalior, where they arrived on the 1st of June. The loyal Maharajah Scindia marched out at the head of a small force to meet them, in consequence of the defection of his own troops. He, with difficulty, escaped to Agra; his palace was plundered, and his fort seized by the rebels. After the latter had entered Gwalior, they proclaimed Nana Sahib as Maharajah, and assigned themselves six months' pay. The treasury and a portion of the town were plundered by them; but their triumph was of short duration. Sir Hugh Rose marched upon Gwalior, and, after a severe fight of four hours, captured it on the 20th of June. The victory was a brilliant one; but the foe escaped nevertheless. Twenty-seven guns, numerous elephants, and a quantity of treasure rewarded the victors; and Scindia, on the very day of the battle, was restored to his palace in state.

Other successes followed; the cause of the rebels was evidently hopeless: but the insurrection was prolonged nevertheless. The rebels appear to have fought with the desperation of despair: but people desired a return to order and tranquillity. Nowhere was the pressure from the war felt more heavily by the native population than in Oude: but then there were many leaders of the revolt, besides the begum, who still maintained herself at the head of 16,000 rebels. She was defeated by Sir Hope Grant at Nawabgunge, on the 14th of June, with great loss. Mr. Montgomery soon after arrived at Lucknow, with full powers from the Governor-general to take what steps he deemed necessary to re-establish order; and so judicious were his measures, that considerable progress had been made in that direction towards the end of July. About the same time, Sir Hope Grant, hearing that the rebels were in great force at Tyrabad, marched upon that city. The enemy broke up, and dispersed as he approached; and he entered the place, unopposed, on the 29th. In August they were found again collected at Sultanpore, on the Goomtee. Sir Hope Grant followed them; and, after skirmishing and fighting from the 25th till the 29th, they were driven from the town, and fled to Sassenpore. By the occupation of Sultanpore, the communication between the great body of rebels (which continued in the north of Oude), and the marauding bands that infested the districts of Azimghur and Goruckpore, was cut off. The military operations were continued in Oude, through the months of September and October, under the direction of the commander-in-chief, now Lord Clyde. Before commencing his campaign, his lordship issued a proclamation to the people, in which protection was promised to all, "from the Talookdars to the poorest ryots,"

who made no resistance; but wherever resistance was offered, the inhabitants were told they must expect to bear the fate they had brought upon themselves. All the movements in Oude were attended with success on the part of the British forces. The same was the case in the other parts of the North-Western Provinces, and in Central India, where parties of rebels were still found. Sir Edward Lugard, Sir H. Rose, Brigadiers Whitelock, Roberts, Wetherall, Eveleigh, Jones, Napier, Penny, and other officers, were constantly engaged in pursuing and defeating the rebels, who everywhere had a marvellous faculty of escaping their pursuers. The fact is, that none of the British detachments had a force of light cavalry sufficient to follow up their victories; and the rebels, less encumbered with baggage, and better acquainted with the country, had no difficulty in evading pursuit.

And now let us speak of the mutiny in general. As we have seen, it was a terrible affair. It began and ended in blood and fearful crime; but it might have been worse. We might have fought a hopeless fight. Who saved us? The native princes. As respects them, writes Mr. Ludlow, "it were fit that we should open our eyes to the fact, that their faithfulness has, on this occasion, saved India for us. Notwithstanding our Lawrences, our Neils, our Nicholsons, our Wilsons—notwithstanding the chivalry of our Outrams, the pure heroism of our Havelocks—notwithstanding the ever-to-be-remembered defences of Agra and Lucknow, or of that billiard-room of Arrah, we could not have held our ground but for the abstinence of almost all the native princes from aggression—the active co-operation of a few. Had the Nepaulese descended from their mountain fastnesses upon Calcutta—had the Burmese poured in upon it through Chittagong—had Golab Singh, or the noble chiefs of Puttiala or Jheend, made appeal to the patriotism of the Sikh Khalsa—had Scindia or Holkar placed themselves at the head of their revolted contingents—had the chiefs of Rajpootana sprung to the van of a Hindoo insurrection—had the Nizam proclaimed to the Indian Mahomedans the holy war—had any one of these events happened, I say—and who dare assert what disasters might not have occurred?—had several of them happened at once, as they might very likely have done, and what English life in India could have escaped destruction? It is easy to accuse these men of selfish motives. I dare say such may have mingled in their conduct. But I believe it would be neither wise nor right to inquire too curiously into it. The generality of the fact is the best proof that some higher, more humane motive than fear or cunning must have prompted it. Such a conspiracy of prudence was surely never witnessed among them. A prevalent good faith is the only rational solution of the mystery. Yet I believe these men, one and all, have had better cause of complaint against us."

Another thing very remarkable, is the utter insensibility to the real danger, which seems to have completely prevented the ruling class from taking alarm, or preparing for defence. Warnings were given them of all kinds. It was reported to the authorities that the chowkeydars, or village policemen, were speeding from Cawnpore, through the villages and towns of the peninsula, distributing on their way chupatties, or small unleavened cakes. The cakes were passed on from one to another with the most extraordinary rapidity. The English officials were bewildered, and did not know what to make of it; yet, even then, it was argued by some that the thing was something analogous to the fire-cross of our Highlanders in earlier times. Early in January, an incendiary address, written in Hindostanee, was placarded at Madras, calling upon all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. In Oude a person had been arrested going about with similar proclamations; and, on the 6th of February, a lieutenant of a native regiment, stationed at Barruckpore, disclosed to his colonel some proceedings, which afforded ample ground for believing that the sepoys contemplated an outbreak, during which they intended to kill the European officers at the station; and, after plundering it, to destroy the place, and retire towards Delhi. The communication was duly reported to the general commanding the district; but no further notice was taken of it. In Oude discontent was apparent, and a conspiracy

of a most formidable nature was discovered in the Bengal army in May; yet the confidence of the government on its own resources remained unabated.

It may be said, if the officers had done their duty, they would have been able to detect the bad feeling among the men. In reality, the tie which ought always to exist in our army was rudely loosened. The power to punish had been taken out of the hands of the commanding officer, and transferred to head-quarters. While this system destroyed the influence of the officers, it, at the same time, materially diminished the interest they took in the men only nominally under their control. The sepoys themselves were by it taught to look beyond their own officers, and to hold their authority in contempt. A return of the number of petitions and appeals against the orders of their officers, presented by sepoys to head-quarters within the past ten years, will fully establish this fact, and show that the due exercise of authority on the part of regimental officers, was almost an impossibility. High-spirited officers would prefer exercising no authority at all over their men, to the liability of having their acts called in question, and their orders often modified and reversed. The result was, that to maintain things quiet in a regiment became a great object, and hence an undue leaning on leading men in the regiment to maintain order and discipline in the corps. These men, of course, employed their influence to introduce their friends and relatives into the regiments, which, in course of time, became great families, recruited from the same districts and the same classes, and thus closely bound together by ties of relationship and local interest. This system, while it has the advantage of maintaining order and unanimity in a corps—a matter of vital importance to officers whose hands are tied—had thus great danger of affording peculiar facilities for safely and secretly intriguing, and for dangerous combination. Then, again, the practice, latterly so prevalent, of withdrawing for staff employ all those officers who possessed interest, or were of supposed superior abilities, engendered an unhappy feeling of degradation in the minds of officers, as attaching to regimental duty, and thus still more weakened the bonds of sympathy and attachment between them and their men. To these causes, added to the mental closeness and secrecy natural to the people of India, is to be attributed the ignorance, on the part of the officers, of the intrigues and conspiracies existing in their regiments.

The government had been forewarned by some of the ablest men we ever had in India.

Sir Thomas Munro, years ago, testified to the danger of the native army revolting.

In 1844, Sir Charles Napier wrote—"I see the system will not last fifty years. The moment these brave and able natives know how to combine, they will rush on us simultaneously, and the game is up." He planned, even then, how, "if forced to fight for life and India," we could close *en masse*, "to retire on Calcutta or Bombay, with all the Europeans, civil and military, and any faithful native troops. This may seem a wild idea of danger; but it is not impossible, and we should always be prepared; for if ever mischief comes in India, it will come like a thunderbolt." Four years later his own opinion was pretty well made up, that our power in India "was crumbling very fast." He could not agree with Lord Ellenborough as to the revision of the Company's charter in that year being the last revision of the charter during his life. "I think you will live to see a much rougher revision than people imagine, or than we shall like in England. * * * I do not expect to see this, but I think you will; and grieved you will be to see that empire lost, which you have done all that mortal power could to save."

In language equally emphatic, General Biggs had warned the government of the effect of the policy which it seemed bent on pursuing. "If you do away," said he, "with the right of adoption, with respect to the princes of India, the next question will be, whether, in the case of estates which you yourselves have conferred on officers for their services, or upon other individuals for their merits, they should be allowed to adopt? * * * If you are to do away with the rights of

individuals to adopt, you will shake the faith of the people of India; you will influence that opinion which has hitherto maintained you in your power, and that influence will thrill through your army. * * * * Your army is derived from the peasantry of the country, who have rights; and if these rights are infringed upon, you will no longer have to depend upon the fidelity of that army. You have a native army of 250,000 men to support your power, and it is on the fidelity of that army your power rests. But you may rely on it, if you infringe the institutions of the people of India, that army will sympathise with them, for they are part of the population; and in every infringement you may make upon the rights of individuals, you infringe upon the rights of men who are either themselves in the army, or upon their sons, their fathers, and their relatives. Let the fidelity of your army be shaken, and your power is gone."

Yet all the while they were mutinying at Meerut. Lord Canning persisted in maintaining there was nothing in it; and the commanding officer at Delhi took no steps to prevent the rebels from Meerut rushing into the town, and actually marched out native troops to meet them, who, of course, joined them at once.

If such things were done in India, there is an excuse for the official ignorance of Mr. Vernon Smith, who, as President of the Board of Control, informed the House of Commons on the 11th of June, in answer to questions asked by Mr. Rich as to the state of the Bengal army, that, "As the question might have been founded on the unfortunate occurrences which had recently taken place in India, it might be desirable that he should state that those occurrences were in no way to be attributed to the absence of officers from their regiments;" and he expressed a hope that the public would be under no alarm on that subject, as owing to the promptitude and vigour which had been displayed by his friend Lord Canning, and the excellent demonstrations which had been made upon the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th regiment by General Hearsey, "*the late disaffection among the troops in India had been completely put an end to!*"

The result of this mutiny was the suppression of the East India Company's rule. The system of government under it was cumbrous, wasteful, inefficient, and dishonest, as a piece of administrative machinery; and, as a form of rule, peculiarly ill-adapted to fix the affections and loyalty of the native races of India. Practically, it failed in every one of the requisites of good government. Mr. Ludlow writes—

"It has failed to give security to persons or property throughout by far the greater portion of India; sometimes by leaving the subject exposed to the open violence of brigands; always by placing him at the mercy of oppressive and fraudulent officials.

"The judicial system is costly, dilatory, and inefficient.

"The revenue system, contrary to almost every sound principle of political economy, seems devised, in its different branches, so as to promote the largest amount of oppression, extortion, and immorality.

"As a matter of fact, the population are, in most parts of the country, sinking alike in physical condition and in moral character.

"Many of the above-mentioned evils are of British introduction; others have been aggravated under British rule.

"The good which has been done—due in almost every instance to the special efforts of individuals, and generally thwarted at first—has been, for the most part, extremely trifling or partial, and superficial.

"The most magnificent public works, such as the canals of the north, and its once metalled road, became wholly insignificant when compared with the vast number of works executed in native times—many, in some districts most, of which remain yet in a state of decay, though the cess payable for their maintenance, or the increased assessment, due in respect of the surplus value which they are supposed to create, may still be exacted.

"A wholly new vice, drunkenness, has been introduced among the Hindoo

population; is largely spreading, and is fostered by the exigencies of the public revenue.

"In that part of India which lies most open to independent observation—Bengal—sullen discontent is declared to characterise the rural population.

"In that part which has, by universal consent, engaged the largest share of government favour, a military revolt has stalked, well-nigh unchecked, through the land; and, in many places at least, the village population have risen upon European fugitives.

"Such are the results of one century of the Company's rule in India." So writes Mr. Ludlow; and, as such seemed to be the general impression, the Company's rule passed away.

Lord Palmerston had previously made an attempt to legislate on the subject. On the 12th of February, 1858, his lordship moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty's dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he said, not out of any hostility to the Company on the ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company's political authority, he observed, had not been conferred; it had grown up gradually and accidentally from small beginnings—factories extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the inconveniences of the double government, by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors, elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial; but check and counter-check might be so multiplied as to paralyse action, and he thought that it was desirable that this cumbrous machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should rest where the public thought that complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be confined to a change of the government at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India, the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other countries of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India. The president to be a member of the cabinet; and the councillors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final; but that, if the councillors dissented from his opinion, they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes; and on matters concerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councillors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves; that the president should be placed upon the footing of a Secretary of State; and that the councillors should have salaries of £1,000 a year. It was proposed that, while all the powers, now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council, all appointments in India, now made by the local authorities, should continue to be so made; that the president should be authorised to appoint one secretary, capable of sitting in that House; but it was not proposed that the councillors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local council, likewise,

would be made by the Governor-general. Arrangements had already been made by which writerships were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee, it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of Indian government; and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue, and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his opinion that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India, would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties towards the people of India which it was intended this nation should perform. Mr. T. Baring moved, by way of amendment, "That it is not expedient to legislate upon the government of India." The amendment was negatived by 218 to 173; and leave was given to Lord Palmerston to bring in his bill, which, however, fell to the ground, in consequence of the noble lord's resignation of office.

The act for the better government of India received the royal assent on the 2nd of August, and came into operation on the 1st of September, 1858. By its provisions all the governing powers of the East India Company are transferred to the crown, with all the Company's rights, territories, revenue, and liabilities. The powers heretofore vested in the Court of Directors, Court of Proprietors, and the Board of Control, are centred in a minister of the crown, called her majesty's Secretary of State for India, to be assisted by a council of fifteen members, seven of whom were, in the first instance, elected by the Court of Directors, and eight nominated by the crown. These members to hold their offices for life, or during their good behaviour; they are not eligible to seats in parliament, and receive a salary of £1,200 per annum, with a retiring pension, after ten years' service, of £500. Vacancies amongst the nominated members are to be filled up by the crown, and amongst those chosen by election; the remaining members of the council being the constituency. Lord Stanley was appointed the first Secretary of State for India.

The Court of Directors met on the 7th of August, and proceeded to the election of the seven members of the council, whose appointment was left in their hands. Their choice fell upon members of their own body, all well acquainted with India—viz., Sir James Weir Hogg, Mr. Charles Mill, Captain Shepherd, Mr. Eliot Macnaughten, Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles, Captain Eastwick, and Mr. Prinsep. The crown appointed Sir John Lawrence, Sir H. C. Montgomery, Sir Frederick Currie, Major-General Sir R. Vivian, Colonel Sir P. Cantley, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, Mr. John Pollard Willoughby, and Mr. William Arbuthnot. These members were divided into three committees:—1. Home and public works. 2. Political and military. 3. Revenue, judicial and legislative. Sir George Clerk and Mr. Henry Baillie were appointed Secretaries of State for India, and Mr. James Cosmo Melville, who had been Deputy Secretary to the East India Company, Assistant Under-Secretary. Mr. John Stuart Mill, Secretary to the Company, declined accepting any office, though pressed to do so by Lord Stanley, on account of ill-health.

The East India proprietors held their last meeting, as governors of India and lords of its territory, on the 30th of August. Their closing acts were to vote an annuity of £2,000 per annum to Sir John Lawrence, for his great services in India;

and to pass votes of thanks to the chairman, vice-chairman, and members of the Court of Directors, and their officers. The proprietors still exist as a company to administer their property, known as East India stock; and directors are elected as usual, with the powers of the directors of a joint-stock company. The amount of India stock is £12,000,000, and upwards of £300,000 pass through the directors' hands every year for the payment of dividends. The body is still, therefore, an important one in a business point of view. Its meetings continued to be held at the India House, Leadenhall Street; and Lord Stanley selected that house for the offices of the new council, as being more convenient, in every respect, than the offices of the Board of Control, in Canon Row. Ultimately, however, the council emigrated to the west; the India House was pulled down; its museum was dispersed, and not a vestige of it now remains.

At a dinner of the Fishmongers' Company of London, at which Lord Stanley was present, his lordship thus referred to the change which had been effected in the government of India, and said—"I do not stand here for the purpose of reviving, or even alluding to past controversies; but this I may be permitted to say, that throughout those parliamentary discussions which ended in the transfer of the Indian government from the Company to the executive of this country, that change was uniformly represented by me, and by those colleagues with whom I acted, as not involving any sentence of condemnation against the administration of that great Company whose century of empire has come to an end. We looked upon it, and I think rightly, as a change which was the natural and even necessary result of the lapse of time, and the progress of events. I believe the change will be productive of benefit to India. I hope it will lead to a larger introduction into that country of European energy, enterprise, and thought; but I cannot conceal from myself, I cannot conceal from you, that that change has greatly increased the responsibilities of the government of this country, which has to guard against a double danger. First, they have to protect India from all the fluctuation of parliamentary politics; and, secondly, they have to guard England from the more remote, but not, perhaps, the less real, risk which may arise from the connection of its executive with an executive that is purely despotic."

But we must not forget Lord Palmerston. As usual, we find him ready to take up arms on behalf of the absent. In 1857, at a banquet at the Guildhall on the inauguration of the mayoralty of Sir Richard Carden, his lordship, after paying a deserved tribute to the valour of the troops, and to the endurance of those who had suffered in India, said—"While we do justice to the great bulk of our countrymen in India, we must not forget that person who, by his exalted position, stands at the head of our countrymen there. I mean the Governor-general. Lord Canning has shown throughout, the greatest courage, the greatest ability, and the greatest resources; and from the cordiality which exists between him, as head of the civil service, and Sir Colin Campbell as head of the military service, we may be sure that everything which the combined experience of both can accomplish, will be effected for the advantage of the country. The task of Lord Canning will be, indeed, a difficult one. He will have to punish the guilty; he will have to spare the innocent; and he will have to reward the deserving. To punish the guilty exceeds the power of any civilised man; for the atrocities which have been committed are such as to be imagined and perpetrated only by demons sallying forth from the lowest depths of hell. But punishment must be inflicted, not only in a spirit of vengeance, but in a spirit of security, in order that the example of punished crime may deter from a repetition of the offence, and in order to ensure the safety of our countrymen and countrywomen in India for the future. He will have to spare the innocent; and it is most gratifying to him, that while the guilty may be counted by thousands, the innocent must be reckoned by millions. It is most gratifying to us, and honourable to the people, that the great bulk of the population have had no share in the enormities and crimes which have been committed: they have experienced the blessings of British rule, and they have been

enabled to compare it with the tyranny exercised over them by their native chiefs. They have, therefore, had no participation in the attempts which have been made to overthrow our dominion. Most remarkable it is, that the inhabitants of that part of our empire which has been most recently annexed (I mean the Punjaub), who have had the most recent experience of the tyranny of their native rulers, have been most loyal on the present occasion, and most attached to their new and benevolent masters. Lord Canning will also have to reward the deserving; for many are they, both high and low, who have not only abstained from taking part in this mutiny, but who have most kindly and generously sheltered fugitives, rescued others from the assaults of the mutineers, and have merited recompense at the hands of the British government. I am convinced, that if Lord Canning receives (as I am sure he will) that confidence on the part of her majesty's government, and of the people of this country—without which it is impossible for a man, in his high position, to discharge the duties which have devolved upon him—it will be found, when this dreadful tragedy is over, that he has properly discharged his duty; and that his conduct has been governed, not only by a sense of stern and unflinching justice, but also by that discriminating generosity which is the peculiar characteristic of the British people."

The next thing to be done was to let the Indians know of the change of government. Accordingly, a proclamation was issued, setting forth the fact, and announcing to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, were accepted by the queen, and would be by her maintained. The proclamation continued—"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression on our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachments on those of others. We shall respect the rights, honours, and dignities of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that none be in anywise favoured; none molested, or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and require all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will, that, as far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, may be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

The document next took up the subject of the rebellion; and her majesty said, that having shown her power "by the suppression of that rebellion in the field," she was now desirous of evincing her "mercy by pardoning the offences of those who had been misled, but who desired to return to the path of duty." Clemency was promised to all except those who had been or should be "convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects." With regard to such, the natives were told that "justice forbade the exercise of mercy." Their

lives only could be guaranteed to such as had "wilfully given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such;" those who had acted as "leaders or instigators of rebellion," could only be placed in the same category; but to "all others in arms against the government, unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences" against the queen, her crown and dignity, were promised, if they made their submission before the 1st of January, 1859. "And," said her majesty, in conclusion, "when, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

This important document was received at Calcutta in October, and arrangements were made for publishing it throughout the presidencies and the North-West Provinces, simultaneously, on the 1st of November. Great preparations were made at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, and all the other principal towns in the British dominions, in order that the ceremony might be marked with that solemnity and imposing pomp which ought to characterise an event of such importance. Throughout India, the 1st of November, 1858, seems to have been a day of rejoicing, the event being commemorated in much the same way as we celebrate festivals in England—by the ringing of bells—by processions, with bands of music—by military spectacles—by public dinners and illuminations. Everywhere the proclamation was hailed with tokens of approval, and was followed by addresses to the queen from the native inhabitants of all the principal places; and the spirit with which it was received by that numerous class may be judged of by the following extracts from the addresses signed by her "majesty's native subjects residing in the town and island of Bombay." Having referred to the importance of the change of government, the address thus proceeded:—

"Firmly persuaded, as we are, that the great principles of moderation, impartiality, and justice, characteristic of your majesty's government in all parts of the British empire, will henceforth, as ever, be scrupulously recognised, we venture to offer to your majesty our humble and hearty congratulations on the assumption of your royal supremacy over this vast country; and we beg leave, at the same time, to express our cordial hope, that the important change of administration which has been thus inaugurated, may have the effect of placing your majesty's rule in India on a basis still more secure than that upon which it has rested for so many years. With earnest prayers for the welfare of your majesty; of the prince, your illustrious consort; and of your royal family; as well as for the speedy restoration of tranquillity in the disturbed provinces of British India, and for a long continuance of peace and tranquillity in your majesty's dominions—we, with the profoundest respect, subscribe ourselves your majesty's most devoted, humble, and dutiful subjects."

The native chiefs also expressed their pleasure at the change; some of them in addresses to the queen. Loyal effusions, copied from the Persian poets, were circulated among the Mahomedan population; loyal prayers were put up in the synagogues of the Jews; and the assumption of the *raj*, or government, by the queen was hailed by the loyal in India with delight.

One of the first effects of the proclamation was the submission of the Rajah Lall Madhoo Singh, who went into the British camp on the 10th of November; and, in the night, his troops evacuated the fort of Amethie, which had been held against Lord Clyde. The fort of Simree, in Oude, had been taken by Brigadier Eveleigh on the 9th; and several other forts were surrendered shortly after—the Talookdars sending in their submissions, and giving up their arms. In Rohileund the proclamation also had the most salutary effect; the people of all classes receiving it

universally in the spirit which it was intended to evoke. This was its effect generally amongst the people in the disturbed districts; but the begum, Nana Sahib, Tantia Topee, Feroze Shah, and other rebel chiefs, knowing themselves to be excluded from the amnesty, remained in arms, and many followers rallied round them. Military operations, therefore, could not be discontinued. Yet, by the end of November, Lord Clyde informed the Governor-general that, in Oude, "he advanced in line (extending over a length of 200 miles), stretching from the confines of Rohilcund to Allahabad and Azimghur, and had suppressed everything like rebellion, in a large sense of the word, beyond the Gogra, with the sole exception of the Seetapore districts, which were about being settled by Brigadier Barker." By the end of the year Oude was nearly free from rebels; the people were quiet and contented, and the revenue well paid.

The opening of 1859 found the authority of the queen acknowledged throughout Oude and Central India. Tantia Topee had been chased, during the months of November and December, from every position he took up. He had, it was supposed, been joined by Prince Feroze Shah, who had made his escape from Oude; and both those chiefs suffered repeated defeats, losing elephants and guns on every occasion. One of the most decisive affairs connected with Central India, took place on the 29th of December, when the troops under Major-General Whitelock stormed the heights of Panwarree, where a noted chief, the Rajah Radho Govind, had intrenched himself with a very numerous force. The rebels were totally defeated and dispersed; Radho Govind, his brother, and upwards of 300 of his followers, were killed; and his elephants, guns, and state howdah captured. In this district there still remained, for some time, bodies of men in arms; but by the time the cold weather of 1859 had passed away, the embers of dissatisfaction had been trodden out. Tantia Topee was caught and hanged. The Nawab of Furruckabad surrendered; he was tried, sentenced to death, and ultimately banished. Many estates of mutinous zemindars were confiscated, and the gallows ended the miserable lives of some of the most culpable of the assassins.

Brilliant as had been the conduct of British officers and soldiers in previous campaigns in India, they never displayed so much heroism as in this prolonged contest with the mutineers. Marvellous instances of intrepidity are on record; and the patience with which long marches and exposure to the burning sun were borne, is utterly beyond all precedent. Their valour and constancy had its reward. Sir Colin Campbell, as we have already intimated, became Lord Clyde. The honours of the Bath were freely distributed to the generals and field-officers who had particularly distinguished themselves. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the troops; and appointments, of great value, were conferred upon Sir James Outram, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Edward Lugard, and others of the number who had been most conspicuous in daring operations. Not a few of the bravest men received the Victoria Cross, in recognition of their gallantry. Medals were struck to commemorate the defence and relief of Lucknow, and the capture of Delhi; and several regiments were allowed to bear the titles of their victories upon their colours. To three or four of the European corps (the 64th, 78th, and 86th), departing for England, after the work had been completed, the community of Bombay gave a magnificent banquet; and the 14th Light Dragoons received a present of a library.

The sympathy of the nation also displayed itself on a grand scale. In August, 1857, the merchant princes of London held a meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of collecting money for the relief of our suffering fellow-countrymen and countrywomen in India, whom the mutiny had plunged into poverty and distress. In an hour £10,000 were subscribed. The example was cheerfully followed throughout the entire kingdom, and contributions poured into the bankers in one uninterrupted stream of national liberality. Her majesty and the royal family headed the list; and the nobility, and all other classes, united with each other. In a short time the Indian relief fund had acquired colossal dimensions.

By the first mail that left England after the mutiny, a sum of £200,000 was remitted to Calcutta by the Lord Mayor, as the first instalment resulting from the meeting held at the Mansion-house on the previous day. Within a fortnight the Mansion-house Indian relief fund reached the sum of £35,836 13s. 8d.; and by the close of the year, the amount of subscriptions, from all sources in the country, exceeded £350,000 sterling, and was still progressing. Among the singular anomalies that were presented in the formation and course of this great national act of liberality and benevolence, it is upon record, that the East India Company, of all the corporations in the kingdom, was the only one that did not feel itself called upon to contribute to the relief fund. The plea urged by the chairman of the Court of Directors for refusal being—"That the greatest care should be taken to prevent private liberality from being damped. There were many who would refuse to subscribe if they could say that government would make good all losses. It was impossible that government could reach all cases; and he could not conceive a nobler opportunity than this for the exercise of individual charity."

In the House of Commons, on the 28th of August, Sir De Lacy Evans inquired, "whether it would be consistent with the feelings of government to give orders that the widows and children of the military and civil victims of the mutiny in India, should be brought home, free of cost, by the returning steamers and transports?"—and was informed by the chairman of the Board of Directors, that the authorities in India had been instructed to give the most ample assistance to all who were destitute, including not only the civil and military services, but all classes of the community—an announcement which was received with marked satisfaction, both by the House and the country.

Nor did the benevolence of the public end here. As soon as, in 1857, the *Colombo* arrived at Southampton with the first batch of women and children saved from the mutiny, in accordance with the regulation of the relief committee, the Lady Mayoress, accompanied by one of the under-sheriffs of London, proceeded to the vessel to carry solace and comfort to the mourners. The Mayor of Southampton, attended by the superintendents of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and by Dr. Symes, a resident in the town (who had fitted up apartments in his house for the reception of any of the destitute sufferers who would avail themselves of his hospitality), were early on board the *Colombo*. The Lady Mayoress, on reaching the deck, being conducted to a cabin by the captain, the object of her visit was communicated to the passengers with much delicacy and feeling. A correspondent, describing the interesting scene at the moment, says—"Many relatives and friends of the passengers, who had anxiously awaited their arrival, also came on board, and their meeting was an affecting sight. They embraced each other in seeming unconsciousness of the presence of strangers, and paced the deck with their arms encircling each other's waists. A great number of the passengers went ashore in one of the small steamers. A crowd of persons was in the dock; and here, also, affectionate greetings took place between long-absent friends and relatives, which drew tears from many a bystander. There were about sixty children on board the Indian mail-packet, a large portion of whom were infants in arms, all hurried out of India, on account of the fearful atrocities committed there. The scene on board the *Colombo* was very different from that which usually takes place on board homeward-bound Indian packets. The usual female passengers on board these ships are ladies in the gayest spirits, and dressed in the gorgeous silks and shawls of the East; but many of the lady passengers of the *Colombo* bore marks of great suffering and anxiety, and their dresses betokened their losses, and the rapidity of their flight from the mutinous districts. Many of these passengers escaped from Delhi, Lucknow, and other parts of Oude. Fortunately they started from these places at the commencement of the mutiny. The language of their husbands was—"Get out of the country, with the children, as soon as you can, and never mind us." Many of them have never heard anything of their husbands since. Some of the ladies escaped nearly naked; lived in the

jungle for days, with their infant children starving, and rarely able to get a handful of rice to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Few villagers were willing to assist them; and many of those who were willing were afraid to do so. Not the least interesting refugee on board the *Colombo* was a little dog. It had escaped from Delhi by faithfully following its mistress and her children; and had nearly paid a heavy penalty for its fidelity. Its back had been literally burnt by the sun, and is not healed yet. Some of the passengers give a frightful picture of the state of Calcutta, and the interior provinces of India." And by such means the excitement and sympathy of the British public, all over the land, was strengthened and sustained.

A few days after the *Colombo* had discharged her valuable burden, another vessel arrived, bringing also 150 fugitives, who had fled from the inhospitable soil of Hindostan. Many of these individuals were from Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other places in the Upper Provinces; and some had fled from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, through an undefined sense of impending evil. The scene presented at the meeting of these passengers with their friends, was one of overwhelming excitement; and many around were moved to tears by the unutterable anguish that was presented to their gaze. About forty children, many of them orphans, came by the *Indus*; and among the passengers was Lieutenant Chapman, nineteen years of age, who was shot by the mutineers at Benares, when a bullet went through his cheek, and carried away part of the roof of his mouth, so that his speech was now scarcely intelligible. Captain Montague also came home wounded in the same steamer. He belonged to the irregulars, and was in command of a company of Sikhs with General Havelock's army, and fought on the march to Cawnpore. He lost his two children from want and exposure while coming down the Ganges from Allahabad. This officer well knew Nana Sahib, and was present at a ball given by him at Cawnpore about a month before the mutiny broke out. It was the most magnificent ball ever given at Cawnpore. All the English were present, most of whom were afterwards mercilessly slain by order of their quondam host. Captain Montague and his wife left Cawnpore before it was captured by the mutineers. Amongst other reports, the passengers said that almost the only man who had escaped the massacre of Cawnpore had gone raving mad. This was an officer named Brown, who, after he got away, suffered great hardships, and lay hidden in a nullah, without food, during three days and three nights. It was also stated by them that Miss Goldie, a very beautiful young lady, was taken by Nana Sahib to his harem, and was believed to be living. Many English were still at Calcutta when the steamer left that port, who had had narrow escapes from the infuriated wretches who were devastating the English stations. These were expected to follow by successive mail-packets. Some of the passengers reported that a lady had arrived at Calcutta, previous to the departure of the steamer, who had had both her ears cut off by the rebels. This was, perhaps, one of the least horrible in the series of outrages alleged to be systematically perpetrated by the Hindoo and Mahommedan fanatics, in their wild attempts to gratify their hatred and revenge—a hatred and revenge destined soon to reap what it had sown.

Fasts were proclaimed in England and Scotland; and Cardinal Wiseman directed all good Catholics to join in a similar observance. The different religious bodies in England, unconnected with the state church, also set apart the day indicated by the royal proclamation for solemn observance, and collections in aid of the relief fund; and a committee of the general assembly of the church of Scotland sanctioned a gathering throughout their several presbyteries for the like purpose. In every case, the appeal made to the sympathies and liberality of the people was nobly responded to by the whole nation.

The religious public felt it was time for them to move. At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India, held at Willis's rooms, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, it was resolved—

"1. To double at least the number of the society's European missionaries in

India, and to promote, by every available means, the education, training, and ordination of the more advanced native converts for the work of the Christian ministry among their own countrymen.

"2. To found new, and strengthen existing, missions in the presidential and other principal cities of India, wherever there may appear to be the best opening, with a view to bring the truths of Christianity before the minds of the upper as well as of the lower classes in those great centres of population.

"3. To press again upon the attention of the Indian government the urgent necessity of a subdivision of the enormous dioceses of Calcutta and Madras; and especially to insist upon the desirableness of establishing a bishopric for the Punjab; another for the North-West Provinces; and a third for the province of Tinnevely."

By 1859, the mutiny in India had been so far suppressed, that, in April, it was ordered, by "her majesty in council, that his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare a form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the constant and signal success obtained by the troops of her majesty, and by the whole of the forces serving in India, whereby the late sanguinary mutiny and rebellion, which hath broken out in that country, hath been effectually suppressed; and the blessings of tranquillity, peace, and order are restored to her majesty's subjects in the East; and it is ordered that such form of prayer and thanksgiving be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed." A similar order was also made, extending to Scotland.

Yet, at this very moment, a question was raised which threatened materially to disturb the promising aspect of Indian affairs. On Sunday, the 1st of May, the very day on which the people of the United Kingdom were offering their tribute of thanksgiving for the successful results of the war, a trooper of a cavalry regiment, stationed at Meerut, reported to his officer, that meetings of Bengal artillerymen and troopers of the 2nd cavalry had been held, on the subject of their transference to the crown without being re-enlisted and attested, and receiving free bounty-money—a procedure which they looked upon as illegal and unjust—and that they were deliberating upon the means to obtain a formal discharge from the service of the Company, prior to entering upon any military obligation to the crown. The importance of this communication rendered immediate steps necessary to ascertain the fact of the objection, and the extent to which it had spread among the Company's troops; and information was conveyed to General Bradford, commanding the district, who, the same day, held a council of war, at which it was decided to seize the ringleaders of the movement. Subsequently, the general had the good sense to adopt a milder course; and, on the 2nd, the garrison was ordered out, each regiment on its own parade-ground. The general, with Brigadier Horsford, then inspected the Bengal horse artillery; after which the latter officer addressed the men, expressed his regret at the information which had been forwarded to headquarters, and called upon such of them as were content to remain in the service of the queen to step forward. Although the appeal was answered by the prompt advance of about two-thirds of the men present, it was deemed advisable to deprive the corps of its small arms, and confine the men to quarters. The general then proceeded to the parade-ground of the 2nd regiment of Bengal cavalry, where a similar proceeding took place; and it was here ascertained that a plan of resistance to their regimental officers and superior commanders, had not only been organised by the malcontents, but that, at one moment, they were on the point of breaking into open hostilities against the government. Lord Clyde was telegraphed for, and calmed down the excitement by promising the men inquiry into their grievances. The men were right, and it was a pity that the authorities had made such a stupid blunder at such a time. As the men had enlisted into the East India Company's service, they were not bound to serve when that Company had ceased to exist. The discontent which had exhibited itself at Meerut was not, however, confined to that station. Allahabad, Berhampore, Lahore, and Gwalior, were equally disquieted;

and it was rumoured, and believed, that her majesty's 75th regiment, sympathising with the grievances of their new comrades in the service, intimated that it would not act against them. Ultimately, it appeared that the wise measures taken by Lord Clyde allayed the discontent.

Opinions had been expressed in the course of the mutiny, and the measures taken for its suppression, adverse to the government of Lord Canning. It was alleged that he had been supine and timid; unnecessarily curbing or suppressing the press of India; tardy in sending reinforcements to threatened points; and, subsequently, malignant and vindictive in his retributive proceedings. But the ministry, and the officials about him, knew that all these charges were utterly without foundation in fact, and owed their origin to the apprehensions of the writers, and their ignorance of the character of the man they assailed. Lord Canning was described, by one who knew him well, as a man possessed of remarkable analytic power; of great ability of investigation; of a habit of appreciating and weighing evidence; as just and moderate, and calmly judicial. His opinions once formed, were not easily, if ever, to be shaken; and his mode of investigation was elaborately careful, slow, and sure. The Secretary of State wisely resolved on retaining Lord Canning in the post of Governor-general, convinced that he possessed all the requisites for healing the wounds which rankled in India, and placing affairs upon a firm and satisfactory basis.

Lord Canning's first act was to proceed up the country, and hold durbars and *levées* among the native princes, chieftains, and zemindars, who had been loyal or friendly at a time of general defection or indifference. In Oude he restored to the landowners all their great privileges, and manifested the most perfect confidence in their future loyalty. They, on their part, recognised his sense of justice; and, in a grateful spirit, announced to him that they had resolved to banish infanticide among themselves. The Talookdars addressed Lord Canning in strains peculiarly oriental. He accepted their address for what it was worth; and, knowing that some of them had been lukewarm, and others positively hostile towards the government, he replied to them in very plain English. After enumerating the happy changes which had been wrought in Oude within two years of the extinction of mutiny, Lord Canning said—

“You have seen it proved before your eyes that there is no nation, no race or multitude of you, which can hope to brave the power of the English government with impunity.

“You have seen that those who resist or cross that government, it is sure and swift to punish; although, justice satisfied, it is eager to forgive and to forget.”

The Talookdars accepted the monition with a good grace, and have not forgotten the strength or the significance of the language addressed to them by the representative of the sovereign of India.

At Agra, Lord Canning announced to the Maharajah of Gwalior, that he had determined to augment his territory to the extent of £30,000 per annum, and gave him permission to increase the strength of his army. The maharajah's arrears of tribute were further remitted; and, what was more agreeable to him than any other recompense of his fidelity in the hour of danger, he was authorised to adopt a successor in default of lineal issue. Suitable rewards were likewise bestowed upon the Rajah of Jeypore and the Nawab of Tonk, who had been found faithful amongst the faithless. On some of the princes the *Most Exalted Order of the Star of India* was conferred. This order was expressly established for the purpose of affording the princes, chiefs, and people of India a signal and public testimony of the queen's regard—a commemoration of her assumption of the government of the territories, and a means of enabling her to reward conspicuous merit and loyalty. The order is as select as that of the Garter. It consists of only twenty-seven recipients—the sovereign, the Prince of Wales (who is the grand master), and twenty-five knights. The insignia of this rare distinction may be thus described:—The collar is of gold and enamel, composed of the lotus of India, palm branches,

and the united red and white roses. In the centre of the enamel is the imperial crown. The badge suspended to the collar is an onyx cameo of Queen Victoria's effigy, set in an ornamental oval, containing the motto, "Heaven's light is our guide." The badge is surmounted by a star, in diamonds. The mantle of the order is of light-blue satin.

Among the princes and chiefs whose fidelity to their engagements the viceroy had to recognise, was her highness the Secunder Begum of Bhopal. Attired in a green kincaub tunic, and pantaloons embroidered with gold, and wearing a heavy cloth of gold around her head and shoulders, gold brooches at her neck and waist, and a pair of gloves upon her hands (in which respect she presented an exception to the other three knights of the order), her highness accepted the honour conferred upon her with becoming grace. Lord Canning accompanied the installation of the begum with these words—

"Your highness is very welcome to this durbar. I have long desired to thank you for the services which you have rendered to the queen's government.

"Your highness is the ruler of a state which is conspicuous in Indian history for never having been in arms against the British power; and lately, when that state was beset and threatened by our enemies, you, a woman, guided its affairs with a courage, an ability, and a success, that would have done honour to any statesman or soldier. Besides the great service of repressing revolt around you, and of securing the safety of all Englishmen (amongst whom was the agent of the Governor-general), you never failed to aid and expedite, to the utmost of your power, all bodies of British troops that came within your reach."

Lord Canning concluded by granting the begum the sovereignty of the district of Baireal, formerly a dependency of the state of Dhar, to which the latter had forfeited all claim by its active participation in the rebellion.

Lord Canning had now a further opportunity of distinguishing himself, by throwing open all the waste lands of India to cultivation by Europeans. The civil war in America had deprived us of our usual cotton supplies. India appeared to offer the largest field for the supply of the requisite article. A Cotton Supply Association had been formed five years previously. Large sums were subscribed in 1861, in aid of its augmented duties, and a fair prospect appeared to be opening for the remedy of the mischief resulting from the loss of the American supplies. Lord Canning saw his opportunity. He at once proclaimed the waste lands of India available for purchase by Europeans, and placed the price of land in fee-simple so low, that it was expected many men of capital and enterprise would resort to the country for purposes of settlement, and improve and extend the cultivation of the soil. Associations were formed in England to assist persons in purchasing the lands on the advantageous terms offered to the public, and a considerable amount of capital was at once embarked in an undertaking which promised to be remunerative. But the Secretary of State for India did not see fit to approve of the step taken by Lord Canning, and therefore put his veto on the regulations previously passed by the Governor-general. For reasons of state policy not fully disclosed, Sir Charles Wood further refused to allow the collectors upon the Madras establishments to remit any of the permanent revenue upon land in favour of persons who might wish to devote that land to the improvement of native cotton. "It is essential for any practical purpose," wrote the Secretary of State for India, "that the possibility of growing the improved cotton to advantage should be subjected to lands liable to the ordinary charges in India; and therefore any remission of rent is not only objectionable on principle, but renders the trial quite unsatisfactory. I therefore request that the instructions given on this subject may be withdrawn." The grand object of the government appears to have been, of late years, to reduce the amount of the state debt of India, and to realise as much immediate revenue as, combined with financial economy, would meet all the current charges, and leave a surplus. To do this may have appeared incompatible with any concessions having only a remote good in view; and hence some of the sluggishness

that has been apparent in the improvement of the growth of Indian cotton. Still a great deal has been accomplished in the right direction: and in proportion as railways increase in number, and the means of water-carriage in India are multiplied, the commercial and agricultural resources of India will doubtless receive ample development.

In 1860, the cotton imported into England from India amounted to 340,000 cwt.; in 1861, to 342,000 cwt.; and, in 1862, to 1,247,875 cwt.

In many respects the future for India promises well. Before the close of the year 1860, the capital authorised to be raised, under the government guarantee of a certain per-centage, for the construction of railways, a steam flotilla, and the irrigation of the southern territories, amounted to £38,000,000 sterling, of which nearly £32,000,000 were at once paid up. Nearly 5,000 miles of railway had in this manner been opened. In all directions India will be connected by means of the iron road.

One circumstance which essentially contributed to the railway enterprise, was the report of certain geological surveyors, who had commenced their investigation eight years previously. No fewer than 11,000 specimens of various kinds of minerals had been collected by them in that space of time; and from these were deduced unmistakable proofs of the existence of coal and other substances which enter largely into the economy of civilised life.

The telegraph has advanced as rapidly, or rather more rapidly, than the railways. India is, by means of it, only a few days' distance from London.

In 1860, the Wuzerees, a turbulent tribe, occupying a range of hills not far from Tonk, murdered a British officer—Captain Meham—and otherwise molested her majesty's subjects. The surrender of the murderers was demanded; and, no heed being taken of the demand, a force was organised, under Brigadier Chamberlain, an officer of gallantry and experience, to punish the crime, and obtain possession of the offenders. The force got through the difficult passes; frequently encountered the enemy in great numbers; and, after several battles, in which numerous Wuzerees were killed, Brigadier Chamberlain burnt their dwellings and their forts, and returned to the plains by the 16th of May, 1861. The troops under Chamberlain penetrated into an unknown territory further than we had ever done before; terrified the only great tribe which had never been chastised; and added to our *prestige* in the eyes of other clans which had long witnessed the successful defiance, by their neighbours, of British power. More than this, the veil which had covered the topography of the country was completely lifted by Major Walker, who succeeded in mapping the whole territory most accurately and fully. The last settlement captured was 7,000 feet above the sea.

The new mode of government promised well in other matters. Sir Charles Wood evinced a disposition to discharge the duties of his office with special reference to the welfare of the country, and to avail himself of the resources of the ablest men who had already become distinguished in India. Vacancies occurring in the governorships of Bombay and Madras, he conferred the former appointment upon Sir George Clark, who had proved himself a most efficient envoy in the Punjaub, and afterwards as governor at the Cape of Good Hope; and the latter upon Sir Charles Trevelyan. Sir Charles was a young civilian during the Indian administration of Lord William Bentinck, and had attracted much attention by the originality and the comprehensiveness of his political views. Establishing a family connection with Lord Macaulay, the orator and historian, he returned with him to England; became an Under-Secretary of State; and manifested a large capacity in certain measures for the relief of the Irish during one of the ever-recurring potato famines. As governor of Madras, he introduced a variety of wholesome changes; simplified and economised the business of government; and gave an impetus to the course of education, and the propagation of the gospel. But he was not long in possession of the office. An indiscretion, which neither the Governor-general nor the Secretary of State could overlook, led to his recall.

To place the finances of India upon a footing that should enable the revenue to meet the expenditure, and leave a surplus, the Right Hon. James Wilson, whose familiarity with fiscal matters had raised him from the editorship of the *Economist* to the position of Secretary to the Board of Control, was sent out to India as a member of the supreme council, with special instructions to apply himself to the financial question. Mr. Wilson, after a short stay, procured an act to be passed, which imposed a tax on all persons receiving more than 200 rupees per annum, and taxes on licences; and adopted other means of increasing the resources of the government. The income-tax caused in India, as it has done everywhere else, a great outcry. Sir Charles Trevelyan deemed it objectionable on certain high grounds of state policy, and was so imprudent as to publish a minute, containing his views and sentiments. The opinion of such a man was of much weight; but it was held to be calculated to encourage the community in the hostility to the tax, which had already been openly manifested; and, upon this ground, Sir C. Wood recalled him; and subsequently, that the country might not lose the benefit of talents which were valuable when tempered by discretion, appointed him to the council of the viceroy.

Mr. Wilson dying suddenly, Mr. S. Laing, a member of parliament, much distinguished as a political economist, was appointed his successor; but, after a few months' stay, was compelled by ill-health to return to England.

One of the measures adopted by the government for the purpose of increasing the revenue of Oude, was to throw open the cultivation of opium to the people at large; and Exeter Hall was dumb.

Another measure carried into effect was an Arms Suppression Bill. As long as the natives had carried arms for mere show, the practice was not to be condemned; but where, as recently had been the case, these arms had been turned against us, it was time to interfere. The Europeans felt this as a grievance; for, to them, arms had been literally no more than a protection, and a very necessary one. The government were alive to this; and if it could have been so arranged that the one class should be allowed to retain its weapons, while the other was disarmed, without creating bitter feeling by the invidious distinction, the European might have been indulged. As it was, any partiality seemed out of the question, except in the instances in which the European chose to enrol himself as a member of one of the volunteer corps. On this condition alone the European was permitted to retain his arms, when a decree went forth disarming all the rest of the population. An Arms Bill had been found to answer in Ireland: why not in India?

A terrible calamity, in 1861, offered the new government a favourable opportunity of indicating its benevolence. The failure of the crops of 1860, owing to a paucity of rain—an evil against which it seems impossible to guard in some parts of India—induced a deplorable famine early in the ensuing year, and the people were reduced to the most horrible condition. The western part of India was the chief scene of the fearful visitation. In February, 1861, the calamity had reached so terrible a height, that the poor, incapable of walking, crawled from place to place in search of a few grains: the dead and the dying lined the roads; mothers disposed of their infant offspring by sale, without regard to the caste or creed of the parties to whose mercy they were consigned. No fewer than 40,000,000 of human beings were, more or less, affected by this awful visitation; and the cattle died in vast numbers. Never were the demands of philanthropy more imperative. The government were prompt to alleviate suffering by purchases of large quantities of grain; and its importation from the islands in the Indian seas was accelerated. Private benevolence likewise manifested its wonted activity. Famine relief funds were established in different parts of the country, and in England, and many lacs of rupees were contributed. The famine had spread through the Delhi, Meerut, and Agra divisions; and there was more or less suffering in the division north of Cawnpore, Rohilcund, beyond the Ganges, the protected Sikh states north of the Doab, and the countries west of the Jumna.

Meanwhile, the work of reconstruction and reform went on apace. A High Court of Judicature, consisting of one chief judge, and ten subordinates, was established at Calcutta. A code of laws had long been in preparation, adapted to all classes of her majesty's subjects in India; and soon an addition was made to the number of councillors at each presidency, whose exclusive duty it was to prepare new laws and regulations, as the occasion for these might arise. A penal code became law in 1862. In principle it recognised the equality of all men. Every person was made liable to punishment, without distinction of nation, rank, caste, or creed, for any crime committed within some part of British India. Under the new code, perjury, that bane of Indian society, was severely punished. The importance of protecting the natives in the exercise of their religion, and most sacred usages, was not lost sight of. Hence, uttering words with the deliberate intention of wounding the feelings of a man, or making any sound within his hearing, or any gesture in his sight, or placing any object in his view, capable of wounding his religious feelings, is punishable by imprisonment for one year, or fine, or both. The great object of this law is to allow fair latitude to religious discussion, and, at the same time, to prevent the professors of religion from offering, under the pretext of such discussion, intentional insults to what is held sacred by others. In like manner, any offence, by act, word, or gesture, calculated to insult the modesty of a woman, or intrude upon her privacy, is punishable with a year's imprisonment. In a country where many women consider themselves dishonoured by an exposure to the gaze of strangers, there was need for legislation on this subject. Tampering with weights and measures was not permitted to pass with impunity; and severe penalties were attached to the bribery of officials.

A more important matter (for, as the wise Lord Metcalfe wrote, "our power in India rests upon our military superiority") was the remodelling the army. After a great deal of discussion, and many endeavours to adjust conflicting claims, it was resolved that the whole of the Bengal, and part of the Bombay and Madras armies should be reconstructed: the regular regiments of native cavalry and infantry were extinguished. Twenty new regiments of cavalry were formed, composed of the old irregular corps, and the bodies of those so called which had remained faithful to the English. There were four European officers only appointed to each corps—a commander, a second in command, an adjutant, and a medical officer. This was a much smaller number than the old regular regiments were allowed. A special staff corps was formed. The same rule was carried out with infantry. Eleven regiments were retained in their entirety, because they had continued true to their salt. Thirty-three corps were created out of the local levies, the Sikh and Punjaub, and other infantry. The Ghoorka regiments, consisting of the gallant and trustworthy little hill-men upon the Nepaulese frontier, were augmented, and sixteen regiments were constructed of Punjaabee irregulars, each possessing four officers only. The whole of the troops were armed with smooth-bored muskets, while the Europeans retained the rifle. The aggregate of this force was much inferior in strength to the regular native infantry existing anterior to the rebellion. The deficiency was, however, more than counterbalanced by the presence of a much greater number of regiments of the firm, and to be depended on, British line than had ever been employed in India before. Previous to the outbreak, the European troops did not amount to 20,000 men of all arms. They were now augmented to fifty-seven regiments of infantry, twelve of cavalry, sixteen brigades of artillery, and a large body of engineers; making a total of nearly 40,000 European soldiers, judiciously planted in different parts of the empire, so that concentration at any given point became easy, particularly as the railways were rendering distances of comparatively little account.

The Indian navy, which, as the Bombay marine, had, in its time, rendered good service in checking the pirates of the Persian, and protecting the commerce of the Indian, seas, had latterly dwindled down to a collection of mail and other steamers, and sailing vessels. It was now deemed advisable to suppress the Indian

navy altogether; or, at all events, to reduce it to such insignificant proportions that it might no longer burden the revenue to an extent beyond its practical value. The flotilla was, therefore, essentially reduced; and the chief duties which devolved on a maritime force were transferred to the vessels and officers of her majesty's regular navy. In the histories of British India, the services rendered by the Indian navy all receive honourable mention; and the names of Willstead, Lloyd, Moresly, Lynch, Rennie, and others, will find honourable record among the brave and scientific men who belonged to the service.

The monopoly of the service was broken down. The British public had, for some time previous to the mutiny, become impatient of those arrangements which confined the government appointments to certain favoured classes; and as the army, the navy, and the civil service of England had been, more or less, thrown open to general competition, the Indian authorities were obliged to do the same. Inasmuch, however, as the Indian civil service exacts of its members a great variety of attainments; seeing that they have to fulfil the duties of judges, revenue collectors, political officers, and magistrates, and perform various other functions amongst different classes speaking different languages, holding different religious opinions, and under the influence of various prejudices, a very high standard of qualification is demanded of all successful candidates. No one is permitted to compete for a civil appointment who is under eighteen, or above twenty-two years of age, and who cannot show that he is free from all physical disorders, and enjoys a good moral character. He must be familiar with the English language, its history, and its literature, including its laws and constitution. He must be no stranger to the languages and literature of Greece, Rome, France, Italy, or Germany. Certain attainments in mathematics, natural science, logic, mental and moral philosophy, the Sanscrit and Arabic languages, are likewise considered desirable. It is not necessary that the candidate should be master of all these subjects; but a certain acquaintance with them will be of advantage in placing him in a good position among the candidates. At the end of a year, after passing a close examination in more or less of these desiderata, the candidate is subjected to a second ordeal, to pass which triumphantly, he must acquire one or more of the vernacular languages of India, manifest an acquaintance with the history and geography of the country, the general principles of jurisprudence, the elements of Hindoo and Mahommedan law, and the outlines of political economy. If the candidate should complete his twenty-fourth year without being able to reach the standard of qualification, he forfeits all chance of obtaining an appointment. Under such a competitive system, the highest abilities in the country are available for the Indian service, and ought to ensure an able executive, if it does not produce enlightened statesmen or sagacious legislators.

The examination for commissioners in the Indian branch of her majesty's army, is upon the same footing as that established for the line, artillery, and engineers.

One beneficial result of the new government was the impulse given to education in India, and thus to the spread of religion. "The books and traditions of a sect may contain," wrote Lord Macaulay, "mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions purporting to rest on the same authority which relates to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical propositions, the theological propositions, unless they can be separated from the physical propositions, will share in the discredit. In this way, undoubtedly, the progress of science may indirectly serve the cause of religious truth. The Hindoo mythology, for example, is bound up with a most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns theology in our colleges, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology." This impression, no doubt, pervaded the minds of the new writers; and, notwithstanding that certain prelates and evangelical societies were strenuous in their endeavours to have the gospel proclaimed in India, a more cautious policy obtained the preference. Sir Charles Wood very properly prohibited missionaries from being

employed in the educational department of the state. Even the clergymen of the established church were kept out of the inspectorship of schools, for fear that their zeal might outrun their discretion.

A blow, at the same time, was struck at caste. It had been discovered that there was really no connection between its usages and the laws of religion, but that the former were seized upon merely as pretexts for escaping some duty, or refusing to obey a distasteful order. Under cover of the obligations of caste, the Brahmin claimed immunity from the penalties of crime, and arrogantly held himself aloof from his fellow-men. Through the ties of a common caste, certain classes had associated together evil purposes, and obtained credit for religious sincerity; while, in reality, they were only combining for purposes of conspiracy. The law now vindicates the interests of justice by disallowing all the pleas which have not a positive warrant in the sacred books of the Mahommedan or the Hindoo. This repudiation of the claims of caste seems to have had a wonderful effect in removing obstacles to education. The Hindoos withdrew all restrictions upon the resort of their children to the public schools and colleges; and the result was, that, in 1861, at the matriculation and degree examination of the Calcutta University, there were no less than 809 candidates, of whom 722 were Hindoos. The course of examination was limited to the English language, history, geography, and mathematics. There were thirty-nine candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, thirteen of whom succeeded in obtaining it; and, out of that number, the first who attained the greatest number of marks was a Mahommedan; the next eleven were Hindoos; and the last was an Englishman from Bishop's College. This remarkable competition—and the same was observed in all the colleges in every part of India—established the fact that the Hindoo possesses singular aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge, and is eager to enter the government service. The government, of course, does all it can to cherish this zeal. It has become a rule that no one can enter the employ of the state in any department, the salary of which employment exceeds twenty-five rupees per annum, who does not pass an examination in all the rudiments of English knowledge.

In many other ways the influence of the new order of things was apparent. For instance, Madras was, for the first time, lighted with gas; English salt was imported in large quantities, to the exclusion of the wretched, costly stuff manufactured under the East India Company's monopoly; screw-press associations, for packing cotton and wool, were established at Kurrachee; judicial, revenue, and police jurisdiction was given to certain jagheerdars, in their own jagheers; newspapers and mechanics' institutes were started in every part of the country; and great numbers of the natives voluntarily embraced Christianity. Writing in 1862, the *Times*, in one of its able leaders, pointed out the wonderful change which had come over India:—"The India of to-day is a totally different country from the India of six months ago: the stiff fences which divided the official from the non-official classes have been taken down; the discouragement which pressed upon the enterprise of Europeans has been removed; the shackles which impeded the action of all who would carry capital and labour into the uncleared jungles of the peninsula, have been struck off: and the evil eye which palsied the energies of independent labour has been conjured away. All that capitalists and cultivators in India have been reasonably asking, has been done, or is in the way of being granted. All that was said to be impossible or ridiculous, is quietly being done. Property in India, even in a few months, has sprung up like the grass, upon a spot from which a huge stone has been rolled away. Under the influence of a new government, and a healthy administration, the vast deficits and the impending bankruptcy have disappeared; the financial condition of the country has become sound; and in a land where the common rate of interest was, a short time ago, 12 per cent., the public $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock of the government is bought, by native buyers, at more than 8 per cent. premium. Meanwhile, the railways are advancing; the East Indian has opened another link, and gives promise to join the

old and distant city of Benares with Calcutta before this year goes out: another line advances from Calcutta to the Sonderbunds, where it will rout out the tigers, and turn the salt jungly swamps into cotton-fields. If we may believe all these appearances, India is starting upon a career of prosperity which has no visible halting-place; and we have the satisfaction of knowing, that it is to our British rule, and to the sagacity of our British statesmen, who have been firm to overthrow the ancient errors of her governors, that she owes her quick revival.

"Amid these causes for congratulation, it is a light thing that the half-mongrel savages of the north-east of Bengal have been found plundering our new settlers; and that the troubles in Darjeeling are, to some extent, removed. This is but the old story. Had Mr. Grant introduced the police, as he was directed to do more than a year ago, their very presence would have prevented the risings in Assam, and would have calmed the excitement of the indigo districts. Tea-planters and cotton-growers would have been prudent in drawing back from speculation in such districts, if these interruptions were to be feared continually. But neither Mr. Grant, nor the system of Mr. Grant, is any longer dominant in this great province of India. The hill-men and jungle wallahs will no longer receive tacit encouragement to oppose themselves to the spread of improvements in the wastes of Bengal; and the action of a newly organised police will soon give security to industry, both native and foreign. From predatory savages, these tribes will soon, under firm and equitable treatment, become useful labourers. Already the Hindoo labourer has risen immensely in the scale of existence, and has come to experience that life may be something better than a struggle against starvation. 'The only obstacle,' says our Calcutta correspondent, 'to the progress of planting, is the want of labour; and it should not be so difficult to induce the Kokees, Cossyas, Abors, Nagas, and other Indo-Chinese tribes, to become peaceful and wealthy labourers or agriculturists.'"

Yet we must not be over-confident. Prosperity and civilisation in India may, in many ways, tend to shake our power. Previous to the mutiny, a feeling of nationality had sprung up—the indirect consequence of British rule. The results of long years of internal tranquillity and good order, under a powerful government, were to fuse into a whole the previously discordant elements of native society, and to bind together, by a bond of common country and language, those whom we had been in the habit of considering as effectually separated by race, religion, and caste. The Indian Mahomedans became gradually Hindooised, and their ancient antipathy disappeared; and thus the safeguard, as we deemed it—and as, undoubtedly, it was—to their union for attacking us was removed. "The day," writes Mr. Edwards, "has, in my opinion, gone by when any mixture of races, castes, or creeds in our native army, can afford any real or permanent safeguard against mutiny and rebellion." We are regarded in India as conquerors; and Mr. Edwards thinks, the more the people become enlightened and civilised, the more earnest, in all probability, will be their efforts to get rid of us. "As an illustration," he observes, "of native feeling, I may state, that the night the tidings of the Cawnpore massacre reached us, in our asylum at Kussoorah, in Oude, the Thakoors eagerly discussed the conduct of the Nana—the 'Peshwah,' as they termed him—with evident feelings of respect. The prevailing sentiment was, that he had been clearly right in attempting to throw off the power of the British; but that he had erred in cruelly killing women and children. He ought, they said, to have marched all the Europeans at Cawnpore, with all he could pick up on the way, to Calcutta; there put them on board their ships, and send them off, saying, 'We have had quite enough of you, and we wish to see you no more. If any of your nation ever come back again to Hindostan, we shall kill you all.'" We almost fear Mr. Edwards is right, when he considers we are quite mistaken as to the effect of the co-operation of the natives of India in measures for the general civilisation and improvement of the country. He observes—"Those who expect such co-operation, appear to me to keep out of view the wide and insurmountable barrier which

interposes between Christianity and false religion. Natives professing such opposite creeds can never amalgamate—never associate together—never co-operate, in any cordial or permanent manner, for any objects whatever. Each is running in its own separate gauge—the one broad, the other narrow; and they can no more amalgamate than light and darkness. What we have to bear in mind is this—that our presence in India as a Christian and civilised power, *must*, from the nature of the case, produce disturbance, dislike, and hatred among natives who, for ages, have lived in the darkness of heathenism; and that physical and moral improvements are equally calculated, as the most direct efforts to evangelise the country, to produce convulsion.”

We hasten to bring our sketch of Indian affairs down to the present time. The health of Lord Canning had been so much shattered by the anxieties and toils of his viceregal office, that he lived but a very few weeks after his arrival in England, in 1862. He was succeeded, as we have already stated, by Lord Elgin, who found the affairs of India in a comparatively satisfactory state.

For nearly a twelvemonth after his arrival in India, Lord Elgin remained at Calcutta, making himself acquainted with the condition of affairs, and following up, with wisdom and energy, the measures introduced by his predecessor, and the legislative councils and law-makers. He then arranged for a journey to the north, that he might see the princes and chiefs who had been addressed by Lord Canning, and repeat the assurances of confidence which had been so cordially received at the durbars held by his lordship. It must be premised, that previous to the mutiny, intercourse between the head of the government and the true aristocracy of India had been infrequent; and while opportunity was thus afforded for the fomenters of intrigue and treachery, the governors-general had deprived themselves of the means of acquiring the friendship and support of a body of chieftains, who were powerful for evil or good.

Lord Elgin spent six days in Agra, in receiving the potentates of India at private and public durbars; the great durbar being attended by a larger number of chiefs than ever before assembled for a similar purpose. Upon the latter occasion he thus addressed his friendly visitors:—

“Peace—I hardly need remind you of the fact—now happily prevails throughout the whole extent of this vast empire. Domestic treason has been crushed; and foreign enemies have been taught to respect the power of the arms of England.

“The British government is desirous to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, not to extend the bounds of its dominions, but to develop the resources, and draw forth the natural wealth of India; and thus to promote the well-being and happiness both of rulers and the people.

“With this view, many measures of improvement and progress have already been introduced; and among them I may name, as most conspicuous, the railway and electric telegraph—those great discoveries of this age, which have so largely increased the power of the mightiest nations of the west.

“By diffusing education among your vassals and dependents, establishing schools, promoting the construction of good roads, and suppressing, with the whole weight of your influence and authority, barbarous usages and crimes—such as infanticide, suttee, thuggee, and dacoitee—you may, princes and chiefs, effectually second these endeavours of the British government, and secure for yourselves and your people a full share of the benefits which the measures to which I have alluded are calculated to confer upon you. I have observed, with satisfaction, the steps which many of you have already taken in this direction, and more especially the enlightened policy which has induced some of you to remove transit and other duties, which obstructed the free course of commerce through your states.

“As representing the paramount power in India, it is my duty to keep the peace here. For this purpose, her majesty has placed at my disposal a large and gallant army, which, if the necessity should arise, I will not hesitate to employ

for the suppression of disorder, and the punishment of any who may be rash enough to disturb the general tranquillity. But it is also my duty to extend the hand of fellowship and encouragement to all who labour for the good of India; and to assure you, that the chiefs who make their own dependents contented and prosperous, establish thereby the strongest claims on the favour and protection of the British government.

"I bid you now, princes and chiefs, farewell for a time, with the expression of my earnest hope that, on your return to your homes, health and happiness may attend you."

Lord Elgin then held a durbar at Umballah, near the foot of the Himalayan range, where he called together the influential Sikh chiefs, whose martial qualities it was his wish to recognise with all due honour, while seeking to impart a more pacific direction to their energies. The capture of Peking, in which some of their race had had a share, had impressed them with a deep sense of the importance and the power of England. Lord Elgin addressed them accordingly.

"Colonel Durand,—I beg that you will express to the native gentlemen assembled here, my regret that I am unable to address them in their own language; and inform them, that I am charged by her majesty the queen, to convey to them the assurance of her majesty's high appreciation of the loyalty and devotion to her majesty's person and government, which has been exhibited, on various occasions, by the Sikh rulers and people. Not many days ago, it was my pleasing duty to determine, that the medal granted to her majesty's troops who were engaged at Delhi in 1857, should be conferred on the followers of the Sikh chiefs who took part in the noble achievement of that period: and I can personally bear testimony to the good services of the officers and men of the Sikh regiments, who, in 1860, co-operated with the British troops in placing the British flag on the walls of Peking, the capital of the vast empire of China.

"But in order to be truly great, it is necessary that nations should excel in the arts of peace, as well as in those of war.

"Look to the history of the British nation for an example. Most assuredly the British people are powerful in war; but their might and renown are, in a great measure, due to their proficiency in the works which make a time of peace fruitful and glorious.

"By their skill in agriculture they have converted their country into a garden; by their genius as traders, they have attracted to it a large share of the wealth of other lands.

"Let us now take advantage of this season of tranquillity to confer similar benefits on the Punjab.

"The waters which fall on your mountain heights, and unite at their base to form mighty rivers, are a treasure, which, duly distributed, will fertilise your plains, and largely augment their productive powers. With electric telegraphs to facilitate communication, and railways and canals to render access to the seaports easy and expeditious, we shall be able to convey the surplus produce of this great country to others where it may be required, and to receive from them their riches in return.

"I rejoice to learn that some of the chiefs in this part of India are taking an interest in these matters, which are of such vital importance to the welfare of this country, and the prosperity of the people. It affords me, moreover, sincere gratification to find, that under the able guidance of the lieutenant-governor, the Sikh sirdars, in certain districts of the Punjab, are giving proofs of their appreciation of the value of education, by making provision for the education of their sons and daughters.

"Be assured that, in so doing, you are adopting a judicious policy. The experience of all nations proves, that where rulers are well-informed and sagacious, the people are contented, and willingly submissive to authority. Moreover, it is generally found, that where mothers are enlightened, sons are valiant and wise.

"I earnestly exhort you, therefore, to persevere in the course on which you have entered; and I promise you, while you continue in it, the sympathy and support of the British government."

When, in 1863, Lord Elgin departed from Calcutta for a tour, a meeting was held in that city, which demonstrated that, under the new rule, matters were progressing favourably: 8,000 of the principal inhabitants signed an address, expressing their high sense of gratitude for the wise and beneficent policy which had distinguished the administration of the last five years—"A policy," continued the address, "which has nobly sustained the authority and dignity of her majesty's government in her Indian dominions; strengthened, by new bonds of attachment, the confidence and sympathy of the princes and chiefs of the country; and, above all, sought to govern the empire in consonance with justice, and the interests of the teeming millions."

Peace was now universal in the British dominions; but there were still some marauding tribes in the distant north-west frontier, who required to be put down. These tribes, composed entirely of Mussulmans, occupied fortresses on the western bank of the Indus, whence they issued to plunder the industrious inhabitants and travellers in their vicinity. To chastise these marauders, Lord Elgin despatched an adequate force. Unfortunately, it passed through a district settled by the Bonair tribes. They, imagining evil intentions on the part of the British government, offered a strenuous opposition to the advance of our arms. There was fierce fighting for a couple of days; at the end of which time, the Bonairs, becoming aware that we intended them no harm, joined the British detachments, and assisted our troops in punishing the plundering tribes.

As we have already said, Lord Elgin died in India: he was succeeded by the one man—Sir John Lawrence—whose extraordinary administrative abilities, and magnificent services, had marked him, in the opinion of the public, as the future ruler of India. His daring, his energy, his integrity; his lofty sense of justice; his familiarity with the character, habits, prejudices, and language of the people; the awe and respect with which he was regarded in India—all fitted him pre-eminently for the exalted post.

The present Viceroy of India was born in Yorkshire, on the 4th of March, 1811. He came of a good stock. "About half-past one o'clock in the afternoon [of the 4th of May, 1799], General Baird, having completed his arrangements, stepped out of his trench, drew out his sword, and, in the most heroic and animating manner, said to his men—"Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!" In an instant both columns rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the fire of the batteries. Being immediately discovered by the enemy, they were assailed by rockets and musketry. The forlorn hope of such an attack consisted of a sergeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subalterns' parties: that of the right column was commanded by Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th; and the other, of the left column, by Lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th." Thus wrote, says Mr. Kaye, in the first year of the present century, Colonel Alexander Beatson (historian of the war with Tippoo Sultan, and of the famous siege of Seringapatam), of these two lion-hearted subalterns, who had thus volunteered for the forlorn hope. The first-named went to his death; the second came out of the breach badly wounded, but alive. Having recovered from his wounds, Alexander William Lawrence took to himself a wife—the daughter of a Protestant clergyman in the north of Ireland, named Knox. Their union was a fruitful one. The first-born of the family was a daughter, who, in womanhood, became all that an elder sister could be to her brothers, and whose good influence upon them was ever gratefully acknowledged. Three sons followed. In time, Major Lawrence returned to England, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel to a garrison battalion then posted in the island of Guernsey. In a few years afterwards, Colonel Lawrence bethought himself that the time had come for placing his boys out in life; and he wisely determined to

find, if he could, standing-room for them in the great continent of India, where every man had a fair chance, without reference to birth or fortune, of making his way to the front. Fortunately, he had some interest at the East India House. A connection of Mrs. Lawrence's family, Mr. Huddleston, was one of the directors of the East India Company; and thus one son after another found his way to fame and fortune.

Shortly after Sir John Lawrence had proceeded to assume the government, the Secretary of State for India made his statement in the House of Commons, respecting the financial, commercial, and agricultural condition of India. The details presented astounding proofs of the prosperity of India. The surplus revenue was £257,000; nine millions sterling of the debt of India had been liquidated; the revenue derived from the opium cultivation amounted to £8,055,000; the cotton crop consisted of 160,000,000 lbs. In 1858-'59, in the normal state of India, before the rebellion, the coffee imported into England amounted to 11,000,000 lbs.; in 1864, to 21,000,000 lbs. Indigo, in the same time, ran up from 9,000,000 to 11,000,000 lbs. Jute had received an immense impetus; and the exports of wool had increased from 15,000,000 to 21,000,000 lbs. The value of the tea grown in Assam was, in 1858-'59, £60,000; in 1863, it had reached £223,000. In return for the exports, India had received, in five years, no less than £60,000,000 in silver, and £25,000,000 in gold bullion, the greater part of which was applicable to household and decorative purposes. Finally, a material addition to the vegetable wealth of the country had been made in the cultivation of the cinchona plant, a South American exotic, which yields quinine.

Sir John Lawrence found the local government of India in a very effective working condition. The native members of the legislative council had taken a very active part in legislation, and expressed their opinions freely at the council board. The number of native councillors was, in 1864, sixteen; of whom eight belonged to the council of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, five to that of Bombay, and three were members of the Madras council.

To test the friendship of the people, Sir John Lawrence, in 1864, held a durbar, the like of which had never been known before. At Lahore, upwards of 600 princes and chieftains attended. The scene was one of unparalleled grandeur. North of the city of Lahore, between the walls of the fort and the Ravee, which flows by the city, stretches a level plain, green with close turf, and studded here and there with clumps of dark-leaved trees. Here the magnificent and spacious tents for the durbar of the viceroy had been pitched. At the extreme end was the throne, on a raised dais spread with cloth of gold, and covered with a rich crimson canopy. At each side of the throne, and ranged in the form of an ellipse, stood the rajahs, chiefs, and native gentry, all gaily attired. There was the Maharajah of Cashmere, the province so celebrated, in poetry and romance, for the exquisite texture of its shawls, and the beauty of its women: the Maharajah of Puttiala, the splendour of whose Court was only eclipsed by the magnificent example of fidelity to his engagements, which he afforded during the perilous crisis of the great insurrection; and many lesser known, but equally faithful notabilities. Blazing with diamonds, emeralds, and pearls, and arranged in superb robes, which put the stiff fashions of European Courts to shame, they went to the durbar, in a style of which the written narrative gives but a poor idea. Sir John Lawrence addressed the chiefs in the Hindoo language. "It is something," wrote a newspaper correspondent, "to have a Governor-general who can address the chiefs in a language they can understand; it creates a link only second to that which is formed by identity of race. If, when his excellency presented the Star of India to the Rajah of Kupperoortulla, he had addressed him in English, his words, so well calculated to inspire all his hearers with a feeling of emulation, would have lost much of their force in being translated by the interpreter." After the speech the various presentations were made; and when the last sirdar had been introduced, tokens of honour were conferred on twenty of the leading chiefs.

During the ceremony, the pipers of the 93rd Highlanders, whose cheering notes had once aroused the drooping energies of the troops cooped up in Lucknow, played a variety of spirit-stirring tunes, which much exhilarated the native chiefs, to whose ears the pipe sounded as some of their own native music.

On the day following the durbar, Sir John Lawrence officially opened the first section of the Punjaub railway line, from Lahore to Mooltan, expatiating, in a suitable public address, upon the political and commercial improvement which the line was calculated to produce. A dinner was given, on the occasion, to 120 European *employés* on the line; and an eye-witness remarked—"The durbar, at which the viceroy received 600 princes and chiefs in a splendid tent, pitched on a vast plain, was doubtless a magnificent sight; but we regarded the assembly of a hundred hard-handed, plain English mechanics in an ordinary railway waiting-room, erected in the ancient Sikh capital, as far more curious and suggestive, and one calculated to excite emotions of a more pleasurable nature. The one was a mere pageant, representative of the barbaric splendour of the dark ages; while the other was the living embodiment of progress and enlightenment."

One little war marks this period of our Indian history. It was a war of ignorance, not of discontent.

At the foot of the western Himalayas lies a strip of territory, called Bhootan, lying directly north of Lower Bengal, conterminous with the province of Assam. Since 1774, the British had held no intercourse with this state, which is, indeed, composed of people scarcely removed from barbarism. Early in 1864, a mission, or embassy, was sent to Bhootan, consisting only of four European gentlemen, and 200 coolie attendants. The object of the mission was to demand the surrender of several British subjects, who had been seized by the Bhootan hill-men; the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier. The Bhootan chief received the message with savage insolence; grossly maltreated the envoy and his suite; and only released the former upon his promising that a British province should be ceded to him. The government, of course, could not confirm such an agreement. On the contrary, it was immediately repudiated, and a force equipped to obtain satisfaction for the outrageous insult offered to the embassy. The satisfaction took the form of the seizure of certain districts, and of the occupation of the passes between the highlands of Bhootan and the British territory.

One extract from a letter will show the difficult nature of the task in which our troops had to engage. The writer says—"I send off a few lines, just to tell you that we took this famous place (Dalimkote) the day before yesterday, not, I am sorry to say, without serious loss: the Bhootans having fought with much more courage and resolution than we expected; and the fort being naturally and artificially strong, and in a most commanding position. We were opposed nearly all the way up the hill, and could only proceed by a narrow tortuous road, constantly exposed to showers of arrows and stones, both of which the Bhootans threw with great force and precision. The column got up close to the fort without any serious loss: but then there stood the fort before us, on a hill about two hundred feet high, surrounded by a thick wall of about thirty feet elevation. We soon brought our small mortars into position; and were getting on very well with the work—throwing shells and carcasses into the fort at about a couple of hundred yards' range, when, from a fuse being too short cut, the shell burst in the muzzle of the mortar, and exploded a quantity of powder which poor Griffin was weighing out for the charge; and, in an instant, three officers—Griffin, Anderson, and Waller—and some artillery close by, were blown to atoms. This was a terrible catastrophe to the whole force, and had nearly been far worse, as our esteemed and gallant Brigadier Dunsford was within a yard of the group, having only that instant left poor Griffin to give some orders to Captain Perkins, of the engineers. By this untoward calamity the force lost the services of three most excellent officers and seven men, and also one of their mortars, which became utterly unserviceable. With great difficulty, and after some delay, an Armstrong gun was brought up the

hill, and was soon placed in position, and brought to play upon the confronting bastion, and, with a carcass, set fire to the buildings inside the fort. This the general thought an auspicious signal and time for an assault; and, having got the scaling-ladders up, the storming party made a rush, and carried the place at once, the Bhootans bolting out on the opposite side. Dalimkote is a fearfully strong place, and was not taken without several casualties—the general having had several men shot close to his side, and not a few narrow escapes. Our work is not completed yet, as we have one more fort to take—that of Dhurm Sing—said to be nearly as strong as this, but not in such a commanding and difficult position. Our loss has been heavy; but, considering the important result, and the rapid way in which it was obtained, I do not think it disproportionate if we deduct those killed by the unfortunate explosion. Collins, of the engineers, is wounded severely—both his legs having been broken by the explosion; McGregor, the general's brigade-major, slightly wounded on the scalp by a gun-shot; and Loughman, of the 18th native infantry, wounded by an arrow through his right arm. We have, besides, eight men killed, and forty-six wounded. We were at it from ten in the morning until six in the evening; and you may imagine that we were not sorry when the affair was over, and the fort in our possession. We are not enamoured of hill and jungle warfare, where the highest military skill, and the best soldiers, may be employed with comparatively inadequate results."

In taking leave of India, we must not omit the violent cyclone in the Bay of Bengal, in November, 1864, which extended along the coast from Calcutta nearly to Madras. The waters of the Ganges were driven back by the wind, and submerged a large portion of the Sonderbunds. The island of Saugur was inundated, and 7,000, out of a population of 8,500 persons, were drowned. But the greatest suffering was experienced at Masulipatam, where the sea broke over the land along a space of more than eighty miles; and, in some places, to a distance of seventeen miles inland—destroying villages, crops, and cattle; filling up the wells; and, as the waters broke in during the night, allowing little chance of escape to the wretched inhabitants. The total loss of life, during this terrible night, was estimated at not less than from 60,000 to 70,000 souls. On the flood retiring, the number of bodies of men and animals left behind was so great, that but for the strenuous exertion of the English in burying and burning them, and providing food and shelter for the surviving population, an infectious fever would have followed close upon the previous calamity.

Here we close our summary of Indian history. We see it fruitful, prosperous, and at peace: no longer the heritage of a trading Company, but under the sway of Queen Victoria. Under the old Company's rule wonders had been wrought: war-like races had been subdued; native princes dethroned; and a great empire founded. But it had long been felt that India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must, as Lord William Bentinck wrote, be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1,000 individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. They had been found totally incompetent to the charge; and, in their hands, administration in all its civil branches—revenue, judicial, and police—had been a failure. The Indian government, as compared with that of England, says Mr. Ludlow, has been, emphatically and admittedly, a middle-class government: often a stepping-stone to aristocratic rule at home. More peers' robes have been won in India than carried thither; and, accordingly, its faults have been, in great measure, middle-class faults—the grasping after wealth; the hastening to be rich; the narrowness of view; and not a little of the arrogance of the purse—the vulgar assumption of superiority. A change was called for, and the mutiny accelerated it. And thus India passed under the sway of one who holds

"A nobler office upon earth
Than arms, or power of brain, or birth,
Could give the warrior kings of old."

Let us hope a bright future under the new rule. We have, in India, an immense

garden of incalculable fertility, from which to draw all the raw produce that our manufactories can need: myriads of willing and industrious hands to bring it forth; and myriads of ready-found customers for all the handiwork of our operatives at home. The cause of the welfare of the people of India, is the cause of the welfare of the people of England. We suffer here for misgovernment there. English apathy and indifference in India produce want and discontent. The better we do our duty to India, the dearer and more valuable will India be to us.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE PALMERSTON MINISTRY FELL.

WHEN parliament met, in 1858, it seemed as if Lord Palmerston would carry everything before him. It was not so: and why it was not so we will now proceed to tell.

In a letter written, in 1835, to his friend Senior, the late Archbishop of Dublin wrote—"By what I can learn, the 'measures not men' party, or 'fair trialites,' seem to gain ground; the principle of it being, I conceive, that the king may, now-a-days, please himself as to ministers, since it is no longer they, but the reformed parliament that governs the country. A minister will no longer go out as soon as he fails to carry any measure; but will act the part of a cook at an hotel, who proposes a dinner, but offers to send up any dishes the company like better. If this state of things be established, it will be the greatest practical result of a reformed parliament. One consequence will be, that men of the highest character will no longer take office. A minister used to be a stage-coachman, who drove, at a certain fixed hour, and a settled road, those who chose to go by his coach: now he will be a gentleman's coachman, who drives where and when his master bids him. They will only accept office for private pay and patronage. The evil resulting will be—no one responsible, unless a law is passed to make every M.P. responsible individually for every motion he makes. Another will be—a sort of unsteady yawning course of the state ship. Mr. Ward will carry a measure to-night, and Sir Robert Peel another a week after; and Lord Stanley a different one afterwards: so that our legislature will be a more motley 'picnic' than ever."

About this time the state ship pursued what Whately calls an unsteady yawning course.

On the evening of the 14th of January, as the Emperor Napoleon and the empress had just arrived at the door of the opera in Paris, three explosions of shells were heard. Neither the emperor nor the empress were touched, though the hat of the former was broken to pieces, and the carriage in which they sat was much shattered. A great number of the crowd were wounded—some of them mortally so. Two persons were killed on the spot; six others died in consequence of their wounds; and 156 persons were, more or less, injured. Their majesties, on entering the opera, were received with the warmest enthusiasm; and, on leaving it at midnight, they found the boulevards illuminated in honour of their escape. Several arrests were made during the night; and amongst the persons taken were Felice Orsini, and another Italian named Pierri. On the person of the latter was found a six-shot revolver, a grenade, similar to those which were hurled at the carriage, and a poniard.

The attempt was followed by an expression, on the part of a portion of the French people and press, of much ill-will towards this country, where it was said that the conspiracy against the life of the emperor had been projected. The president of the senate, in the course of his address of congratulation to the

emperor on his escape, observed—"The revolutionary spirit having been driven from France, has settled down abroad, and become cosmopolite. It is from foreign strongholds, erected against France, situated in the centre of Europe, that fanatical, hired assassins are sent, with fire and steel, against the prince who bears on his powerful arm the buckler of European order—execrable conspirators, whose policy is assassination; and who even assault gentle women, unaware that some of them have the hearts of heroes! But how comes it that, as these implacable revolutionists trample all the duties of hospitality under foot, and are united in their mad plans of destruction, foreign governments and peoples do not take measures to give a legitimate support to the cause of order? The law of nations authorises it; justice and common sense make it a duty." Count de Morny said, that "the members of the legislative body, when they saw such abominable attempts prepared abroad, asked themselves how neighbouring and friendly governments were powerless to destroy those laboratories of assassination?—and how the laws of hospitality could be applied to wild beasts?" M. Baroche hoped that "the community of danger would lead to a natural and extensive solidarity between all nations; and that those cowardly assassins who abused the hospitality they found in friendly nations, and the protection afforded by their laws, in order to organise conspiracies and construct infernal machines, would be at length, by mutual consent, driven out of civilised Europe, to which they were at the same time a danger and a disgrace."

Further addresses, reflecting on the protection given by England to exiles, and on the freedom of the French and Belgian press, appeared in the official *Moniteur*. But the addresses presented to the emperor by the army, were remarkable for the unmitigated hostility to England, expressed in them all. Selections from them were published in the *Moniteur*, with an intimation that it might be useful for the country to be aware of the spirit that animated the army. We select a few passages. "In expressing our wishes that your majesty's life, so intimately connected with the repose and prosperity of France, may be for ever preserved from all parricidal attempts, it does not suffice the army to form a rampart round its sovereign; it is ready to shed its blood *in all places, to reach and annihilate the partisans of regicide*."—"The army is afflicted that powerful friends, whose brave armies so lately combated by our side, cover with their protection, under the name of hospitality, conspirators and assassins, who exceed those that have gone before them in all that is odious."—"This odious and cowardly attempt has filled our hearts with indignation and wrath against those who become the accomplices of these sanguinary conspirators, by giving them an asylum."—"Those wild beasts who, at periodical epochs, quit a foreign soil to inundate the streets of your capital with blood, inspire us with no other feelings than those of disgust; and if your majesty wants soldiers to get at these men, *even in the recesses of their den*, we humbly beseech you to choose the 82nd regiment [the one from which this address emanated] as part of the advanced guard of that army." The national guard of the Seine protested "against the asylum accorded to vile scoundrels, whom all civilised nations ought to brand and drive from their territory." The 19th military division declared, that "the odious and cowardly attempt had filled their hearts with indignation and rage against those who, by giving an asylum to the sanguinary anarchists, made themselves their accomplices." The address of certain colonels of the line went still further: they expressed their readiness to march to England, and drag forth the criminals from their asylum, if the English government would not expel them.

The emperor, apparently, showed no desire to join in the manifestations made by his officers and the people. He and the empress attended the ball given by Lord Cowley in honour of the marriage of the princess-royal, on the evening of her marriage-day, when her majesty wore a dress trimmed *à l'Écossais*, especially in compliment to the royal bride; and the emperor wore the order of the Garter. The members of the imperial family, all the French ministers, the marshals of France, and the high, social, and legal functionaries, were present.

About the same time, a brass field gun—one of the most perfect specimens produced, up to that time, in the royal gun-foundry at Woolwich arsenal, mounted on a suitable carriage—with ammunition waggon, and a couple of limbers, made of fine old English oak, were presented by the queen, as “a mark of her esteem to his imperial majesty, Napoleon III.” Notwithstanding the reciprocal feelings of regard and friendship thus evinced by the sovereigns for each other, the passions of their subjects were very near causing a rupture between the two countries. The language of the French army and the French press produced violent retaliatory articles and speeches in England; and when, on the 27th of January, the *Moniteur* published the addresses from the French troops, containing the language we have quoted, Lord Palmerston evidently thought it was time to interfere. The Earl of Clarendon, accordingly, called the attention of Count Persigny to the subject, pointing out the effect which the addresses had on the English people, and the construction which would inevitably be placed upon the publication of such documents in the official paper of the French government. The count immediately communicated this conversation to M. Walewski, who, on the 6th of February, replied to the ambassador. He pointed out the opposition of the addresses to “the language which the emperor’s government had not ceased to hold to that of her Britannic majesty; and, attributing the appearance of the objectionable words to inadvertence, caused by the number of the addresses, added—“The emperor enjoins you to say to Lord Clarendon how much he regrets it.” This despatch, read in both Houses of parliament, and published in the papers, caused the feeling in England, roused by the military addresses, to subside.

At the opening of the French legislative chamber, the emperor did not forget to allude to the attempt which had been made upon his life. After speaking of the internal affairs of France, he referred to its navy, which, he said, was acting in China with the English fleet, “to obtain redress for common grievances, and to avenge the blood of our missionaries, who have been cruelly massacred.” Napoleon then declared that the relations of France with foreign powers were never on a better footing; and that he was convinced, at Osborne as well as at Stuttgardt, his desire to keep up the intimacy of old relations, as well as to form new ones, was equally shared by the chiefs of two great nations. In reviewing the position of France, he said it adopted the great and civilising principle of 1789; but that it was the enemy of every abstract theory. “Moreover, there is a truth inscribed upon every page of the history of France and England—namely, that liberty without obstacles is impossible, as long as there exists in a country a faction which obstinately disowns the fundamental basis of the government; for then liberty, instead of enlightening, controlling, ameliorating, is nothing else, in the hands of factions, but a weapon of destruction. Therefore, as I did not accept the power of the nation with the view to acquire that ephemeral popularity—the paltry prize of concessions exacted from weakness—but with a view, one day, to deserve the approbation of posterity, by founding something lasting in France, I do not fear to declare to-day to you, that the danger, no matter what is said to the contrary, does not exist in the excessive prerogatives of power, but rather in the absence of repressive laws.” Finally, the emperor observed, that the recent attempt on his life did not shake his security in the present, or his faith in the future. “If I live,” he remarked, “the empire will live with me; and if I should fall, my very death would only tend to strengthen the empire; for the indignation of the people and of the army would be an additional support to the throne of my son. Let us attend calmly to our daily work, for the welfare and the greatness of our country.”

The emperor then, fortified by his subjects, and perhaps alarmed at the numerous attempts on his life, made a claim on this country, which led to no little unpleasantness. As we have shown, he extolled highly repressive laws; and he attempted still more in that direction. Foreign journals, especially those of England and Belgium, were excluded from France; and the Belgian government

was required to put down two papers published at Brussels. Nor was this all: the French government aimed at the destruction of that hospitality which the free states of Europe, especially England, were in the habit of extending to political exiles of all opinions. On the 22nd of January, Count Walewski sent a note to England, Belgium, Sardinia, and Switzerland, demanding, in the name of the government of France, certain measures respecting refugees, which might prevent the renewal of attempts at assassination.

In the address to M. de Persigny, his attention was called to the circumstances connected with the attempt on the emperor's life; and the foreign minister reminded him, that that attempt, like those of Pianori, and the plot in which Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, and Campanelli directed the assassins whom they had furnished with arms, had been devised in England. At the same time, M. Walewski declared, that "the government of the emperor was persuaded of the sincerity of the sentiments of reprobation which they created in England. He was equally convinced, that with such proofs in their possession of the abuse of hospitality, the English government and people would understand at once to what extent France was justified in directing their attention to them. Appreciating the liberality with which England was disposed to exercise the right of asylum in regard to foreigners—the victims of political struggles—yet, when assassination was elevated to a doctrine, preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts, the French government felt it a duty to ask—'Ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Was hospitality due to assassins? Ought English legislation to continue to favour their designs and plans? And could it continue to shelter persons who, by their flagrant acts, had placed themselves beyond the pale of common right, and under the ban of humanity?'" In putting these questions, Count Walewski said he was only re-echoing the sentiments of France. He refrained in any way from indicating the measures which ought to be adopted; but as the repetition and the wickedness of the guilty enterprises exposed France to a danger, against which he and his colleagues were bound to provide, they asked her Britannic majesty's government to assist them by affording a guarantee of security, which no state could refuse to a neighbouring one, and which France was authorised to expect from an ally.

About the same time, Count de Persigny, the French ambassador in England, took the opportunity afforded by an address from the corporation of London, congratulating the emperor on his escape from the recent attempt on his life, to explain to the English public the position which he took upon the subject. "Permit me," said he, "to tell you what is the true question. It does not lie in the attempts at assassination in themselves, nor even in the crime of the 14th of January, which your government would have hastened to have warned us of, if it could have known it beforehand: the whole question is in the moral situation of France, which has become anxiously doubtful of the real sentiments of England. Reasoning in effect by analogy, popular opinion declares, that were there in France men sufficiently infamous to recommend, in their clubs, in their papers, in their writings of every kind, the assassination of a foreign sovereign, and actually to prepare its execution, a French administration would not wait to receive the demands of a foreign government, nor to see the enterprise set on foot. To act against such conspiracies, to anticipate such crimes, public notoriety would be sufficient to set our law in motion; and measures of security would be taken immediately. Well, then, France is astonished that nothing of a like nature should have taken place in England; and Frenchmen say, 'Either the English law is sufficient, as certain lawyers declare—and why, then, is it not applied?—or it is insufficient, which is the opinion of other lawyers; and, in this case, why does not a free country, which makes its own laws, remedy this omission?' In one word, France does not understand, and cannot understand this state of things; and in that resides the harm; for she may mistake the sentiments of her ally, and no longer believe in her sincerity." In reality, Count Persigny held out a threat.

The French government were very much in earnest in this matter. On the 20th of January, Count Walewski addressed a despatch to Count Persigny. It stated, that the recent attempt on the life of the emperor, like those which had preceded it, had been projected in England; and then continued—"No one appreciates and respects more than ourselves the liberality with which England loves to practise the right of asylum towards foreigners, victims of political struggles. France has, on her part, always regarded it as a duty of humanity, never to close her frontiers to any honourable misfortune, to whatever party it might belong; and the government of his majesty has no intention of complaining that its adversaries can find a refuge on English soil, and live there peaceably, under the protection of British laws. But how widely different is the attitude of the adepts of demagoguery established in England. It is no longer the hostility of erring parties manifesting itself by all the excesses of the press, and every violence of language; it is no longer even the labours of the factious, seeking to agitate opinions, and to provoke disorder; it is assassination reduced to a doctrine, preached openly—practised in repeated attempts, the most recent of which has just struck Europe with stupefaction. Ought, then, the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Is hospitality due to assassins? Should English legislation serve to favour their designs and their manœuvres? And can it continue to protect persons who place themselves, by flagrant acts, without the pale of common law, and expose themselves to the ban of humanity?"

In France, the opportunity was, as we may suppose, improved. A new "*loi des suspects*" was enacted, which conferred upon the government the power of subjecting accused persons, "whom serious facts point out as dangerous to public safety, without trial, to be fined, imprisoned, removed to the interior, or carried off to Algeria or the colonies." That the people might the more readily be brought within the influence of the sword of the state, all France was parcelled out into five military divisions, each under its general; and the whole under Marshal Pelissier.

An uneasy feeling had been created by these events in the minds of the people of this country. When parliament met on February 4th, Mr. Roebuck inquired whether there had been any correspondence with the Court or minister of France, on the subject of any alteration in our criminal laws? Lord Palmerston replied, that a despatch had been addressed to the French ambassador in this country, but that no answer had been returned. It was unfortunate for his lordship, that when he did return one, it was more in accordance with French than English sentiments.

On the 8th of February, Lord Palmerston, in pursuance of the demand made upon him by the French government, moved for leave to "bring in a bill to amend the law relating to conspiracy to commit murder." Circumstances, he said, arose, from time to time, which pointed to the necessity, or at least the expediency, of revising particular laws. An event of that kind had recently happened. A conspiracy was formed, partly in this country, to commit an atrocious crime. The consequence has been, that foreign nations, ignorant of our laws, have thought that we are indifferent to crimes of this nature, and rather disposed to look upon them with favour. A disposition prevails upon the continent to think that parliament should take some steps to remove aliens on mere suspicion; but it is not the intention of government to propose any measure of that kind: such a power would lead to abuse; and to grant it is out of the question. The bill proposed—that if any person in Great Britain conspired with any persons, either within or without this country, to commit murder in these or any other dominions, they shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, on conviction, be liable to be sentenced to penal servitude for life, or for any term not less than five years; or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding three years: the same penalties to apply to any one who shall persuade, instigate, or solicit any other person to commit murder, either within or without her majesty's dominions. This,

Lord Palmerston held, would be an improvement on the existing law, and proceeding "as far as we can go without violence to the constitution."

An amendment was moved by Mr. A. W. Kinglake, to the effect that the House deemed it inexpedient to legislate in compliance with the demand made by Count Walewski's despatch, until further information be obtained. Mr. Hadfield, Mr. W. J. Fox, and Mr. Gilpin denounced the bill. They argued that it was unnecessary, and that it would prove a dead letter unless it provided for espionage by means of the French police. If, they argued, we oblige France to-day, something may be done to oblige Austria to-morrow; and after that, perhaps, something to oblige the King of Naples. If England gave way, what could Belgium, Switzerland, or Sardinia be expected to do? Persons who wade through slaughter to a throne have no right to ask their neighbours to watch over their safety. Assassins did not grow in England; they go out of it: but they first come into it from countries administered by governments who make assassins. Mr. Roebuck called upon the Commons, as "freemen, and the great protectors of the oppressed in Europe, to throw out the bill with all the ignominy it deserved." On the debate being adjourned, the proposed bill was opposed by many members, including Lord John Russell. The real question, he said, was, that the French government wanted to put an end to assemblages of fanatical politicians in London, which could only be done by sending them out of the country before any crime could be proved. He trusted that the House would stand by the established laws of England. Let those who would, support the bill: in their shame and humiliation he was determined not to share. On a division, the ayes were 299; noes, 99. The bill was therefore brought in, and read a first time.

The second reading of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, as it was termed, was fixed for the 18th of February. Mr. Milner Gibson, in accordance with previous notice, proposed the following amendment:—"That the House hears, with much concern, that it is alleged that the recent attempts on the life of the Emperor of the French have been devised in England, and expresses its detestation of such guilty enterprises. That this House is ready at all times to assist in remedying any defects in the criminal law, which, after due investigation, are proved to exist; yet it cannot but regret that her majesty's government, previously to inviting the House to amend the laws of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to make some reply to the important despatch received from the French government, dated Paris, January 20th, 1858; and which has been laid before parliament." The amendment was seconded by Mr. Bright, who had found his way back into the House of Commons as member for Birmingham. A warm debate ensued, during which Mr. Gladstone uttered these truthful and eloquent remarks—"These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century; we talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing: but, can any man of observation, who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe, have failed to perceive that there is a movement indeed, but a downward and a backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places; nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe, so far as mere material greatness, although their moral greatness will, I trust, ensure them long prosperity and happiness. But in these times, more than ever, does responsibility centre upon England; and if it does centre upon England, upon her principles and her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons—the chief hope of freedom—which attempts a moral complicity between us and those who seek safety in repressive measures, will be a blow and a discouragement to that sacred cause in every country in the world." The debate bore hardly on the government. It was evident the public opinion of the country was against them; that Lord Palmerston's readiness to change the laws of England at the dictation of a foreign potentate was peculiarly unacceptable: and when the great Tory party went over to Mr. Gibson, when Mr. Disraeli walked into the same lobby with Mr. Bright, it was clear the

battle was lost. On a division, the numbers were—ayes, 215; noes, 234: giving a majority of nineteen against the second reading. This result was received with loud cheers. On the following Monday, Lord Palmerston announced that there was only one course which ministers could pursue with a regard to their own honour, and a due respect to the House. They had, therefore, tendered to her majesty the resignation of their offices, and merely held them for the purpose of carrying on the business of the country until their successors were appointed.

Count Walewski, on reading the debate upon the second reading of the Conspiracy Bill, immediately had an interview with Earl Cowley, whom he authorised to express his astonishment and regret at the interpretation put upon his language; and at its being believed, with the knowledge he had of England, that he was "capable of applying, as a generality, an imputation which the context of his despatch proved could only have been intended for a definite class of strangers." The ambassador, in communicating this message to Lord Clarendon, added, that Count Walewski "had evinced so much concern that the deplorable events which had occurred should not interrupt the friendly relations existing between the two countries, that it was not to be supposed he would have said aught that could be construed into an attack upon the liberties of the British nation." As soon as the Derby ministry was formed, the Earl of Malmesbury wrote to Earl Cowley, requesting him to take the earliest opportunity of assuring Count Walewski, that her majesty's advisers were "earnestly desirous of maintaining, in their integrity, those close and friendly relations which, since the restoration of the empire, had marked the alliance between Great Britain and France, to the great benefit of both countries." To maintain those relations, however, whilst highly gratified by the full and frank assurances given by Count Walewski to Earl Cowley, the noble lord thought that some causes of misapprehension should be removed, as, if unexplained, they would continue to produce painful effects upon the public mind of England. Count Walewski, by stating, in his despatch, "that the late attempt, like others which had preceded it, had been devised in England, and that assassination, elevated to a doctrine, was preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts; and in asking whether the right of private asylum should contribute to favour such designs and plans?—had been understood to imply, not only that the offences enumerated were not recognised as such by the English law, but that they might be committed with impunity, and that the spirit of English legislation was such as designedly to screen and shelter the offender." His lordship showed that such was a wrong construction of English law; and pointed out, that "since the late atrocious attempt, proceedings had been instituted in two cases—one for complicity in the late murderous attempt; another for a publication elevating assassination to a doctrine." Count Walewski assured Earl Cowley (who read Lord Malmesbury's despatch to him on the 8th of March), that "nothing could have been further from his intention than to convey, in his despatch of the 20th of January, any imputation whatever on the morality or honour of the British nation." In a despatch of the 11th of March, to Count de Persigny, his excellency expressed the same sentiment.

Under his premiership, Lord Palmerston had the pleasure of assisting at the marriage of the princess-royal (which was celebrated on the 25th of January), to Prince Frederick William, of Prussia. The ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace. Her majesty wore, on the occasion, amongst other jewels, the Koh-i-Noor. She took her chair, surrounded by her young children, near the altar: the princesses in white; the princes in the Highland dress. Lord Palmerston stood on the right, and the Duchess of Sutherland on the left of her majesty. On the arrival of the bridegroom, he walked slowly up the chapel, bowed to the queen and his mother, knelt in front of the altar for a few moments, and then rose, and waited for his bride. After a pause, the princess-royal entered: on one side was her father, on the other her grand-uncle, King Leopold. She was followed by her youthful bridesmaids. The aspect of

the princess at this moment is thus described by a spectator:—"The gorgeous veil she wears, depending from her head-dress, is thrown off, and, hanging in massive folds behind, leaves the expression of her face completely visible as she walks slowly, her head slightly stooped in bashfulness, and her eyes cast down upon the ground. Thus all can distinctly see the mild, amiable expression of her face, so replete with kindness and deep feeling, and a peculiarly touching aspect of sensitiveness. Her bright bloom of colour has completely deserted her; and even when compared with her snowy dress, her cheeks seemed pale, and her whole appearance denotes tremulousness and agitation." The prince-consort gave away the bride, who seemed overcome almost to fainting. When the service was concluded, and the Hallelujah chorus pealed forth, the bride gave vent to her long-suppressed feelings, and threw herself upon her mother's bosom, with a suddenness and depth of feeling that thrilled through every heart. The queen fondly kissed her, and the bridegroom embraced the princess, and endeavoured to calm her emotion. On leaving the chapel, the bride and bridegroom walked together, and the princess recovered her naturally gay expression, and her eyes sparkled with delight. Of the festivities that took place at Buckingham Palace, and of the illustrious party assembled there, it is needless to speak. On the 2nd of February, the distinguished pair embarked at Gravesend, to proceed to Prussia. Snow fell heavily during the day, which was cold and gloomy. After a protracted voyage, on account of the thick weather, the prince and princess reached Antwerp in safety. Both at London and Berlin there were festivities of all kinds in honour of the marriage, which appeared to be one of affection, rather than of interest.

One other event—the trial of certain refugees in England—was also the effect of Lord Palmerston's activity at this time. Dr. Simon Bernard, a French refugee, and a teacher of languages, residing at Bayswater, was arrested on a charge of complicity with Orsini, and the attempted assassination of the emperor. Mr. Allsop, an Englishman of property, and friend of Coleridge, only saved himself from a similar fate by flight. In addition to this, a government prosecution, for a libel on the Emperor of the French, was instituted. Edward Truelove, a bookseller in the Strand, had published a penny pamphlet, entitled *Tyrannicide, is it Justifiable?* The law officers of the crown considered that this pamphlet was a false, malicious, and scandalous libel on the emperor, with a view to incite persons to assassinate him. A warrant was issued, and Truelove arrested, and committed for trial. In his case bail was taken, but refused in that of Dr. Bernard. A few weeks afterwards, a Polish refugee, named Stanilaus Tchorsewski, was arrested, and carried before Mr. Jardine at Bow Street, for the publication of a pamphlet in French, described in the warrant as a malicious libel concerning his majesty the Emperor of the French, with intent to incite divers persons to assassinate his said majesty. Tchorsewski was committed to take his trial.

Simultaneously with these proceedings in England, was the trial in Paris of those who had recently attempted to take the life of the emperor. The conspirators were four—Orsini, Rudio, Pierri, and Gomez—all Italians. The first three were sentenced to be executed in black garments as parricides; the fourth, who occupied merely a menial position, and pleaded that he but obeyed his master's orders, was condemned to penal servitude for life. Orsini stated that he had no hatred of France. A French army had overthrown the Roman republic; but he was persuaded that this was the act of the government only. He had, in England, written and spoken in favour of political intervention to free Italy, being desirous of proceeding legally. Finding these steps ended in nothing, he became convinced that the Emperor Napoleon was opposed to the independence of Italy, and therefore he resolved to kill him. From his prison, Orsini addressed a letter to the emperor; in which he said—"In order to maintain the balance of power in Europe, it is necessary to render Italy independent, or to lighten the chains by which Austria holds her in bondage. Shall I ask that, for her deliverance, the blood of Frenchmen shall be shed for the Italians? No; I do not go so far as that. Italy



МАЛИКАС. РАЦИОНАЛ. ДОС ОЕ МАЛАКОВ.

asks that France shall not intervene against her; and it shall not allow Germany to support Austria in the struggles in which she may, perhaps, be soon engaged. This is precisely what your majesty can do, if you are so inclined. On your will, therefore, depends the welfare or misfortune of my country—the life or death of a nation to which Europe is, in a great measure, indebted for her civilisation.” In a second letter to the emperor, he said—“Assassination, in whatever garb it may be disguised, does not enter amongst my principles, although, by a fatal error of mind, I have allowed myself to be led on to organise the attempt of the 14th of January.”

Orsini and Pierri were guillotined early on the morning of the 13th of March. Great numbers were present; and a body of 5,000 troops assembled round the scaffold. Pierri exhibited a feverish excitement; but Orsini was immovably calm. The work of death was rapidly done, and the crowd quietly dispersed. The life of Rudio was spared.

All this time intense excitement pervaded France, and a feeling of alarm appears to have taken possession of the French government. Arrests and repressive measures followed each other with great rapidity. Nor could the emperor allay his apparent agitation with respect to the liberty of political exiles in this country. A pamphlet, entitled *L'Empereur Napoleon III. et l'Angleterre*, was published in Paris. Though written by M. Guérinonnière, it was attributed to the inspiration of the emperor. It harped, with a disagreeable perseverance, on the delicate relations of the two nations: bitter complaints were made of the unfriendly feeling which, it was alleged, England entertained against his imperial majesty; and the advantages conferred on England by the French alliance were insisted on. It affirmed, that “in London there are held meetings where assassination is glorified. In London are sold atrocious libels, in which the murder of the sovereigns of Europe is elevated to a system—to a right, to a duty; in which thrones, altars, armies, laws, the magistracy, society, and God himself, are dragged through blood and mire. Such saturnalia surpass even barbarism. There is not a law, in ancient or in modern times, which tolerates them; and can it be pretended that this tolerance is, on the part of England, merely the exercise of the right of asylum?” How extravagant were these representations, was evidenced by the fact, that for proof of them, the writer was compelled to refer to what passed at a public-house near Temple Bar, where a discussion forum held its sittings, and where one of the subjects debated was—“Is regicide permitted under certain circumstances?”

A better feeling gradually grew up. The correspondence between Earl Malmesbury and Count Walewski was understood to have put the relations between the two countries on a more satisfactory footing, as the disavowal of the French foreign minister removed the only ground of complaint which could be urged against the despatch of the 20th of January. After the correspondence, it was thought that the Count de Persigny had better retire from the London embassy. He did so; and the Duke of Malakoff, who was on such familiar terms with the English army in the Crimea, was sent to replace him as ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The duke arrived in London on the 16th of April, and was most cordially welcomed. On the 6th of May, the members of the Army and Navy Club invited his excellency to dinner, at the club-house, St. James's Square. General Williams, the defender of Kars, presided; and the duke met many of his old companions-in-arms. The spirit displayed in the speeches delivered on this occasion, which were animated by a friendly feeling to France, and expressive of warm alliance between the two nations, on terms honourable to both, was very gratifying to Napoleon, who, according to an article on the change of ambassadors, which appeared in one of his official organs, selected the marshal as his representative at Queen Victoria's Court, because he “personified the alliance between the two nations, and was, in his person, a living monument of dangers and glory common to both.” About the time that the Duke de Malakoff received his appoint-

ment, the lands at St. Helena, forming the sites of Longwood and the tomb of Napoleon I., were made over to the emperor and his heirs for ever.

England did well in keeping to its old ways and institutions. A correspondent of the *Times* gives but a dreary view of affairs in Paris at the period of which we write. He says—"Over everything there is a gloom and uneasiness. People are talking timidly, and with measured dulness, on unusually commonplace topics. Men consider whether they ought to be walking with a friend whom they have known for years. Two persons will be speaking together, and, on seeing a third person join them, will suddenly pause, and turn the conversation. There will be, in the midst of social intercourse, a man who cheeks the mouth, and puts a guard on every tongue. People will talk with him, shake hands with him; but they will be careful of what they say before him. Individuals are careful what books they have in their libraries; what papers they have in their writing-desks. They do not talk affably with their inferiors, as light-hearted Frenchmen in the old time did. The *concierge*, the waiter at the *café*, even the private servants, are kept at a distance. In a railway carriage, it is well not to be too conversational with a neighbour. In a letter, it is as well to confine yourself to good wishes for your correspondent's health; for Paris and France are under strict surveillance; and no one knows who are the watchers, and who are the watched. The empire is *espionage*; its incarnation is a *mouchard*. It is not only that reorganised agents of police are in every street and public place; that the comings and goings of well-known democrats are watched; that the assemblies of communists are hunted out; but men of every rank, every phase of character, every shade of political opinions, are at the mercy of an immense army of spies, who penetrate everywhere—who follow the individual even into the confidence of his family and private life; and who spread distrust and apprehension through the country."

France, we may remark *en passant*, does not seem to have changed much for the better yet. The Paris correspondent of the *Morning Star*, writing from that gay capital in October, 1866, says—"According to the twelfth paragraph of Article 475 of the penal code, I was aware that every Frenchman was compelled, under pain of infraction of the law, to aid all government officers, policemen, &c., in all cases of accident, rows, or riots, shipwreck, inundation, fires, and other calamities, as well as in case of pillage or robbery. Every Frenchman is, moreover, bound to seize a guilty party, and give him up to justice. All this we have all been perfectly aware of. I also knew that there were a numerous body of men who gained their bread by the revolting occupation of spy. Yet, till now, I fancied these spies—or *mouchards*, as they are here called—filled no other function. A trial, which has just taken place in Paris, would, however, lead me to conclude that every individual in this country is qualified to serve the police, whatever may be his other occupations, and employed by government to be kept *au courant* of what is going on. Thus the head of a restaurant, one's private servant, one's porter, &c., may be, for aught we know, in the pay of the police. We are, in fact, living in an atmosphere of *mouchardism*. It is, however, no joke or sinecure to be a spy. Witness Clercenvault, a costermonger, who, although he had means of gaining his livelihood honourably, enrolled himself in that mysterious confraternity. He, having repeated what he heard, or denounced what he saw, naturally made an extensive circle of enemies. On the 16th of last June, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, Hentz Leperteur, and the brothers Neveu, who had cause of complaint against him, on account of revelations he had made to the police, attracted him into a lonely spot near Paris, accused him of being a spy, and threw themselves upon him, armed with open knives, and all but murdered him. Hentz Leperteur has been sentenced to twenty years' hard labour; the brothers Neveu got off, owing to extenuating circumstances."

But we must return to the trial, instituted by Lord Palmerston, at the instigation of the French government. On the 9th of April, true bills were returned against Dr. Bernard, Mr. Truelove, and Stanilaus Tchorsewski. Great

excitement prevailed on the subject. The prosecution was felt to be purely political. The trial commenced, at the Old Bailey, on the 12th of April.

Dr. Bernard was charged as an accessory, before the fact, to the murder of Nicholas Battie, and of another person (name unknown), whose deaths resulted from the explosion of certain hand-grenades, or shells, hurled at the carriage of the Emperor of the French, on the evening of the 14th of January. The prisoner objected that the court had no jurisdiction to try him on that indictment; and therefore he declined to plead. This objection was overruled, and the plea of "not guilty" entered for him. The details of the trial are too prolix for our pages. The prosecution sought to establish the guilt of Dr. Bernard by a long chain of circumstantial evidence. It is a well-known rule of English law, that when a case rests entirely on circumstantial evidence, that evidence must not only be consistent with the hypothesis of the guilt of the accused person, but it must also exclude every other hypothesis. It must not only be shown that he may be guilty, but that, on the evidence, it is impossible he can be innocent. The evidence against Dr. Bernard did not fulfil this condition; and the fact that the trial lasted six days, and had been undertaken at the instigation of the two most powerful governments in the world, raises a presumption that the evidence of guilt was weak. There were certain indisputable facts. An attempt was made on the life of the emperor by Orsini, Pierri, Rudio, and Gomez. The weapons used were shells, exploded by fulminating powder; and the shells were made by Mr. Taylor, of Birmingham, to the order of Thomas Allsop. Some time before the murderous enterprise, Bernard bought, in London, the materials used for making the fulminate of mercury. He was on intimate terms with Orsini; and he hired Rudio to join Orsini in Paris. It was, however, proved that Bernard caused some pieces of iron, supposed to be detached parts of grenades, to be conveyed to Brussels, and thence to Paris. He also sent two revolvers, which were delivered to Orsini in the French capital. In addition to this, Bernard was a republican, and avowed himself a conspirator against the despotic government of France. This was the whole case against him, with the exception that a letter was found in his lodgings, written by Allsop in January, 1857, and couched in violent language against the emperor. There was no proof that the shells made by Mr. Taylor, and paid for by Allsop, ever reached the hands of Dr. Bernard. An attempt was made to identify them with the pieces of iron which he sent to Brussels; but the evidence on this point was not satisfactory. Neither was there anything to show what use he had made of the mercury, nitric acid, and alcohol, which he had purchased in his own name. More important still, there was no evidence to connect him with the acts of Orsini in Paris. Not a scrap of writing was found to implicate him; and he was not named in the confessions made by the four condemned. If Bernard was a party to the plot, Rudio must have known it; but neither Rudio nor Gomez were produced as witnesses. The question for the jury was, whether Dr. Bernard knew that Orsini went to Paris with the deliberate intention of assassinating the emperor? The explanation offered on his behalf was, that he had assisted Orsini and his confederates to go to Paris, in furtherance of a revolutionary movement for the independence of Italy, and not to attempt the emperor's life; and that Orsini, when in Paris, formed the design which he carried into execution on the 14th of January. This statement was supported by the subsequent conduct and declaration of Dr. Bernard. Orsini, on taking his departure, told every one his destination was Paris. When the news of the attempt at assassination reached this country, Dr. Bernard appeared utterly confounded, and refused belief. He assured every one who listened to him, that he knew Orsini well; that he was acquainted with his object in going to Paris; and it was impossible that his friend could have formed the idea of assassination. He made no attempt to conceal papers, or remove them to destroy evidence, or to hide himself. There was, at least, so much doubt, that the jury declared him "not guilty." On the announcement of this decision there was loud and repeated cheering in court. Bernard, in

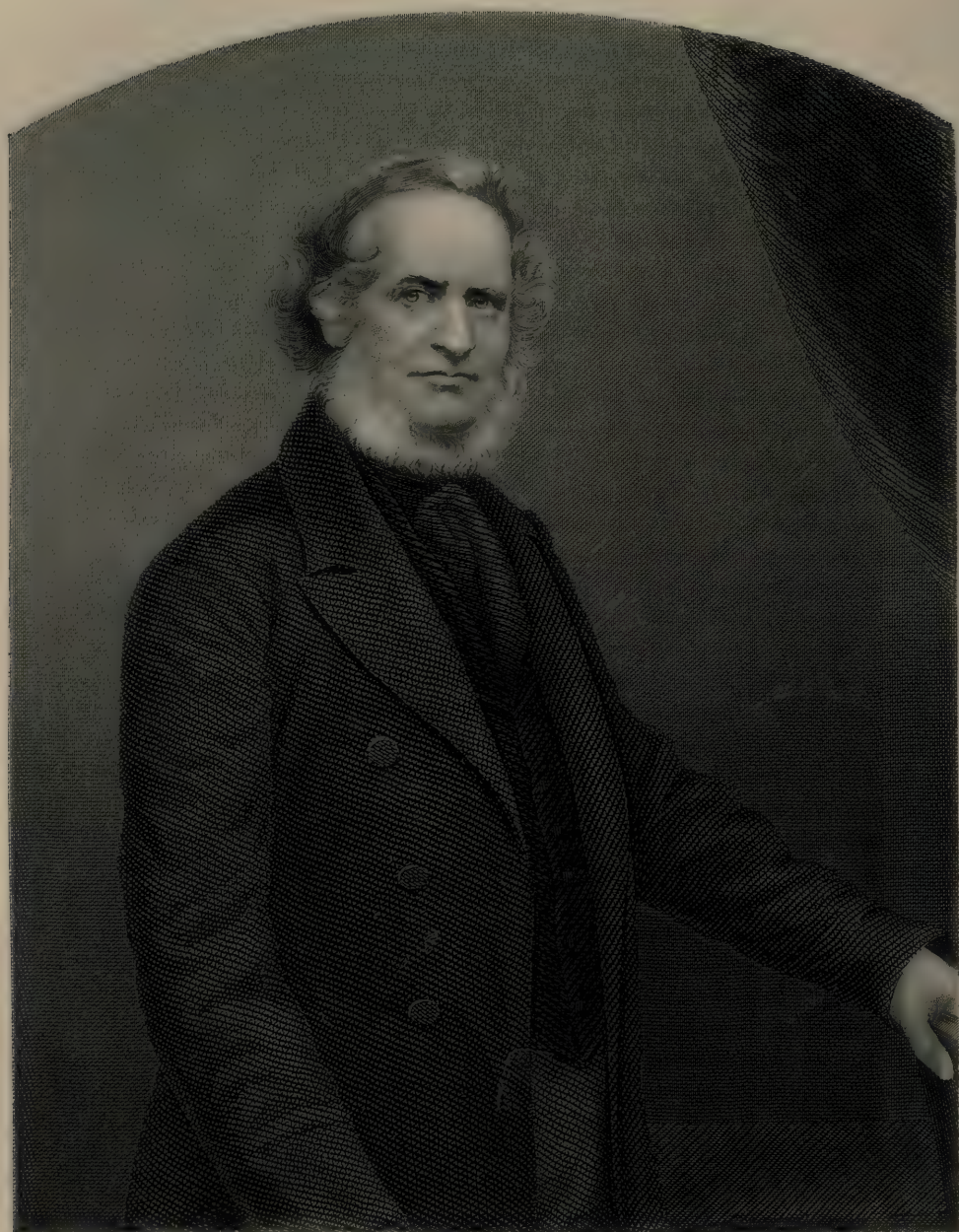
an excited manner, waved his handkerchief, and exclaimed, "I am not guilty—I am not guilty! Honour to an English jury! England has always been, and will always be, the land of liberty! England will always crush tyranny wherever it may be!" An immense crowd had assembled in the streets; and on the result of the trial being made known, continued cheering, and a scene of great excitement, took place. Many of the French journals were offended at the cheering, and regarded it as an expression of ill-will towards the emperor. It was not that. In England we always sympathise with the weak, rather than the strong—hence the joy manifested by the populace. Edwin James, the counsel for the defence, became the idol of the mob, and gained a seat for Marylebone.

For some time the government appeared inclined to proceed with the prosecutions against Truelove and the^e Pole, Tchorsewski; but they eventually came to the conclusion of abandoning a course which had, at the least, the appearance of an attempt to coerce the press. On the 22nd of June, the trial of Mr. Truelove was to take place in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Lord Campbell and a special jury. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the court was crowded, when the prosecution was withdrawn by the Attorney-general, on Mr. Truelove admitting that he never intended to countenance the crime of assassination, and that he was ready to express his regret that any such misconception should have been put upon his publication. A similar proceeding then took place with respect to Tchorsewski, and the press prosecutions were at an end. The Derby ministry acted wisely in retiring from proceedings which they did not originate. Orsini's attempt created in France a feeling of irritation against England. The French government saw an opportunity for striking a blow against the right of asylum, freely accorded in this country to political refugees of every nation, and of all shades of opinion. Count Walewski, for a short time, even entertained the hope that he could not only obtain the expulsion of obnoxious refugees, but some limitation of our liberty of the press. Lord Palmerston, probably, did not intend to go this length; but he was anxious to conciliate a powerful ally. The Conspiracy Bill, the arrest of Bernard, and the prosecution of an English bookseller, were all parts of an un-English policy; and the English people were anxious to show that they would not tolerate even the semblance of yielding to foreign dictation—that England would be England still—free in speech, free in its offer of shelter and liberty to the oppressed of every clime. The speech of King John to the pope's legate—with but a slight variation—should have been in Lord Palmerston's mouth. Shakespeare makes that poor puling king exclaim—

"Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England:
And thus much more—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;
But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,
So under Him, that great authority,
Where we do reign we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand."

Had Lord Palmerston spoken in some such strain, he would have remained in office.

In another matter Lord Palmerston seems to have acted in a manner unworthy of his ancient fame. It appears, that in June, 1857, the steam-boat *Cagliari*, which performed the mail service from Genoa to Tunis, started on her usual trip. During the voyage, a number of persons—most of them discharged soldiers of the Italian legion—possessed themselves of the command of the vessel, directed her course towards the Neapolitan coast, and attacked the island of Ponza, where they took on board 300 persons condemned for political offences. The *Cagliari* was subsequently captured by two vessels of the Neapolitan navy. On this, the owners of the packet demanded its restoration, on the ground that the captain and crew had acted under the influence of force. The Neapolitan government replied that the ship was officially confiscated. The crew, including Watt



EARL OF DERBY K.G.

and Park, the English engineers, were sent to prison to await their trial; and the British consul was not permitted to see his unfortunate countrymen. On the attention of Lord Palmerston being drawn to the subject in parliament, he replied that full inquiry had been made into the circumstances, and that the British government did not feel bound to interfere. Here was an abandonment of the *civis Romanus sum* doctrine with a vengeance. Surely, like fiery port, his lordship had become toned down by old age.

When the Conservatives came into office, they found public opinion very sore. People believed that the government had been meanly permitting Englishmen, guilty of no crime, to suffer a cruel imprisonment in the dungeons of Naples. The new government took up the matter warmly. On the 15th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement respecting it. He said that, as the jurisdiction of the King of Naples had been acknowledged by the late ministry, the present one was prevented from taking any steps in contravention of that decision. The government would submit their case, he said, to the law advisers of the crown; and then act without fear or favour, whether they deemed it their duty to assert the rights of a sovereign, or to vindicate those of their fellow-subjects. He added, that all the papers connected with the case should be laid before the House. On the 22nd of March, Mr. Disraeli informed the House, that in consequence of the representation of the British consul, the King of Naples had given orders that Watt should be immediately released; that Park had been released on bail; and that he had been placed on trial, which was conducted in a spirit of impartiality. Park was subsequently set at liberty; and a demand was made by the British government on that of Naples, for compensation to him and his companions. Eventually, the King of Naples agreed to pay £3,000 as compensation, and to deliver up the ship *Cagliari*, and the whole of her crew, into the hands of the government of this country.

Homer, we are told, sometimes nodded; and it seems, occasionally, England's far-famed Secretary was under somniferous influences. Still, in the fact that there was joy in Vienna, and among the despotic rulers of the continent, when it was heard that Palmerston was Premier no longer, we have the best compliment to his lordship's policy and power.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSERVATIVES IN OFFICE.

LORD DERBY, as head of the party that formed the most numerous section of the majority against the late government, received the queen's authority to form a new ministry. He undertook the task, though perfectly conscious that he possessed neither a parliamentary majority, nor that broad basis of popular support which is usually regarded as essential to the leader of the government.

Of this brilliant orator, the following particulars are worth recording. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, Earl of Derby, was born in 1799, at Knowsley Park, Lancashire. Having been educated at Eton, and at Christchurch, Oxford, Mr. Stanley, in 1821, became a member of the House of Commons, in which, for the next twenty years, he enacted a most conspicuous part. He seems to have been in no haste to trespass on the attention of the illustrious assembly; but when he broke silence in 1824, his maiden speech, though on a matter of mere local interest, elicited a high eulogium from Sir J. Mackintosh; and in the course of the same session, his second oratorical effort, on the subject of the Irish church, exhibited the readiness, aptitude, and ability of an experienced debater. Mr. Macaulay

remarked, that Mr. Stanley's knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence resembled an instinct; and that it would be difficult to name any other debater who has not made himself a master of his art at the expense of his audience. During the brief Canning and Goderich administrations, Mr. Stanley, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was initiated into official mysteries; and on the formation of Lord Grey's government, he was nominated to the then arduous post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. But although the young nobleman's political views were of the most liberal character, the constituency of Preston preferred the claims of Henry Hunt, the popular, but now forgotten, demagogue. However, Mr. Stanley found his way into the political arena through the borough of Windsor; and was, ere long, engaged in those single-handed conflicts with O'Connell and Shiel, which, for years, excited parliament, and alarmed the country. While the Reform Bill was under discussion in 1832, his singular genius for debate was often exercised with effect in defence of its provisions; and, about the same time, he carried the measure for national education in Ireland. The question was one of absorbing interest in the country; and the feeling, when the outline of the plan was made known, was one of general dismay among a very large body, both of the clergy and laity. It was affirmed, though very untruly, that Dr. Whately had been sent to Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin, for the very purpose of carrying out the system. That system failed. How it would have worked, and whether its success would have been greater as a mixed system, had the great body of Protestant clergy and laity supported it, it would be now vain to inquire. That the results would have been different from those which have taken place, can scarcely be doubted; but what those results would have been, is another question. Whether a mixed system of education (really, and not nominally mixed, as has been the case in some instances) can ever work effectually in a country where different religious systems are held with such intensity as in Ireland, is in itself a question not easily or quickly answered.

It was in the session of 1833 that Mr. Stanley's ability was most conspicuous, and his voice most potent in the battle of debate. At the opening of parliament, he overpowered the Irish repealers, says *Men of the Time*, by his vehement invective; and, combining the pride of patrician blood with the pride of intellectual prowess, it would, indeed, have been something novel in human nature, if he had not manifested a degree of scorn for his adversaries. This tendency soon raised up a host of foes eager to annoy him. The complaint of *hauteur* became so frequent, that the leader of the opposition came to the rescue. "I have often," said Sir Robert Peel, "heard the right honourable gentleman taunted with his aristocratic bearing and demeanour. I rather think I should hear fewer complaints on that score if he were a less powerful opponent in debate." Whether Mr. Stanley were wise in thus treating his opponents, is a question to which many have returned a negative reply. Be this as it may, that year he carried the Church Temporalities Bill, and the measure for emancipating the West India slaves; having, for the latter purpose, become Colonial Secretary, and a member of the cabinet.

In 1834, alarmed at the ministerial project of still further reducing the Irish church establishment, Lord Stanley withdrew from office, carrying Sir J. Graham, Lord Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond in his train. He declined to take part in the administration formed by Sir Robert Peel, on Lord Grey's resignation; but after acting with the Conservative opposition for seven years, he accepted the seals of the Colonial Office in 1841; and occupied that post for four years, in the course of which he was removed to the House of Peers. At the close of 1845, when Sir R. Peel arrived at the resolution of abandoning the cause of protection, Lord Stanley withdrew from office; and next year, though with seeming reluctance, placed himself at the head of the opposition, illustrated and rendered memorable in the House of Commons, by the industry of a Lord George Bentinck, and the genius of a Disraeli.

In 1851, the resignation of Lord John Russell brought the Conservatives to



MR. JOHN RANKIN

the very gate of office; and after the Whigs had retained office a year longer, in February, 1852, the Conservative chief, who, meanwhile, had succeeded his father as fourteenth Earl Derby, accepted the responsibilities of office, and constructed a cabinet. Having succeeded in unravelling the tangled web—so says an aristocratic admirer—of government difficulties, financial and diplomatic, created by his predecessors, he was obliged to retire before the usual combination of Whig and Radical partisans.

In 1852, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Derby was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

On the fall of the coalition cabinet, in 1855, the earl declined to undertake the duties of government, on the ground that the only ministry he could have formed would have been dependent for existence on the forbearance of his foes.

His lordship was ably supported by Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose extraordinary eloquence in debate, and influence in the cabinet, obtained for him the lead of the House of Commons; and by Mr. Walpole, who, as Home Secretary, if without the more brilliant qualifications of his colleague, showed that he was well fitted for office, and that his character was strongly marked by honesty of purpose, and devotion to his duties. The Lord Chancellor was Sir F. Thesiger; the President of the Council, Marquis of Salisbury; Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury; Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley; War Department, General Peel; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Henley; President of the Board of Control, Earl of Ellenborough; Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Hardwicke; Board of Works, Lord John Manners, famed all the world over for his unfortunate couplet—

“ Let learning, laws, and commerce die,
But save, oh save our old nobility.”

The First Lord of the Admiralty was Sir John Pakington, an amiable and excellent man, a sound churchman, a fair debater—nothing more.

Next to Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stanley is the most able of the new ministry—the one most esteemed and respected in the House or out. His lordship, the eldest son of Earl Derby, was born in 1826; and was educated at Rugby, and Trinity College, Dublin, where he was first-class classics, besides taking mathematical honours, and gaining a declamation and other prizes. While travelling in America, he was elected Lord George Bentinck's successor, as member of parliament for the borough of Lynn; and having returned to England, he delivered, in the House of Commons, during the summer of 1850, a speech on the subject of the sugar colonies, which was highly praised by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Lord Stanley, with a laudable anxiety to prepare himself, by study and travel, for the work of the state, and the welfare of the senate, next paid a visit to the East; and was still in India when nominated, in March, 1852, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the Derby ministry; and in the spring of 1853 (having, in the meantime, resigned with his party), he submitted to the House of Commons a motion, which had for its ultimate object a more complete reform of Indian affairs than that contemplated by the coalition cabinet. It is chiefly, however, as a social reformer, and to his indefatigable exertions out of parliament, for the intellectual improvement of the great body of the people, that Lord Stanley is mainly noticeable. He has the reputation of being by far the ablest scion of the aristocracy that has entered parliament since the era of the Reform Bill. In the establishment of baths and washhouses, of mechanics' institutions, of public libraries, of improved dwellings for the labouring classes, he has taken an active part. When, in 1855, the death of Sir W. Molesworth created a vacancy in the Colonial Office, Lord Palmerston, sensible of Lord Stanley's talents and popularity, offered him the seals of that department; but he declined the office. “The offer of the Colonies,” said a writer in a paper at the time, “was alike honourable to Lord Palmerston and Lord Stanley. It was a recognition, on the Premier's part, of Lord

Stanley's known talents, and of another of his qualities still rarer—we mean his studious devotion to statesmanship as the business of his life. Everything here has been so long rated by the parliamentary standard only, that statesmanship proper scarcely exists. We have debaters in plenty, but no Metternichs and Chatterfields; while, of the higher and more philosophical class of statesmen—men who study history, and, at the same time, their age as part of history—a specimen is as rare as the capercailzie is in Scotland. Without the pedantry of a *doctrinaire*, Lord Stanley has the speculative seriousness of a student, and unites with that a most attentive observation to the living time, without which no man can be worth a straw as a practical politician. It is an unquestionable honour to him to have been so selected by a veteran judge of men like Lord Palmerston, whose *forte* is, probably, his knowledge of mankind."

In a little while, the new administration was strengthened in the acceptance, by Sir Bulwer Lytton, of the Colonial Secretaryship, vacated by Lord Stanley for that of India. Sir Edward had acquired unusual fame as a novelist, dramatist, poet, and historian: his numerous works have placed him foremost among the sterling writers of the age. As the representative of one of the most ancient families in England, and as a member for an influential county, he re-entered parliament with all the *prestige* which a popularity that embraced all ranks could confer. He soon made it apparent, that among the attainments by which he had been so bountifully gifted, he possessed eloquence of the highest order. Having, in this way, raised himself to the first rank of parliamentary oratory in the estimation both of friends and opponents, he accepted office. His untiring attention to the business of his department; his numerous lucid, yet elaborate, expositions of every question of policy he was required to defend; and the sound discrimination he displayed in the appointment of subordinates, point him out as one of the most efficient Secretaries of State that has held office since the establishment of our colonial empire. Sir Lytton (now Lord Lytton) is the son of General Bulwer, of Heydon Hall, Norfolk; and was born in 1805. After having spent his boyhood at private schools, and under the care of two tutors, young Bulwer went to Cambridge, where he signalled himself by his luxury, and by his carrying off the Chancellor's prize medal with his English poem of *Sculpture*. In 1827, he appeared as a novelist. In 1831, he was returned to the House of Commons, as member for St. Ives; and became conspicuous in the ranks of the English Radicals. He strove, in his senatorial capacity, to link his name still closer with literature by his exertions in favour of a law for the protection of dramatic copyright, and of measures for relieving the newspaper press from the burden of the stamp laws. When Sir R. Peel took office in 1835, Bulwer published a pamphlet, entitled *The Crisis*, which ran rapidly through more than twenty editions, exercised no inconsiderable influence on the elections, and is said to have won for its author a baronetcy. In 1842, he was rejected by the borough of Lincoln, which he had long represented in parliament. From that date, for several years, he was out of parliament. In 1851, when parties had been broken up and re-cast, he—having meanwhile inherited Knebworth, with the estates of his maternal ancestors, and assumed, by royal license, the name of Lytton—again entered the political arena with a pamphlet, in the form of *Letters to John Bull*, recommending a settlement of the protection question on terms of mutual compromise; and when parliament was dissolved in 1852, he was a successful candidate for the county of Hertford, and took his seat in the House as a Conservative, and a supporter of Lord Derby.

The position of the new Premier was one of remarkable difficulty. Our relations with France, and the state of our affairs in India, rendered uncertainty in the government perplexing and injurious. On the 1st of March, Lord Derby made, in the House of Lords, his expected statement as head of the new government. He said that the recent victory in the Commons, with the displacement of the ministry, was unexpected; that it found him unprepared for taking office; that on attending the summons of the queen, he besought time to consider; and only accepted the



LORD STANLEY.

post which her majesty had conferred upon him, at her persevering desire. Alluding to the state of parties, he said—"It is very like the distinctions of the various grades of rank in society at large. There is a broad interval between the highest and the lowest; but the gradation by which one melts into the other is so imperceptible, that it is difficult, with regard to social rank and to political parties, to state precisely where one commences and the other ends. Desiring to form a government upon a basis which should be Conservative in the truest sense of the word, but, at the same time, not indisposed to measures of progressive improvement, I hoped to obtain the assistance of those eminent persons who, not belonging to the government we have succeeded, shared to such a degree the opinions of the Conservative party, that they might be deemed guilty of an inconsistency in associating themselves with me in the difficult task I had undertaken." The persons thus applied to were—Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, and Earl Grey; but as they declined joining Lord Derby, he was thrown back upon his political followers.

With regard to India, Lord Derby considered, that though much remained to be done, yet he did not entertain any doubt but that the continued exertions of the gallant troops of her majesty would, at no distant period, terminate the formidable insurrection which raged there. The China war he still considered was entered upon unadvisedly, and upon insufficient grounds; yet he cordially rejoiced at the success which had hitherto attended the British arms. "The best result of that success, however, will be, that it will give the opportunity of concluding, with the least possible delay, a safe and honourable peace, and will enable us to resume the benefits and advantages of that commercial intercourse, for which alone it can be of the slightest advantage to maintain any communication whatever with such a country. The idea of territorial aggression—of doing more than obtaining adequate means for freely carrying on peaceful commerce, will, I trust, never enter the head of any minister who conducts the affairs of this country."

Of the French difficulty Lord Derby spoke at great length. This country had but one desire with regard to France: that, remaining on friendly terms with it, she should have within herself all the means of contentment, wealth, and prosperity. Its form of government was, if not a matter of indifference to us, at least one in which we had no cause or right to inquire. But whatever the government, it was of vast importance to France, and hardly of secondary importance to Europe, that that government should enjoy a condition of permanence and stability. Towards the maintenance of that condition, the life of the remarkable man who presided over the destinies of that country was of great and paramount importance. "I cannot, therefore, wonder, however deeply I may deplore, that upon the news spreading through France that this atrocious deed was the act of refugees coming straight from England, with the enthusiastic expressions of loyalty and congratulation at the safety of the emperor, there should have been mingled, especially from the army of France, some expressions which, seeing how unworthy they were as applied to England, must naturally have wounded the feelings of this country. Under the circumstances, I think that such expressions ought not to have been too nicely scanned, even if his imperial majesty, with that frankness and candour which he has always displayed in his relations with England, had not fairly avowed the regret he felt that such language had been suffered to appear in the public papers, and thereby to create a just resentment in the people of this country." Lord Derby did not consider that the hospitality of England was due to assassins; but he contended, that not only assassination, but conspiracy, or incitement to assassinate, whether by publication or by word of mouth, was an offence recognised by the law of England. Intention, however, unaccompanied by any overt act, so long as the intention remained in the mind of the party alone conceiving it, afforded no ground for prosecution. Suspicion did not warrant punishment in any such case. The evidence of guilt must be such as to satisfy a jury. The new ministry had come to the resolution of pointing out to the French minister the misconstructions which had been placed upon his despatch; and, in the most amicable manner, to request of

him an explanation which might remove the painful impression prevailing among the English people. Pending that reply, the government deemed it their duty to put in force the existing powers of the law, for the purpose of checking these dangerous and alarming conspiracies.

In describing the policy of the new administration, the earl observed, that whilst we "firmly maintain the great institutions of the country, we shall not hesitate to propose and support measures of undoubted improvement and progress, and to introduce, whenever necessary, safe and well-considered improvements. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that a Conservative ministry necessarily means a stationary ministry. The constitution itself was the result of a series of perpetual changes." Before concluding, the noble earl referred to the subject of parliamentary reform. He would have been well satisfied that no legislation on a subject so exciting should be called for from the government. Yet he could not exclude from his consideration the fact, that for three or four years, not only had a demand been made, but a promise had been given by successive governments of the introduction of a Reform Bill. He would not pledge himself and his colleagues to introduce such a bill; but, as soon as the pressure of parliamentary business enabled them deliberately to consider the question, they would direct their attention to the defects existing in the laws regulating the representation of the people in parliament, and to the amendments which might be made in those laws.

The settlement of the new form of government for India was the first and most urgent matter for the consideration of parliament. Mr. Disraeli, on March the 26th, introduced into the House of Commons Lord Derby's bill for the future government of India, and its transference from the East India Company to the crown. Fearful of an opposition which might endanger the existence of the new ministry, Mr. Disraeli adopted, on the reassembling of parliament, a suggestion of Lord John Russell's; and instead of pressing his measure, proposed a series of preliminary resolutions on the subject for the consideration of the House. These resolutions were discussed *seriatim*.

During the progress of these discussions, the existence of the ministry was threatened by another circumstance connected with the affairs of India. Lord Ellenborough, in anticipation of the fall of Lucknow, caused a despatch to be addressed to Lord Canning, the Governor-general of India, recommending a merciful policy towards the rebels. Punishments, it said, had been too frequent and severe; adding—"While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should, at the same time, remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred, as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power." In issuing these directions, it was assumed that the government were actuated by a desire to obtain popularity, and to pass a censure upon Lord Canning. Party feeling was introduced into the discussion, which speedily waxed warm.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Cardwell moved the following resolutions in the Commons—in other words, he moved a censure on the ministry:—"That this House, whilst, in its present state of information, it abstains from expressing an opinion on the policy of any proclamation which may have been issued by the Governor-general of India in relation to Oude, has seen, with regret and serious apprehension, that her majesty's government have addressed to the Governor-general, through the recent committee of the Court of Directors, and have published, a despatch condemning in strong terms the conduct of the Governor-general; and is of opinion that such a course, on the part of the government, must tend, in the present circumstances of India, to produce the most prejudicial effect, by weakening the authority of the Governor-general, and encouraging the further resistance of those who are in arms against us." A full House attended to take part in the discussion, which it was expected would have ended in the defeat of the ministry.

The debate extended over four nights. During the course of it, Sir De Lacy Evans declared that the motion would imperil our interests in India; and gave notice that he should move a resolution, "That, in the opinion of this House, the proclamation of the Governor-general of India, pronouncing a confiscation to the British government of the proprietary rights of the people of Oude, was not equitable, politic, or calculated to promote the pacification of the people of that country, and ought not to be carried into effect." Mr. Bright also declared that the proclamation was one of war to the knife; and that the Governor-general would require a new army at his back to carry it out. He added, that there was quite as much zeal for places as for the good of India in the resolution before the House. Such seems to have been the general feeling; for, on the 21st of May, Mr. Cardwell withdrew his motion, in accordance with the request of Lord Palmerston. An amendment, by Mr. Dillwyn, member for Swansea, had been moved, to the following effect:—"That this House generally approves of Lord Canning's policy up to the time of the Oude proclamation, and is quite satisfied with the judgment and firmness he has evinced during the crisis in India; but declines to give opinion upon the proclamation itself, until it has further information on the state of Oude when it was issued, and also Lord Canning's reasons for issuing it." This amendment likewise fell to the ground.

Public opinion generally condemned Lord Canning's policy of confiscation, as calculated to incite the people of Oude against us, and to produce irritation where we desired to tranquillise. Prior to the debate, Lord Ellenborough resigned his position as a member of the ministry. The publication of the letter to Canning was, he said, entirely his own act. "I knew what was right," said his lordship, "and I did it. I have served the people of India faithfully for thirty years; and I will not now do an act, at the close of a public life, to injure them." He was succeeded, as President of the Board of Control, by Lord Stanley.

A further complication of the difficulty in which the government had become entangled in this matter, was occasioned by a statement of Lord Granville, that the late President of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith), had, some time previous, received a private letter from the Governor-general, in which his lordship stated, that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch; but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able then to send it. This communication, from inadvertence or design, had been withheld, by the late President, from his successor at the Board of Control; and the present government felt they had just ground of complaint at the unusual reserve, by which, it was contended, the noble earl had been placed in a false position with respect to the Governor-general's proclamation.

On the 17th of June, the report of the resolutions on the government of India was read to the House; and leave given to introduce a bill founded upon them, which was at once introduced by Lord Stanley. It passed a second reading on the 24th, without a division; and its third reading on the 8th of July, amidst loud cheers from the House. The following night it went to the upper House, where it passed on the 23rd. Some amendments were made by the Lords, which the Commons subsequently agreed to. This bill, the main outline of which we have already given, was considered to embody the most important points of both Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli's bills.

At this time, a question, which had long, in some way or other, been before parliament, was satisfactorily disposed of. By a mistake, Jews had been excluded from parliament. The oath required of members, since the Catholic emancipation, had to be taken on the faith of a Christian. The constituencies were thus deprived of a right: if they returned Jews to parliament, the latter were not allowed to sit in it; and were thus punished for their religious opinions. It was felt by all who could think rightly, that this twofold wrong was indefensible. The Jewish question, in the opinion of Mr. Disraeli, was one of the utmost importance. "It may be observed," he writes, "that the decline and disasters of modern com-

munities have generally been relative to their degree of sedition against the Semitic principle. Since the great revolt of the Celts against the first and second Testaments, at the close of the last century, France has been alternately in a state of collapse or convulsion. Throughout the awful trials of the last sixty years, England, notwithstanding her deficient and meagre theology, has always remembered Zion. The great Transatlantic republic is intensely Semitic, and has prospered accordingly. This sacred principle alone has consolidated the mighty empire of all the Russias. How omnipotent it is, cannot be more clearly shown than by the instance of Rome, where it appears in its most corrupt form. An old man, on a Semitic throne, baffles the modern Attilas, and the recent invasion of the barbarian, under the form of red republicans, socialists, communists—all different phases, which describe the relapse of the once converted race into their primitive condition of savagery. Austria would long ago have dissolved but for the Semitic principle; and if the north of Germany has never succeeded in attaining that imperial position, which seemed its natural destiny, it is that the north of Germany has never, at any time, been thoroughly converted. Some, perhaps, may point to Spain as a remarkable instance of decline in a country where the Semitic principle has exercised great influence. But the fall of Spain was occasioned by the expulsion of her Semitic population—a million families of Jews and Saracens, the most distinguished of her citizens for their industry and their intelligence, their learning and their wealth.”

Perhaps, in a similar paragraph, there was never more nonsense and confusion: but the writer of it is in power; he must do something for the Jews, even though he sneers at “the equivocal principle of religious liberty; the unqualified application of which principle seems hardly consistent with that recognition of religious truth by the state, to which we adhere, and without which it is highly probable that the northern and western races, after a disturbing and rapidly degrading period of atheistical anarchy, may fatally recur to their old national idolatries, modified and mythically dressed up according to the spirit of the age.”

The Oaths Bill, by which Jews would be permitted to enter parliament, was read a third time in the Commons, on the 13th of April, and passed amid the cheers of the House. When the bill was sent to the Lords, they struck out the clause by which the Jews would be admitted to the lower House, and made other “amendments.” On its being returned to the Commons, they (May 10th) voted, by a majority of 113, that the House disagreed to those amendments; and a committee was appointed, of which Baron Rothschild was a member, to draw up the reasons for disagreement. A conference with the Lords respecting the amendments was then appointed. The Lords, not disposed to yield, brought forward two bills of their own on the subject, both of which would permit the admission of the Jews, but in an evasive and ungracious way. One of these (Lord Lucan’s) was passed by the peers. It proposed to give either House the power to omit the words, “on the true faith of a Christian,” from the oath whenever a Jewish member declared that he had a conscientious objection to the form. This measure was accepted as a solution of a great difficulty, and to avoid a collision between the two Houses. Yet, even in yielding so far, the Lords insisted upon recording their reasons why the Jews ought not to be allowed to sit in parliament. When the bill was sent to the Commons, Mr. Newdegate moved that it be read a second time that day six months. Lord John Russell said that the concessions of the Lords had been anything but gracious or generous; but still, the best course for the House to pursue, was to accept the bill, as a mode of escaping from the position in which they were placed. The bill passed, and the question on which the two Houses had disagreed for a period of ten years, was settled by a compromise. Baron Rothschild took his seat in the Commons on the 26th of July. A few other Jews have since found their way into parliament; but it must be confessed, on all sides, that the House of Commons is as much a Christian assembly as it ever was.

There was also another question—that of church-rates—which the House

tried to settle; but, alas! in vain. On the subject of church-rates, the Commons and the Lords again came into collision. Many attempts had been made at a compromise, or commutation of church-rates. On the 8th of June, the Commons passed a bill for their total abolition: the ayes being 266; noes, 203—leaving a majority in favour of the measure, of 63. The reasons of the majority were irresistible. The dissenter supports his own place of worship: why, then, should he have to pay for the repair of the churches of the wealthiest sect in Christendom? The idea is utterly preposterous and absurd; and, accordingly, in many of the large towns, by the consent of sensible churchmen themselves, no rates had been levied for years. The abolition was supported, not only by dissenters, but by sincere friends of the church as well. The bill, however, was opposed in the Lords by the Premier, who yet held out a hope that he might, at some future time, yield his assent to such a measure. On being put to the vote, there was an overwhelming majority of 151 against it. Public feeling at the time, however, was so excited, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that it was the intention of the government to introduce a bill, next session of parliament, to settle the question of church-rates—a settlement, unfortunately, not effected yet.

Little else was done by the parliament. The financial statement and budget of Mr. Disraeli, brought forward on the 19th of April, conciliated the House of Commons, and gave satisfaction to the country. The revenue had been affected by the commercial panic: there had been one the previous year; therefore, though a deficit was to be accounted for, the country was not in the humour willingly to accede to the imposition of fresh taxes. The income-tax he left at the reduced rate of 5*d.* in the pound; but he equalised the duties on spirits, and made it imperative, that every person drawing a cheque at a banker's, should put a penny stamp on it.

Some attempts were made, in both Houses of parliament, to induce the legislature to revise the Liturgy, and to omit some of the political services of the church, in consequence of their being offensive and obsolete. These attempts, however, were defeated by the strong Conservative feeling, especially in reference to the church and its affairs, which prevailed in both Houses. A motion in the Commons, by Mr. H. Berkeley, for leave to bring in a bill to cause the votes of parliamentary electors to be taken by way of ballot, was rejected by 97; 197, however, voting in its favour. Attention was several times, in both Houses, called to the offensive state of the Thames, in consequence of the vast amount of sewage continually discharged into it. It appeared that the Board of Works was responsible, and that the government did not wish to take the matter out of its hands; but Lord John Manners stated that a bill would be brought forward on the subject. A resolution, by Mr. Gibson, that "This House is of opinion that the maintenance of the excise duty on paper, as a permanent source of revenue, would be impolitic," was agreed to—a circumstance which pointed to no distant legislation on the subject.

During the session, an act was passed for the future government of the Scottish universities; and another, by which the new colony of British Columbia, in North America, was established in consequence of the recent discoveries of gold there.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 2nd of August, the royal speech containing nothing very remarkable, nor calling for particular comment. The ministry must have felt the prorogation as a relief. They were not popular; they were dependent solely on the great landlords and county constituencies. Still, their weakness was their strength. No serious opposition was made to them, as it was felt they would be powerless before it. They asked for time; originated nothing, and favoured open questions. They yielded to majorities, and passed or withdrew measures according to the temper of parliament. So, on the whole, they had had a fair trial, especially as, in the opinion of many, the Liberals are all the better for a short sojourn in the bleak wilderness of opposition. Whigs in office are

often said to be no better than Tories. Therefore, there was little weeping and wailing when it was found the session had been closed, and that Lord Derby's ministry was still in power.

The summer passed off peacefully; and the loyalty of the nation was excited and gratified by the appearance of the queen in the busy neighbourhood of Birmingham, to open a park for the people. Of late years, there had been a great disposition evinced, in the wealthy and influential circles of society, to provide, not only in the metropolis, but in the provinces, parks and other places of recreation for the working-men and their families. Sanitary reformers had been preaching so long in favour of fresh air and exercise, that at length people began to practise. Waste lands were sought after; commons were set apart; wealthy manufacturers, like Mr. Strutt, of Derby, out of their pockets paid for parks, which were handed over for the use of the people for all generations. Amongst other places to which the movement extended, was Birmingham. In 1857, a proposal was started to purchase Aston Hall and park, in the neighbourhood of that town, with the view of converting the ground into a people's park, and of appropriating the hall to the purposes of popular education, information, and amusement. The proposal was warmly taken up: the working-men contributed largely themselves to the necessary funds. By May, 1858, the arrangements were so far completed, that it was thought the park might be opened to visitors; and the managers were of opinion that it would confer great *éclat* upon their undertaking, if they could induce her majesty to inaugurate it. This she graciously consented to do; and Tuesday, the 15th of June, was fixed for the ceremony to take place. Her majesty accepted an invitation from Lord Leigh, the lord-lieutenant of Warwickshire, to take up her residence at his seat, Stoneleigh Abbey, near Birmingham. She arrived there on the 14th. The next day the park was opened amidst universal rejoicing. Triumphant arches were erected in the most important spots her majesty had to pass. One of the most gorgeous and imposing of these arches was placed on Gosta Green, by the gun-makers. It had a space of fifty feet; and the height, to the top of the banner that surmounted the royal arms, was eighty feet. The arch was crowned with the banners of all nations: in the centre was a star formed with muskets, having the bayonets fixed, surrounding the motto—"Victoria and Albert, God bless them." The arch itself displayed the words—"Welcome to our Queen," in gold letters on a purple velvet ground. Other mottoes exhibited were—"God protect the Royal Family." "The Gun-makers' Welcome to their Queen." The pillars and the arch itself were adorned with stars and other devices, formed of swords, lances, and pistols, beautifully polished; and the value of the arms used in the construction of this trophy, is said to have been upwards of £4,000. There were 200 pistols, upwards of 300 muskets, 8,000 ramrods, 4,000 bayonets, 200 lances, and 86 flags, employed in the construction of this arch.

Another royal visit this summer must not be altogether overlooked. At the distance of seventy miles, almost opposite Portsmouth, is the old Norman town of Cherbourg. Louis XIV. began to fortify it, with a view to operations against England; his successors carried out, partially, the plans which had been laid down by Vauban. The great revolution stopped the works for a time, until the first Napoleon caused them to be recommenced, avowedly with a view to operations against England. While at St. Helena he stated this very clearly. "My great object," he said, "was to renew, at Cherbourg, the marvels of Egypt. I meant to have concentrated there all my maritime forces; and in time they would, when needed, have been immense, in order to strike a grand blow at the enemy. I laid out my plan in such a manner, that the two nations would have been, so to speak, forced to struggle hand-to-hand; and the issue could not have been doubtful, for we should have had more than 40,000,000 of French against 15,000,000 of English. I should have terminated it with a new battle of Actium." Napoleon could not carry out his views to their final completion; but his successors have done so most effectually. The works at Cherbourg were proceeded with, unremittedly, under the

Bourbons and Orleanists, exciting little notice till they were approaching completion under the renewed Napoleon dynasty. Then public attention was all at once called to the place; and few foreign events occasioned more sensation than the opening of a new dock there, which, planned in 1803, was only completed in 1858; and the inauguration of a statue of Napoleon I., in August of the latter year. Louis Napoleon had only completed what his predecessors had begun—works which, if not finished, would result in an enormous waste of the public money. By many it was considered these works were a standing menace to this country. However, they were opened as if they were nothing of the kind; and the emperor resolved to invite her majesty and her ministers to visit Cherbourg on so great an occasion. The invitation was accepted; and a number of the members of the House of Commons resolved also to be present. The 4th of August was the day fixed for the arrival of the emperor and empress at Cherbourg; and the *fêtes*, attendant upon the inauguration of the dock, railroad, and statue, it was arranged should extend from the 5th to the 8th. The queen resolved to sail for Cherbourg on the 4th; and on the morning of that day her majesty embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert*, accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge. The Earl of Malmesbury and Sir John Pakington, the Foreign Secretary, and first Lord of the Admiralty, also formed part of the royal party; and several members of the household embarked on board the Admiralty yacht, *Black Eagle*. The yachts were escorted by a squadron of six men-of-war. There were *fêtes*, and banquets, and illuminations. At the grand entertainment on board the *Bretagne*, the French emperor proposed the health of the queen, in language not unworthy of remembrance. “I drink to the health of her majesty, the Queen of England; to that of the prince who shares her throne; and to that of the royal family. In proposing this toast in their presence, and on board the French admiral’s ship in the port of Cherbourg, I am happy to show the feeling we entertain towards them. In effect, facts speak for themselves; and they prove that hostile passions, aided by a few unfortunate incidents, did not succeed in altering either the friendship which exists between the two crowns, or the desire of the two nations to remain in peace. Therefore I entertain the sincere hope, that if attempts are made to stir up old resentments, and the passions of another epoch, they will break to pieces upon public common sense, as the waves break upon the breakwater which, at this moment, protects the squadrons of the two empires against the violence of the sea.” The way in which the toast was received showed that all present reciprocated the sentiments of the emperor; and after the lapse of a few minutes Prince Albert rose, and cordially and gracefully returned thanks, at the same time proposing the health of the emperor and empress. On the 6th, the queen returned; and thus ended the visit to Cherbourg, which was, however, discussed bitterly and warmly in the press, and occasionally by members of parliament, for some time to come.

A greater work than the completion of the forts and docks at Cherbourg was achieved at this time.

In the ancient town of Gloucester, in the year 1802, was born Charles Wheatstone, the scientific inventor of the electric telegraph. Mr. Wheatstone’s connection with this wonderful discovery is set forth in an official paper, drawn up by Sir Isambard Brunel and Professor Daniell, at a time when some misunderstanding had arisen from conflicting claims as to the origin of the important invention. We reprint the document. “In March, 1836, Mr. Cooke, while engaged at Heidelberg in scientific pursuits, witnessed, for the first time, one of those well-known experiments on electricity, considered as a possible means of communicating intelligence, which have been tried and exhibited, from time to time, during many years, by various philosophers. Struck with the vast importance of an instantaneous mode of communication to the railways, then extending themselves over Great Britain, as well as to government and general purposes, and impressed with a strong conviction that so great an object might be practically attained by means of electricity,

Mr. Cooke immediately directed his attention to the adaptation of electricity to a practical system of telegraphing; and, giving up the profession to which he was engaged, he, from that hour, devoted himself exclusively to the realisation of that object. He came to England in 1836, to perfect his plans and instruments. In February, 1837, while engaged in completing a set of instruments for an intended experimental application of his telegraph to a tunnel on the Liverpool and Manchester railway, he became acquainted, through the introduction of Dr. Roget, with Professor Wheatstone, who had, for several years, given much attention to the subject of transmitting intelligence by electricity, and had made several discoveries of the highest importance connected with this subject. Among these were his well-known determination of the velocity of electricity when passing through a metal wire; his experiments in which the deflection of magnetic needles, the decomposition of water, and other voltaic and magneto-electric effects were produced through greater lengths of wire than had ever before been experimented on; and his original method of converting a few wires into a considerable number of circuits, so that they might transmit the greatest number of signals which can be transmitted by a given number of wires by the deflection of magnetic needles. In May, 1837, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone took out a joint English patent, on a footing of equality, for their existing inventions. The terms of their partnership, which were more exactly defined and confirmed in November, 1837, by a partnership deed, vested in Mr. Cooke, as the originator of the undertaking, the exclusive management of the invention in Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, with the exclusive engineering departments as between themselves, and all the benefits arising from the laying down of the lines, and the manufacture of the instruments. As partners standing on a perfect equality, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone were to divide equally all proceeds arising from the granting of licences, or from the sale of the patent rights; a per-centage being first payable to Mr. Cooke as manager. Professor Wheatstone retained an equal voice with Mr. Cooke in selecting and modifying the forms of the telegraphic instruments; and both parties pledged themselves to impart to each other, for their equal and mutual benefit, all improvements, of whatever kind, which they might become possessed of, connected with the giving of signals, or the sounding of alarm by means of electricity. Since the formation of the partnership, the undertaking has rapidly progressed, under the constant and equally successful exertions of the parties in their distinct departments, until it has attained the character of a simple and practical system, worked out scientifically, on the sure basis of actual experience. While Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph as a useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance, and Professor Wheatstone is acknowledged as the scientific man, whose profound and successful researches had already prepared the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application, it is to the united labours of two gentlemen so well qualified for mutual assistance, that we must attribute the rapid progress which this important invention has made during the five years since they have been associated. (Signed—M. I. Brunel; J. F. Daniell. London: April 27th, 1841).” Professor Wheatstone is also the inventor of the well-known stereoscope; but it is upon his scientific skill in connection with the electric telegraph that his fame will chiefly rest. At the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, Professor Wheatstone was one of the jurors in the class of “Heat, Light, and Electricity;” and was created a Knight of the Legion of Honour for his application of the electric telegraph.

In 1859, the system had grown and prospered; and was applied to the sea as well as to the land. It was stated, at a recent meeting of the Birmingham British Science Association, that 14,000 miles of submarine cable had been laid down; though, unfortunately, but 5,000 miles of them were at work: and now the climax is reached, and the Old and the New World are joined by means of the electric telegraph. On Monday, August the 9th, the first perfect message was

despatched. It was sent from the directors in London to the directors in America, and was as follows:—"Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory to God in the highest. On earth peace and good-will to men." The first business message was received in London on Friday, August 13th, announcing that a collision had taken place between the steamers *Europa* and *Arabia*: the latter being slightly injured, and the former obliged to put into St. John's, Newfoundland.

This great national undertaking requires a little further notice. Six years were spent in getting over all the difficulties relating to the formation of an Atlantic Telegraph Company; but at length the company was established, with a capital of £350,000, in shares of £1,000 each, and a guarantee obtained from the English and United States' government, equal to 8 per cent. on that amount. The cable was made—half by Messrs. Glass and Elliot, and half by Messrs. Newall. The conductor—six wires round gutta-percha—weighed 106 lbs. per mile; the insulator—three layers of gutta-percha—weighed 261 lbs. per mile. The sheath was made of eighteen strands of iron wire, each consisting of seven small wires; and was imbedded in a layer of jute yarn, saturated with a solution of tar, pitch, beeswax, and linseed oil. It weighed one ton per mile, and was six-tenths of an inch in diameter. In 1857, an attempt was made to lay this cable. Unfortunately the cable snapped in two; a few hundred miles of it were lost, and the remainder was brought to Devonport, where it was kept in tanks during the winter months.

On the 10th of June, 1858, the wire squadron (as the sailors called it) sailed again. The 2,100 miles saved from the former enterprise, and 900 miles of new cable, made 3,000 miles, with which to renew the attempt. On the 26th, after a stormy passage, the ships reached mid-ocean—the *Agamemnon* having one-half of the cable, the *Niagara* the other, with the *Gorgon* and *Valorous* in attendance. When the two halves had been spliced, that portion of the cable was dropped into the sea, and the ships parted company; the *Agamemnon* steaming eastward, towards Ireland, and the *Niagara* westward, towards Newfoundland, paying out the cable as they went. It was a most unlucky attempt. The cable broke on that very day; then on the 27th; and a third time on the 30th. It was mended twice; but the ships were so driven about in the hopeless attempt to mend it a third time, that the engineers became disheartened, and returned to Ireland.

Another attempt was made. As there was still enough cable on board, the ships set forth again, and reached mid-ocean on July 20th. They spliced the ends of the two cables, and made them into one. Favoured by a calmer state of the weather than before, the two ships steadily proceeded in contrary directions, paying out as they went. No mishap of any moment having occurred, the *Niagara* came in sight of Newfoundland on August 4th; and, on the next day, the *Agamemnon* reached Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland. Connections were speedily made with land-wires on both shores, and the electrical apparatus was set to work. The joy was great; and well it might be. Queen Victoria and President Buchanan congratulated each other in telegrams which speedily reached their destination. Her majesty's message contained the words—"The queen is convinced that the president will join her in fervently hoping that the electric cable which now connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an additional link between the two nations, whose friendship is founded upon common interests and reciprocal esteem." The Lord Mayor of London and the Mayor of New York exchanged greetings; but, alas! the joy occasioned by the success of the enterprise was of short duration. The cable spoke for twenty-five days: conveying 129 messages, containing 1,474 words, from England to America; and bringing back 271 messages, containing 2,885 words, from America to England: but the effort was too great—the cable lost its voice. After September, its insulation was ruined from some cause never ascertained.

This was a serious blow: the cable was lost, and £415,000 gone. The diffi-

culties being so great, many other routes were suggested. At the same time, the commercial advantages of American telegraphy appeared too overwhelming to allow the project to sleep. Even during the short time of working the cable in 1858, it was considered that one single telegram saved the country £40,000. An order had been sent to transport troops from Canada to India during the later months of the mutiny. News from India announced it was quelled, and a telegram countermanded the embarkation of the troops just in time. A letter by mail would have been too late. As a means of keeping up public interest in the subject, a telegraphic *soirée* was held, at the house of Mr. S. Gurney, during which telegrams were exchanged with some of the most distant cities of Europe, the wires being carried into the drawing-room of the mansion. The Earl of Shaftesbury inquired after the health of the Emperor of Russia; and, in four minutes, the reply was—that his imperial majesty was quite well.

In 1859, the government agreed to guarantee 8 per cent., for twenty-five years, on a fresh capital of £60,000, for a new and much-improved cable, and to pay £20,000 a year for government despatches. Even this temptation did not at that time draw capitalists. A committee was, however, appointed to inquire into the circumstances connected with the making and laying of submarine cables; to make experiments; and to draw up a body of recommendations. Mr. Fairbairn, Professor Wheatstone, Captain Galton, Mr. Bidder, Mr. Latimer Clark, Mr. Edwin Clark, Mr. Vorley, and Mr. Seward, constituted the committee. In 1861, they presented a report, recommending improvement in the manufacture of the cable. In 1863, the directors again submitted the whole question to a scientific committee, who amplified the recommendations given by the former committee. In the early part of 1864, capitalists came forward to take new shares, and contracts were entered into for the manufacture of the cable. The Gutta-Percha Company, who made the core, and Messrs. Glass and Elliot, who made the sheath, and finished the cable, combined to form the Telegraphic Construction and Maintenance Company, Limited. In the summer of 1864, the manufacture of the cable commenced. It was finished at the rate of seventy or eighty miles a week; and the whole quantity of 2,300 miles was ready by January, 1865.

As the *Great Eastern* was lying idle, it was chartered by the directors for the purpose of carrying out the cable. Great alterations were necessary, to adapt her to the reception and safe bestowal of 4,000 tons of telegraphic wire. Three enormous iron tanks were constructed; two of them fifty-eight feet diameter; the other fifty-two feet; and all of them twenty-six feet deep. When filled with cable and sea-water, they weighed 5,300 tons. At the stern was fitted up a paying-out machine, consisting of an elaborate system of V wheels, friction-wheels, vertical guides, iron channels, guide-wheels, riding-wheels, break-straps, levers, weights, drums, guide-knives, driving-pulleys, flange-wheels, double-purchase winches, dynamometers, graduated scales, and other apparatus, to ensure the smooth and safe passage of the cable from the tanks into the sea. By June, when the ship was loaded with coal and stores, she had a weight of 24,000 tons on board, and drew 33½ feet of water. At Midsummer, just when all were ready to start, the directors raised money by means of preference shares; and they went so far as to prophesy that, by the end of July, the £5 shares would be worth £24.

The arrangements made for defining the duties and responsibilities of the persons concerned in the enterprise, were remarkably clear and systematic. The Atlantic Telegraph Company supplied the funds, chose the route, ordered the cable, and were to take it under their charge when successfully set to work. The Telegraphic Construction and Maintenance Company were to make the cable, and to submerge it, receiving payment that was to vary in amount according to the success of the making, submersion, and testing. The Great Ship Company lent their officers, ships, and men, on stipulated terms, to the Construction and Maintenance Company, by whom the responsibility of the submersion was assumed. The utmost caution was taken that there should be no clashing of authority, no

disputed liability, when the critical time arrived. The working responsibility rested chiefly with M. de Sauty, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Clifford, the chief electrician, engineer, and mechanic of the Construction and Maintenance Company. The Atlantic Telegraph Company sent out Mr. Cyrus Field to represent the directors; Mr. Varley, their electrician; and Professor W. Thompson, a great authority on all matters connected with electric telegraphy: but all these were requested to give advice only, and in such a form as to absolve their company from any liability of such advice. The Great Ship Company sent Mr. Gooch, one of their directors, to represent them. The management of the *Great Eastern* was entrusted to Captain Anderson, one of the most experienced of the Cunard officers, assisted by Captain Moriarty, whose services were lent by the Admiralty. As Captain Anderson had found, during many hundred voyages across the Atlantic, that July is generally a tranquil month on the ocean, it was resolved to make use of that period. The *Terrible* and the *Sphinx* were also lent, to render any necessary aid. The *Great Eastern* was to take the main cable, the *Caroline* the thick shore-end, to Valentia. The United States' government being in ill-humour with England at that time, would neither subsidise the cable, nor lend ships of war to assist in laying it.

The *Great Eastern* set forth on her momentous journey in the appointed month, though a week or two later than was intended, carrying a dead freight of immense value, and a living freight of 300 souls. For a time all went on well. On August the 2nd the cable snapped; four times it was raised from the bed of the ocean. All was over; there were not materials enough on board for a fifth attempt.

The *Terrible* steamed on to Newfoundland, to announce the failure to those who were anxiously awaiting the result there; and the *Great Eastern*, after placing buoys over the place where the disaster had occurred, returned home, bringing with her a staff of indefatigable men, who had nearly worked themselves to death during the incessant labours of twenty-one days. A length of 5,500 miles of cable had been, altogether, made for this Atlantic enterprise, from 1857 to 1865, and nearly 4,000 miles of it had been swallowed up by the sea. A million and a quarter sterling had been sunk, and grand hopes crushed. There was a brilliant writer, Dr. W. H. Russell, on board the *Great Eastern*, to record the proceedings day by day. There were lithographic presses and printers on board, to strike off a hundred copies or so of every day's record; there were envelopes kept ready directed to the editors of seventy or eighty papers in England and America; there was a copy of each day's lithographed diary put into each envelope, and arrangements made to forward them all to their destinations. As it turned out, however, the diary was one of disaster.

Sanguine as ever, and undeterred by misfortune, the directors made another attempt. More capital was raised; a new cable was manufactured; and, in 1866, the attempt was successful—as successful as could possibly be desired. A new cable was laid down, and the old one was raised up; and both, at the time at which we write, are in good working order.

The picking up the old cable deserves more than a passing notice. The buoys were laid down with such certainty, that the *Great Eastern* actually came foul of one, “at the very moment that her grapnel was fast on the cable! The method was to get north or south of its line, in accordance with the direction of the wind and drift, the tackle hanging down so as to seize it. The nice instruments invented for the service showed to an ounce the strain upon the gear; and so soon as that strain mounted beyond the weight of the gear itself, they might be pretty sure that the lost cable was caught, and coming off the bottom.

“Never was there such a piece of hook-and-line fishing since the world began. The *Albany* got the first bite; but the great ship hooked up only ‘some soft mud, like putty, with a stone as big as half an almond.’ After a while the cable was well struck; it came higher and higher, until it was clear above water; and then, with

a loud cheer, everybody on board the *Great Eastern* hailed it, half white with the ooze of its bed—just saw it, ere it twisted out of the grapnel and rolled back again. Once more it was secured and hauled up near the surface; but the splice of the buoy and grapnel ropes slipped, and away went the evasive prize. Next, the *Albany* got a grip of it, but it parted, and she only hauled two or three miles on board. Meantime the Atlantic was in its fitful moods, and did almost all it could to spoil the sport, with seas so rough, and winds so contrary, that the *Terrible* and another consort were obliged to depart. But the determination on board the *Great Eastern*, from the captain to the cabin-boys, was to go on fishing ‘till the last biscuit and mile of grapnel rope were used up.’ The electricians boldly shifted their ground eighty miles to the eastward—hit the line with the same certainty—got a nibble or two, and then, at the *fifteenth* haul, the *Great Eastern* had hold of the cable, and brought it for good and all to daylight. There was no cheering this second time; everything was done amid the calm weather in dead silence, till the stoppers were fast, the saw was boldly put across the loose end, and the other end was brought on board. Here ensued a minute of painful suspense, while the men of science sent the all-important tests through the wire; but the next—when the cable spoke to Valentia, and all was well!—there *was* a ringing cheer. Nothing remained but to make the splice, and finish the glorious success. Right well was the triumph of that thrilling moment earned by everybody engaged: for everybody, we are told, worked as faithfully and anxiously as if the cable had been his own private venture.”

Nor must we omit the grand banquet given at Liverpool, in the month of October, to the layers of the Atlantic cables; presided over by the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, President of the Board of Trade: nor the speech of Lord Stanley, who was in office when the first cable was laid, and now again upon the successful completion of the gigantic enterprise. His lordship, in the course of his speech, said—“In my own name, and that of my colleagues, I thank you for your reception of us; and now, if you permit me, I will at once, though by an abrupt transition, pass on to the toast which has been entrusted to my care. That toast is, ‘England and America united.’ (Loud cheers.) Those words may be taken either as the expression of a hope, or as the assertion of a fact: physically the thing is done. England and America are united by an enterprise to which I shall leave my friend, the chairman, to speak in detail; but of which I cannot refrain from saying, it appears to me the most marvellous triumph of mind over matter, of man over nature, that the annals of science have as yet recorded (applause); and while England and America retain their engineering and naval pre-eminence amongst the nations of the world, I venture to predict, that the names of those who have been the workers in this great undertaking—the names of Canning, of Glass, and of Anderson—will be honourably remembered, not only on this, but on the other side of the Atlantic. (Loud cheers.) Now, what will be the effect of this new state of things, of this instantaneous communication between the Old World and the New—a communication which will, in a few years, extend over the whole of the civilised globe? So far as our colonies are concerned, much is obvious. In all matters, civil or military, in which the home government ought to interfere, it can do so with infinitely more effect; because, in critical times, instructions founded on information a fortnight or month old can be of very little practical value. So, again, in matters of trade, I suppose that the saving of labour will be considerable, and that some forms at least of speculation will be, in some degree, checked when certainty is substituted for conjecture (hear, hear): but to us, in this country, and in the present case, the diplomatic aspect of the question is the most important. We are going to bring the people of England and of the United States into a far closer connection with one another than has ever existed before. That is, in my mind, a great gain. Some-one has stated, that the opinion of foreign nations is an anticipation of the judgment of posterity; but, without adopting that phrase absolutely, it is undoubtedly true that lookers-on, not per-

sonally affected by the results of what is being done, yet feeling in them a warm interest, are thought to be able to judge better of what is passing than those who are in the thick of the fray. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I think, then, that England and America are both in a position to gain mutually fair and temperate criticism of one another's proceedings. They have no opposite interest. United they are a match for the world; while a quarrel between them would be a fearful injury, not only to themselves, but to the best interests of mankind. (Cheers.) The more they really know of one another the better; but there is something to be said on the other side; and I should not be doing my duty here if I did not say it. There may be criticism which is not fair, not temperate—criticism which is hasty, partial, passionate: perhaps on both sides of the water we have had a little too much of that (hear, and cheers); but it does not result from hostility: on the contrary, if it did not sound paradoxical to say so, I should say that it arises quite as much from an anxious desire which both nations feel that the credit of those representative institutions which are common to both, should by both be maintained. (Hear.) I do not suppose that such criticism as I have spoken of can ever wholly cease; for I have sometimes thought that England and the United States are like two individuals related by family ties, both interested for the credit of their common family, both of whom would be sorry should any real harm happen to the other: but not always agreeing in ideas, and not being of a reticent disposition, however friendly, now and then claim the privilege of relationship to express their opinion of each other's affairs, in a manner which, though it may be frank, is not always judicious or agreeable. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The lesson I draw from it is, that now that we are going to be nearer neighbours, we must learn to be sparing of such criticism ourselves, and not too sensitive or impatient when it is applied to us. (Hear, hear.) We are bound to bear in mind, that a common language, if it brings, on the one hand, immense advantages, has, on the other, some responsibilities and some inconveniences. In private life, probably, no man speaks of his friends in precisely the terms he would use were they face to face. Nations converse by newspapers; and every word which they say of one another is, by the necessity of the case, said also to one another. It is in the earnest hope that we may use our new privileges as befits us both; it is in the deep conviction that on the union of the two nations, more than on any other earthly thing, the future of civilisation depends; and it is with the conviction, also, that whoever wilfully or ignorantly estranges them one from another, is doing, on the whole, the very worst act a human being could commit—it is with these feelings that I now give you the toast, 'England and America united.'" (Loud applause.)

In the course of the evening, the chairman read a communication from the Earl of Derby, conveying the sentiments and intentions of her majesty with respect to the Atlantic cable expedition and its promoters. Her majesty was desirous of testifying her sense of the merits displayed in this great enterprise, and had commanded his lordship to submit, for special marks of her royal favour, the names of those who, having had assigned to them prominent positions, might be considered as representing the different departments, whose united labours had contributed to the final result; and had commanded him to convey her congratulations to all whose energy and perseverance, skill and science, had triumphed over all difficulties, and accomplished a success alike honourable to themselves and their country. Her majesty had accordingly directed that Captain Anderson, Professor Thompson, and Messrs. Glass and Canning, should be knighted; and that Mr. Sampson, deputy-chairman of the original company, and Mr. Gooch, M.P., should receive the honour of baronetcy. If Mr. Cyrus Field received no such mark of royal favour, it was because her majesty did not wish to interfere with what might seem to be the natural functions of the government of the country to which Mr. Field belonged, and which he had served equally with this country in the work which had been done. The chairman continued, that Lord Derby had wished to confer upon Captain Anderson some further mark more immediately connected with his own

profession; but he had been greatly disappointed to find that neither the rules of the naval service, nor the statute of the Order of the Bath, allowed him to do so.

In a commercial point of view, the need of the Atlantic telegraph was great. It was stated by Captain Hamilton, at the meeting to which we have already referred, that the annual value of our imports and exports from and to America, including the United States and the British colonies, amounted to something like £100,000,000. Taking the average time of passage at about fourteen days, there was something like £4,000,000 of property afloat between Great Britain and America; while the quantity of wheat and wheat-flour, which was imported for the subsistence of our people, averaged 9,000,000 cwt.

It is recorded that, not many years ago, amusement was excited at a dinner party in London, when one of the guests made a slender figure of steel move its arms and legs by some occult means. Nobody could understand the trick till Mr. Wheatstone, its exhibitor, displayed his little battery and its wires. The upshot of an invention which was once deemed so insignificant, is, that now continent articulates to continent; that America and England are made one; and that in so splendid a success, we have the assurance of a day when lines shall be laid under every ocean, and over every land, annihilating distance and time.

But we must return to our chronicle. In 1858, Ireland was again unusually troublesome. Under the operation of the Encumbered Estates' Act, a large amount of English and Scotch capital had been introduced; cultivation was extended; crime and pauperism were diminishing; and the aspect of the island when Lord Eglinton again took the office of Lord-Lieutenant, was very different to what it was in 1852, when his lordship held that office before; but nevertheless, secret societies—the bane of Ireland—continued to exist. The Ribbon Society revived its operations, and many murders were the result. Circulars were sent to many persons, soliciting them to join societies which were forming with a view to the benefit of the country, and the establishment of its independence. Not contented with this, and in spite of the opposition and censure of most of the Roman Catholic priests, it appeared that a conspiracy had been actually formed of a revolutionary character, and that foreign aid was to be invoked. In consequence, on the 3rd of December, a proclamation from the Lord-Lieutenant appeared, announcing the information received by government, “that societies, or associations of persons, existed in several parts of Ireland, the members of which are bound together by oaths or obligations of a seditious or treasonable character.” Persons were warned not to belong to these societies. The firm determination of the government to use all the means in its power for their suppression, and for the punishment of persons belonging to them, was declared. One hundred pounds was offered for such information as would lead to the conviction of any of the persons who had administered the oaths, and £50 for the conviction of any member of such illegal associations. This proclamation was followed by the seizure of numerous persons at Bantry, Skibbereen, Kenmare, Bandon, Cork, Kerry, Killarney, Callan, Ballydonnel, and other places. Before the year closed, nearly a hundred persons were in custody, and more were arrested in January, 1859. The charge against them was, that they were members of a secret society, called “The Phoenix,” whose object was to procure the invasion of Ireland by American filibusters, or by a French force, which the conspirators were prepared to join, to make war upon the English government. The principal evidence of the existence of this treasonable combination was derived from Daniel Sullivan, an approver or informer. The information given was confirmed by other sources.

It appeared from the statement of this man—who was a process server, and who is said, by an unfriendly witness, to have had nothing repulsive in his countenance; but a smart, intelligent, and good-looking man of about twenty-seven years of age—that he first became connected with the Phoenix Society on the 20th of August; but it must have been in existence some time before. He took two oaths—one of “secrecy,” the other of “brotherhood;” and he said the object of the

society was, to be ready to take up arms, as the Americans were expected before Christmas, and they would be joined by the French. Ireland was then declared to be an independent republic. The members were bound to secrecy; pledged to take up arms at a moment's warning; and engaged to yield implicit obedience to their leaders. They held secret meetings and drills, and had a variety of pass-words and signs: one sign was passing the right hand over the right cheek, which was answered by a motion of the right hand at the back of the left ear. Among the pass-words were—"Don't be ignorant." "Have better breeding." "The night is dark." "The clouds are dark and heavy." "We expect a war between France and England." "The Irish brigade are advancing." The conspirators appear to have had but few arms; doubtless they expected them from America or France.

The murders by Ribbon-men, and the disclosures of the machinations of the members of the Phoenix Society, alarmed many of the landowners of Ireland; and a meeting was announced to be held in the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 27th of January, 1859, for the purpose of calling the attention of government to the state of the country. This meeting was disapproved of by most of the noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Liberal party in Ireland, though several members of that party supported it; and one of the most eminent men among them, as a magistrate and a country gentleman, acted as one of the secretaries to the committee. The government, also, held out no encouragement to those who took the lead in the movement; and, at the last moment, it was abandoned. But the committee declared, in a circular issued on the 24th of January, that the secretaries and two members of that body had had an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant, of a most satisfactory nature, in which the objects of the contemplated meeting had been fully attained. Therefore, instead of meeting and passing resolutions, they presented an address to his excellency; in which they stated, that they considered it right "to press earnestly upon the consideration of the government, the feeling of insecurity for life and property, which pervaded the minds of many of her majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects." This circular was followed by one, on the 25th, from the noblemen and gentlemen opposed to the meeting, denying that life and property were more insecure in Ireland than in any part of her majesty's dominions; and expressing their opinion, that what was wanting to ensure content, was the putting the law of landlord and tenant on a better footing. There was no further attempt, in Ireland, to disturb the public peace till 1865, when Fenianism raised its head, and led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the capture of many men and military stores.

In England, towards the end of November, commenced the reform movement, which gradually spread over the country, though unattended by that earnestness and agitation which characterised the reform period of 1832. Successive governments having declared they would take up the question of reform, Lord Derby's government promised to bring in a Reform Bill in the following year. The country, at that time, seemed very indifferent upon the subject; and it was only by the efforts of a portion of the London press that any section of the public were roused into action. Some meetings, however, were held in October; and, on the 27th of that month, Mr. Bright appeared in Birmingham, at the first public meeting he had attended since his illness. There was a very numerous attendance; and, we need not add, the honourable gentleman delivered a very eloquent address. The Birmingham meeting—one of the resolutions passed at which called on Mr. Bright to draw up a Reform Bill—was followed by others: the numbers continued increasing each week, till parliament assembled in February, 1859. At these meetings, household suffrage, or manhood suffrage, triennial parliaments, and the ballot, were demanded; but, though numerous, they could not be considered as conveying the voice of the country; for in very few places could the persons attending them be deemed to represent the feelings of the mass of the inhabitants of the districts in which they were held. At most of the meetings confidence was voted in Mr. Bright, who, before the close of the year, produced a Reform Bill, the

principle of which was the disfranchising a great many small boroughs, to transfer the seats to populous districts; and, by the mass of reformers, his bill was cordially received.

In October, fears were entertained that a dispute between France and Portugal might lead to a demand for the aid of this country on the part of the latter, and occasion a war between France and England. For several years the French had been endeavouring to introduce negro emigrants, as labourers, into the West India Islands; and the Portuguese government had given permission for such emigrants to be conveyed from their colony of Mozambique to the French island of Réunion. The part of the colony from which they had to be taken was specially defined; and a French vessel, the *Charles et Georges*, having been found in a position off the coast where she had no right to be, with 100 negroes on board, the Portuguese authorities seized her. The court of Mozambique condemned her as a lawful prize. She was accordingly confiscated, and the captain imprisoned. As she had an agent accredited from the French government on board, that government took up the question, contending that the presence of such an agent was an irresistible proof that no violation of the treaty, to which France was a party, prohibiting the slave-trade, had been committed. The restoration of the ship to the owners, the liberation of the captain, and the payment of an indemnity for the loss the owners had sustained by the detention of the vessel, were demanded by France, and refused by Portugal. The latter proposed to refer the matter to arbitration; but the government at Paris, as one of its agents made a point of honour of the case, insisted upon immediate compliance with their demands; and, to enforce them, they sent two men-of-war to the Tagus, which appeared off Lisbon on the 14th of October. The Portuguese government yielded to this display of force, under protest; and Lord Derby and his colleagues were blamed, in certain quarters, for not supporting an ancient ally. The Earl Cowley and Lord Malmesbury did actually interfere, so the censure referred to fell to the ground. Fighting was out of the question. England, especially after the blunders and the disappointing *finale* of the Crimean war, had ceased to have much faith in war as a means of spreading civilisation and progress. England had always disapproved of the emigrant scheme, as tending to revive the slave-trade; indeed, many contended that it was the slave-trade under another name. After the affair of the *Charles et Georges*, the Emperor of France appointed a commission to inquire into the matter, and the result was the prohibition of the practice.

No little astonishment was created, in November, by learning that Mr. Gladstone had accepted an appointment at the hands of his political opponents, and had been sent out by Lord Derby on a mission to the Ionian Islands, which then, as usual, were in a disturbed state. In 1849, a constitution was granted to the Ionians by Lord Seaton, then Lord High Commissioner, which placed the management of their domestic affairs in the hands of a parliament, chosen by a suffrage nearly universal. At first, this concession pleased the people much; but, in 1853, intrigues against the Turks were commenced; and, from that time, the object of the people was to join with the Greeks, who were only hindered from the invasion of Turkey, during the Russian war, by stationing an allied French and English force in Athens. Mr. Gladstone had scarcely left England when the public were surprised by the appearance of a despatch from Sir John Young, then Lord High Commissioner, dated June 10th, 1857, in which he expressed his opinion that England was in a false position in the Ionian Islands; and suggested that she should retire from the protectorate, retaining Corfu as a colony. The conclusion was immediately drawn that the English government assented to the views of Sir J. Young, and that the mission of Mr. Gladstone was to carry them out. It appeared, however, that the despatches had been stolen. Sir J. Young, of course, had to resign, and Mr. Gladstone succeeded him; but the declaration of the latter, that he had not come to abolish the protectorate, or remove treaties, but merely to rectify abuses, and to promote the happiness of the people, most

materially diminished his popularity. In short, the mission may be briefly described as a failure; and Mr. Gladstone must have been glad to relinquish his power and return to England, which he did in 1859.

The year closed with a terrible accident at the Victoria Theatre, London. On the 28th of December there had been a day performance, and there was to have been an evening one. The spectators for the latter were waiting on the stairs ere the first spectators had left. The manager had provided for the exit of the day audience by a different way from that which was opened for their successors; but an escape of gas, or the ignition of lucifers or fusees, caused an alarm of fire. It is impossible to describe the confusion that ensued. Those who were going out hurried to the barriers which had been raised to prevent the crowd from entering, and attempted to rush down; while others kept ascending the stairs, and choking up the passage, unconscious, at first, that anything had occurred. The appalling shrieks that reached their ears, however, alarmed them, and they, in their turn, attempted to find their way back to the door. In the struggle which ensued, no consideration was shown to age or sex. The cry was, "Save your lives who can." Many were thrown down and trodden upon; and before the stairs and passages were cleared, sixteen persons were bruised and trodden to death, and more than fifty dangerously wounded. The accident threw a gloom over the district in which it occurred; and a few days afterwards another happened at the Polytechnic Institution, from the stairs giving way as the audience were retiring, which occasioned nearly as many casualties. Seldom, in London, had there been such fatal accidents at places of amusement.

The new year opened under unfavourable circumstances.

In France war was resolved on; and, in a little while, the peace of Europe was disturbed.

Parliament met in February; and we had a Reform Bill introduced by Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Derby administration. On February 28th, he rose for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people of England and Wales, and to facilitate the registration and voting of electors. He opened by declaring that nothing could exceed the gravity of the subject. He then gave a brief outline of the history of the subject. Reform had been fifteen years a parliamentary question; and it was then ten years since the Prime Minister had announced, in that House, that a change ought to be made. Events prevented that opinion from being acted on; but in 1852, the speech from the throne proclaimed the necessity of making a change in the Act of 1832. In consequence, a measure of parliamentary reform had been brought forward by Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister. A change of administration prevented that measure from being proceeded with. Two years later, a minister, born and bred in the Tory camp, was also of opinion that it was his duty to recommend a measure of reform to his sovereign; and an announcement to that effect was made once more in the royal speech of 1854. In consequence, a second measure was brought forward by the government of Lord Aberdeen. The great war which succeeded it, again prevented it from making further progress. Lord Palmerston succeeded to the head of affairs; and though he, as Mr. Disraeli declared, "was considered a statesman who has no morbid sympathy with advanced opinions," yet he repeated to the sovereign the advice given by Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen; and the royal speech for 1857, for the third time, proclaimed that the attention of the legislature would be called to parliamentary reform. Under these circumstances Lord Derby resolved to attempt a settlement of the question himself, that it might be no longer left "for the reorganisation of an opposition, the desperate resources of faction, and the chronic excitement of the popular mind."

"We propose," continued Mr. Disraeli, "to introduce into these borough constituencies new franchises. In the first place, we shall introduce, as the foundation of the suffrage, a class of property which hitherto has not formed an element out

of which voters have been created. I mean personal property. We shall propose to allow persons who have funded property—property in bank stock, or East India stock, and bonds—to the amount of £10 per annum to exercise the suffrage. * * * * There is another franchise which we shall also recommend the House to adopt; and that is one which depends upon the possession of a certain sum in the savings bank. A man who has had £60 for a year in a savings bank will, under this, if it become law, be an elector for the borough in which he resides. Again, a man who has a pension for public service, but who has ceased to be employed in that service, whether it be her majesty's naval, military, or civil service, to the amount of £20 a year, will, under this bill, if it become law, be entitled to a vote, wherever he may reside. Then, again, sir, the occupants of a portion of a house, the aggregate rent of which amounts to £20 a year, which would be 8s. a week, will also be entitled to a vote. * * * * We have thought it advisable that the suffrage should be conferred upon graduates of all universities; upon the ministers of religion, whether priests and deacons of the church, or ministers of denominations, under regulations which the House will find in the bill; upon the members of the legal profession, in all its branches, whether barristers, members of the inns of court, solicitors, or proctors; and upon all members of the medical body who are registered under the late Medical Act. To these we have added such schoolmasters as possess a certificate from the council."

With regard to the county franchise, Mr. Disraeli proposed to harmonise it. "We think there is a principle, the justness of which will be at once acknowledged, the logical consequences of which will be remedial, and which, if applied with due discretion, will effect all those objects which we anxiously desire with respect to the county constituency. We find that principle in recognising the identity of suffrage between county and town. I will proceed to show the House what, in our opinion, would be the practical consequences of recognising that identity. If the suffrages of the town are transferred to the county, and the suffrages of the county transferred to the town, all those voters who, dwelling in a town, exercise their suffrage in the county, in virtue of a county suffrage, will record their votes in the town; and the forty-shilling freeholder, resident in a town, subject to the provisions in the bill, which would prevent the constitutional instrument being turned to an improper use, will have a right to vote for the borough in which he resides. This, as well as the franchise founded on savings banks, will open another avenue to the mechanic whose virtue, prudence, intelligence, and frugality, entitle him to enter into the privileged pale of the constituent body of the country. Therefore, the first measure would embody this logical consequence—that it would transfer the freeholders of the town from the county to the town. But, if this principle be adopted, there are other measures, in our opinion, it would be the duty of parliament in this respect to adopt. Since the year 1832 there has been an immense increase in the population of this country, irrespective of the ratio of increase with which we are acquainted. The creation of railroads in particular districts has stimulated that increase; and thus has come to pass in England that, in a great many of the boroughs, there is a population residing who, for all social and municipal purposes, are part and parcel of the community, but who, for parliamentary purposes, are pariahs. A man votes for a municipality; he pays parochial rates and taxes; he is called upon to contribute to all purposes of charity and philanthropy in the borough; but because he lives in a part of the borough which exceeds the boundary that was formed in 1832, he is not, though he lives in a £10 house, permitted to vote for members of parliament. Now all this extramural population, in fact and spirit, consists of persons who ought to be electors in the borough in which they reside; and we, therefore, propose that boundary commissioners should visit all the boroughs of England, and rearrange them according to the altered circumstances of the time. I know that these boundary commissioners may cause some alarm in the country. I know there are traditions of party arrangements effected by that machinery, which, whether true

or not, left an unpopular recollection in the House of Commons. I believe that, in the present state of public feeling on this subject, so moderate as it is, and in the present balanced state of parties, no partial or improper conduct of that character, if it ever did take place, could be repeated." Mr. Disraeli stated, the machinery for that purpose would be the enclosure commissioners. He continued—"Coming to that part of the bill which concerns the mode of registration and of voting, I would propose that, in future, there should be a self-acting register for the counties. That the overseer of each parish should make out a list of owners and occupiers, which could be revised and added to subsequently. Under this plan no one need make a claim to be registered, unless he finds his name omitted: as to the mode of voting, I propose, in the first instance, greatly to increase the number of polling-places. There would be one polling-place in every parish where there are 200 electors; and where the number is less, the parishes would be grouped till they reached that number, and a fitting place established for each group; each voter would vote for the place where he resided, and, therefore, a residence qualification register would be kept, as well as a property qualification register. The expense of the various polling-places would be thrown upon the counties. I would not compel all voters to vote personally; and should, therefore, propose that voters might make use of 'voting-papers.' That system has been tried elsewhere, and the consequence was that 90 per cent. of the electors voted for the guardians of the poor, while, for the legislature of this great country, only 50 or 60 per cent. voted. I believe that a machinery might be devised which would prevent all attempts at deception or personification, which, if attempted, would be held a misdemeanour."

As to representation, the honourable gentleman continued—"I contrive to divide this branch of the subject into cases where there is a want of representation, and those where a representation exists, and not an adequate one. We find both of these circumstances characteristic of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and South Lancashire. There, then, are distinct interests which are not represented in this House; and some, also, which are very inadequately represented. I mean by the term 'inadequately represented,' to say that there are several distinct interests, while the present members are returned to this House by the predominating interest; the other interests, which are considerable enough to challenge and claim our consideration, being virtually unrepresented. We propose, therefore, to add to the West Riding of Yorkshire four members. Here I will not speak of population or property, because we are not about to offer a proposition to the House formed merely upon population or property. In the West Riding we find a great territory, seventy miles in length, which is purely agricultural. We find another great division studded with towns, none of them important enough, or having distinctive interests enough, to be represented; yet, in their aggregate, constituting a wonderful hive of industry and energy. And there is still another portion of the West Riding where there are blended and varied interests. We propose, therefore, to add four members to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and to divide it, not according to a mathematical arrangement as to population, but according to its separate interests. The principle of division will be in accordance with the local demarcations of wapentakes. If property be the test, the property here is identical; for, however varied in the number of their population, the property of the wapentakes is as follows:—We propose that there should be a West Yorkshire, with a population of 472,000, and a property of £963,000. That is the division in which you will find Keighley, Dewsbury, and a score of towns which you cannot summon here, but which, if you adopt these principles for your constituent body, would be voting for county members, and, therefore, they ought to vote with the distinct interests with which they are connected. We propose that there should be a North-west Yorkshire, with a population of 129,000; and South Yorkshire, with one of 225,000. * * * * We propose to add two members to South Lancashire—that is to say, we propose to distribute the county of Lancashire into three

divisions. One will be the Hundred of West Derby, and one the Hundred of Salford. These divisions are the same as those proposed by the noble lord the member for London, except that one of the hundreds of North Lancashire was inserted in the West Derby in his bill, and it now remains connected with North Lancashire. This will be an addition of six to the number of county members. There is another county to which we propose to add two members, and that is the county of Middlesex, which we propose to divide. By dividing Middlesex, the claims of Kensington, Chelsea, and a hundred other suburban districts, the claims of which have been urged in this House, will be provided for. They will form part of West Middlesex; while the distinctive interests of the other portion of the county, the northern division, will be also represented in this House. These are all the additions which we propose to make to the county representation—eight members.

“It is now, sir, my duty to call the attention of the House to those places which, because they possess distinct interests which are not duly represented in this House, ought, in our opinion, to be duly represented here. The first place which, in our opinion, ought to be represented in the House of Commons, is the town of Hartlepool, and its immediate district. There is no place in England more distinguished by the energy of the inhabitants, its rapid progress, and the character of its industry. In North Durham there are four great towns which are unrepresented, and there are two county members. In South Durham there are two county members, and no town which is unrepresented. I will not dwell upon the population of Hartlepool. I will not rest the granting of a franchise, although the population is very considerable—upwards of 300,000—on that; but I rest it upon the rapid development of its considerable industry, and the fact that, at this very moment, its importation of foreign goods is even larger than that of her coasting trade. We therefore propose that there should be a member for Hartlepool. For the same reason—that is, a place where the shipping and mercantile interests of this country are conspicuous—we are of opinion that Birkenhead ought to be represented. There is a part of Staffordshire which we think deserves and requires the consideration of the House. It is that district called the ‘black country,’ where an immense distinctive industry has arisen since the passing of the Reform Act; and we therefore propose that West Bromwich and Wednesbury shall return a member to this House. I said that we had allotted only two additional members to South Lancashire, because we thought that there were two towns in that county whose interests required to be represented in this House; and, therefore, we recommend that two members should be allotted to Bromley and Staleybridge. That will be five additional borough members. Turning now to the south of England, we find a place in Surrey which ought to be represented—viz., Croydon; and in the county of Kent, we propose that a member should be allotted to Gravesend, a very ancient town, with a distinctive character, and, in every sense of the word, entitled to a representative.”

Approaching the question of the suppression of the right to send members to parliament, the honourable gentleman observed—“It is sometimes said that there are constituencies in this country so small that it is an indefensible anomaly to permit them to exist. There are, it is true, some constituencies which cannot be defended, if the numerical majority is to govern England; but there are some very small constituencies which may perform a very important part in the representation of the principles upon which the English constitution is founded, which are still upheld in this House, and still revered in this country. I will take an instance. In all those rattling schemes of disfranchisement with which we were favoured during the autumn, when every gentleman thought he could sit down at his table and reconstruct the venerable fabric of the English constitution—if there was one point more than another in which those Utopian meddlers agreed—if there was one enemy which they were all determined and resolved to hunt down, it was the borough of Arundel. There every vice of the system seemed to be congregated—a

small population, a small constituency, absolute nomination. Well now, sir, that is very well for autumnal agitation; but let us see how it practically works in the ancient and famous society of which it is our pride and privilege to be members. There are 900,000 Roman Catholics in England, scattered and dispersed in every county and town—of course a minority. What means have they of being represented in this House, especially in the present—as I deem it—unfortunate state of feeling in England with regard to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects? There is one English Roman Catholic member of parliament, who bears a name which will always be honoured by England and Englishmen; and practically, and in the spirit of the English constitution, the 900,000 Roman Catholics of England—men of ancient lineage and vast possessions, whose feelings all must respect, even if they do not agree with—these, in every particular, find a representative in the borough of Arundel. That is the practical working of our constitution. You talk of the small number of the constituency of Arundel—900,000 Roman Catholics! Why it is more than the West Riding of Yorkshire; it is double that of the Tower Hamlets. Therefore, sir, we are not to say, because a constituency is small, that it is the source from which we must inevitably draw the constitutional means of completing the representation of England. The House will do me the justice of observing that, by the measure which, on the part of the government, I have placed before them to-night, whatever arrangements may be made with existing boroughs to find means of effecting the representation of interests not represented, without increasing the numbers of the House, no man will be disfranchised. By adopting this principle of identity of suffrage, even if a man loses the member who represented his borough, he may still go to the poll or send his voting-paper; and, under all circumstances, that is a compensation which was never offered in schemes of parliamentary reform. We do not feel it our duty to recommend to parliament that any borough represented by a single member, like Arundel, should lose its member. We do want, in order to complete the representation of the country, fifteen seats in the House.”

Then came the question as to the rule for finding these fifteen seats. “In the last census,” continued the speaker, “if you throw your eye over its parliamentary results, you will find that there are fifteen boroughs represented by two members each, and the population of which is under 6,000. Only fifteen boroughs! It will be an admirable opportunity for a display of patriotism—an opportunity seldom offered by the occasions and circumstances of society to the members of those places. I have no personal feelings on the subject. I do most sincerely and ardently hope that, when there is a new parliament, we may all meet again; but if these fifteen boroughs, now represented by two members each, though with a population under 6,000—without our using force to compel them—make this concession, we shall complete the representation of the country according to the principles upon which, I believe, our representation ought to rest. Therefore, sir, in the bill, which will shortly be in the hands of members, there are provisions that the fifteen boroughs in question shall, in the next parliament, be represented by only one member each.” These boroughs were—Honiton, Thetford, Totnes, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Ludlow, Andover, Knaresborough, Tewkesbury, Maldon, Lymington.

After a debate on the first reading (in which Lords Palmerston and J. Russell, Messrs. Newdegate, H. Drummond, and J. Bright, took part), Mr. Disraeli replied as follows:—

“The intention of the government, with respect to the four seats still in reserve, arising from the disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Alban’s, was, that they should still remain vacant. The honourable member for Sussex asked me whether the government could give any estimate of the reduction of the constituency by transferring the borough freeholders from the county? There is a return—in fact, I believe two returns—on the table of the House on that subject, and the number has been already stated accurately by another member of the House, in the course

of the debate. I believe the last return is 105,000. The same honourable gentleman asked me whether the forty-shilling freeholder will vote in the borough in which he resided? He will, if his forty-shilling qualification is within the borough; if not, he can vote by means of the polling-papers. I am asked, also, if it is our intention that the occupier of a £10 house, and a forty-shilling freehold, is to have only one vote? Sir, it is intended that he should have only one vote. Another honourable gentleman asks me whether I can give him any calculation of the number of voters who will be added to the constituencies by the different schemes I have introduced to-night? It would be impossible to give any estimate of that kind which could be depended on. All I can say is, that the increase will be very considerable—exceeding, I have no hesitation in saying, 500,000; but the suffrage will depend so much upon a man's own energy—so many will, I think, be animated by the avenues which would be opened for the attainment of the suffrage, that it would be impossible to give the dry statistical accounts which could be furnished if it depended merely upon property, occupation, and voting qualities alone, and which would easily be ascertainable by returns. Then the honourable member for Hull inquires of me whether the cost of polling-places for boroughs was also to be defrayed by the localities, as well as those for counties? In this bill it will be found that the cost of polling-places for boroughs will not be so defrayed, for public rooms can there be easily obtained. We do not propose to free the candidate from that expense; it is, we think, a legitimate expenditure. The honourable member for Cambridge inquires of me, whether, by the £10 qualification of the counties, I mean only the qualification which arises from the possession of a house? The bill mentions the qualification, which arises from lands and tenements."

The bill of Lord Derby having been rejected by the House of Commons, the government determined to appeal to the country. The result was an adverse decision. Lord Derby went out, and Lord Palmerston again returned to power. One result of this state of things was, that the reform question was once more left in an unsatisfactory condition. Had the Liberals accepted Lord Derby's measure; had they let it go into committee, and modified and improved it, a fair measure of reform might have been passed. Such a settlement did not suit the personal ambition of the leaders of the Liberals. Their creed was, that they alone were competent to deal with the delicate question; and, in the meanwhile, all legislative improvements are impeded; one impotent administration succeeds another; and parliamentary reform is postponed.

The Conservatives resigned on June 11th, having been beaten by a vote of want of confidence the day previous. The feud between Lord John Russell and Viscount Palmerston was healed, and the confidence of the Liberals, even of the most advanced of them, was given to the new cabinet. There had been a meeting at Willis's rooms, in which all sores had been healed, and promises of better behaviour made for the future. There was one exception—that of one who was to do much for the success of the Palmerston cabinet nevertheless: we mean Mr. Cobden. Lord Palmerston announced his determination to reserve certain seats in his cabinet for the leaders of advanced liberalism. Meanwhile, the great free-trader had not yet returned to England from America. It was only on his arrival at Liverpool that he learnt, from a deputation of gentlemen, who went off and boarded the steamer by which he voyaged, that the Premier had designated him to the appropriate office of President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Cobden determined not to accept the proffered post. He called upon Lord Palmerston, at Cambridge House, and frankly told his lordship he could not serve under him. It was understood that when Palmerston remonstrated and advised reconsideration, Cobden rejoined that he had always regarded him as a most dangerous minister for England, and that his views still remained the same. (Mr. Cobden forgot that now Lord Palmerston had passed threescore years and ten, and had reached the time when the fire and rashness of an earlier day had long passed away.) Mr. Cobden stated,



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also, that he felt he would be doing violence to his own sense of duty if he attempted to act with a minister to whom he had all along been opposed.

CHAPTER XIII.

ITALY AND THE ITALIAN WAR.

SINCE the peace of Vienna, Austrian influence had been gradually extending in Italy. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, as we have seen, had vainly waged war with it.

At the congress held in Paris, at the conclusion of the Crimean war, Count Cavour endeavoured to induce the other powers to make a declaration in favour of establishing a temporal sovereignty in the Legation, and, generally, of Italian independence. He did not succeed; but the language then held with respect to the predominance of Austrian influence, its pernicious effects, and the disgust it excited amongst the inhabitants of Italy, alarmed the government of Vienna. From that time the relations between France and Austria became less cordial.

Count Cavour, the first of statesmen Italy has produced in modern times, was born in 1810, of one of the most ancient and wealthy families in Piedmont. As a mere boy, when enrolled among the royal pages, he provoked his dismissal by a witticism on the absurd formalities of the Court. He was then placed at the military academy at Turin, where he pursued his studies with distinction; and, in due time, was appointed to a lieutenancy of engineers. But scarcely had the young officer been introduced into the circles of the capital, ere his independence of character and powers of sarcasm soon displayed themselves so conspicuously, that his family were either cautioned or considered it prudent to send him out of the country. In those days, to be kept from royalty was looked upon as a heavy inflection, and Cavour's absence was generally regarded as an exile.

He spent several years abroad, alternately residing in London, Paris, or Genoa; pursuing his studies, and gaining the experience so conducive to his subsequent fame. Especially did he delight in works on English political economy; and his writings on finance, free trade, and agriculture, in various French periodicals, showed his depth and clearness of reasoning. Our English laws and institutions were also diligently investigated. He travelled over a great part of the United Kingdom; and his essay on the actual condition and prospects of Ireland, which appeared in the *Revue Nouvelle*, attracted considerable attention. In 1842, and not till then, did he return, or was encouraged to return, to Italy.

A gleam of hope appeared in that unhappy land. Charles Albert's leanings towards a change of system were becoming apparent in his patronage of railroads and scientific congresses, so eagerly solicited by cultivated Italians, as mediums of national intercourse and discussion. Cavour, in concert with Balbo, Santa Rosa, and others, engaged in forming the *Associazione Agraria*, the avowed purpose of which was the improvement of agriculture; in reality, it was designed, through its meetings, held, by turns, in the chief towns of the kingdom, to open a field for debate on the requirements of the country, and to foster the desire for legitimate reform. Austria detected this. A Milanese journal was suspended for having spoken favourably of the association. Cavour and his friends next started the *Resorgimento*, or Resurrection, which speedily became the most important organ of the Moderate party all over Italy. Towards the close of the year, in conjunction with Balbo, Selvio, Pellico, and others of their party, Cavour addressed a petition to the King of Naples, still inflexible to all suggestions of reform, imploring him to conform to "the policy of Pius IX., of Leopold, and of Charles Albert; to the policy of foresight, of forgiveness, of civilisation, and of Christian charity."

In the first session of the sub-Alpine parliament, in which he sat as one of the representatives of the city of Turin, Cavour soon distinguished himself as a skilful debater, and unrivalled in financial knowledge. In the stormy discussions of that period, where an assembly, entirely new to its responsibilities and the mere routine of office, found itself at war, and exposed as well to the contagion of republican France, and to the hostile machinations of Mazzini, Cavour never ceased courageously to oppose the inroad of democratic passions which elsewhere mastered the Moderates, and even seriously threatened to preponderate in Piedmont. Consequently, he was much abused by turn; and when, after the reverses of the royal army in Lombardy, in 1848, he sided with the ministry who were adverse to the immediate renewal of the war, he was reviled as a renegade and traitor. He had the courage openly to combat the extreme irritation just then prevailing against the British government, owing to its strenuous recommendations of peace, and efforts for securing it. "I hold it as certain," he said, "that England has entered frankly, honourably, resolutely into this mediation. This declaration will subject me, I well know, to be more than ordinarily taxed with Anglo-mania, and will render me the mark for the invectives of a large portion of the daily press; but whatever the fate awaiting me beyond these walls, I flatter myself that my colleagues, after hearing the reasons upon which my opinion is based, will absolve me from the grave accusation of not being as true a lover of my country as any here present." He then proceeded to demonstrate all that might be gained by prudence and delay; all that would infallibly be lost by precipitation. But these arguments, of which the soundness was only too soon experienced, completed his unpopularity, and, in a new election in January, 1849, Cavour lost his seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

Re-elected deputy in the summer, Cavour gave his warm support to the Azeglio ministry; and, in 1850, he accepted, under him, the portfolio of Commerce and Agriculture. Notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, Cavour signalised his first year of office by a remarkable development of its commerce and internal resources. In six months he also took charge of the Ministry of Finance. In this new department his remarkable activity and administrative capacity rapidly displayed themselves. He concluded advantageous treaties of commerce with Belgium and England; laid the basis of free trade; set on foot the construction of new railroads; encouraged native manufactures; and restored so much confidence by his financial statement, that in the course of the summer of 1851, he raised a loan in England on very favourable terms, and, soon afterwards, one in Turin.

When the *coup-d'état* took place in Paris, Austria, in conjunction with two other absolute Courts (Tuscany and Naples), it is believed directed an ambassador to proffer to King Victor Emmanuel the recommendation to conform his government to that of the other Italian states, giving him, at the same time, indirectly, to understand that he might have to repent of his pertinacity in adhering to a contrary system. The abuses to which the constitution gave rise, the license of the press, and other points that had already been the subject of recrimination to these powers, were again insisted upon, with the desire of seeing representative institutions annulled in Sardinia, as they had been in their own dominions. An additional embarrassment was soon furnished by the remonstrances of France on the subject of the political refugees, whose presence so near her frontiers was considered dangerous to her tranquillity. In the discussions which ensued, Azeglio and Cavour parted company. Cavour inclined to Ratazzi, who had been a violent ultra-liberal. The important post of President of the Chamber of Deputies having become vacant, Cavour obtained it for his new ally, Ratazzi. The ministers in general disapproved of this appointment; and in May, 1852, the cabinet was remodelled, with Cavour out of office.

The parliamentary recess was spent by Cavour in Scotland and England, where he met with many of our leading statesmen. At Paris, where he appointed a meeting with Ratazzi, he procured for both an interview with Louis Napoleon.



GENERAL G. G. G.

He then returned to Italy, to be summoned to the head of affairs—a position he declined on learning that the condition annexed to this charge, was the renewal of the negotiations with Rome. In 1852, in the beginning of November, unshackled by any condition, the count became head of the Piedmontese cabinet. Meantime, Azeglio, the artist and soldier-statesman, who had done his fatherland such good service, cheerfully returned to private life, and took up his pencil to repair the inroads on his fortune, occasioned by three years of office.

For the next two years Cavour chiefly occupied himself with internal economy, and avoided the difficult and delicate question as to civil marriages, and other matters connected with Rome. In the course of 1853 alone, the government presented no less than 142 projects of law, which embraced municipal organisation, the army, finance, and public works. Immense sums were voted for the construction of railways in all the provinces; electric telegraphs were everywhere laid down, and a convention was entered into for a submarine cable between Spezia and the island of Sardinia. At the same time relations with Vienna were broken off in consequence of Radetzky's unjustly sequestering the possessions of all the Lombards residing in Piedmont.

In 1855, Cavour announced—the great step in advance—the alliance of Sardinia with England and France against Russia. In the spirit of a prophecy, which was speedily realised, in defending it in the Italian Chamber, Count Cavour exclaimed—“I hold it as indispensable to the improvement of the actual state of Italy, and exceeding all other considerations in importance, to raise up her reputation, so that all the people of the world, rulers and ruled, shall be compelled to do her justice. For this, two things are necessary; to prove to Europe, first, that Italy has sufficient sense and moderation to sustain free institutions, and to adopt the most perfect known form of government; secondly, that the military valour of her people is equal to that of her forefathers. You have as yet done Italy good service by the conduct you have pursued during seven years, proving, in the most conspicuous manner, that Italians can govern themselves with wisdom, prudence, and loyalty. It is now your privilege to render her an equal, if not greater service: it is given to our country to demonstrate how the sons of Italy can bear their part in fields of glory. I am certain that the laurels reaped by our soldiers in the East, will do more for the future fate of the peninsula than all that has been effected by those who thought to achieve her regeneration by their eloquence or their pen.”

Bowed down by successive bereavements, within a few days Victor Emmanuel had mourned the loss of the queen-dowager; of his own consort, Adelaide of Austria; and of his only brother, the Duke of Genoa, the destined general of the Crimean expedition. Influenced by the clergy, who, of course, had seen in the calamities which had fallen on the royal house a judgment from heaven, the cabinet had nearly fallen. The Piedmontese bishops, prompted by Rome, proposed to the king, on condition of the withdrawal of the motion on the suppression of convents, to take upon themselves the charges of augmenting the income of the rural clergy. More than ever solicitous of peace with the church, Victor Emmanuel's first impulse was to accede to this offer, the secret bearing of which he did not at once penetrate. But Cavour, and the rest of the cabinet, declared themselves unable to accept a compromise which would forfeit the political independence of the state; and tendered their resignation. Victor Emmanuel said he would take time to consider of it. Count Revel was sent for—the friends of freedom were alarmed. At this juncture Azeglio flew to the assistance of his former colleagues: the country was saved; and Cavour returned to office. The Piedmontese were cheered by his return to power, by the gallantry of their troops at the battle of the Tchernaya, and with the reception given in Paris and in London to their king.

At the congress of Paris, as we have seen, Cavour pleaded the cause of bleeding, oppressed, and degraded Italy; nor did he speak in vain. “The Italian question,” he said, on his return, “has now become a European question. The cause of Italy has not been advocated by demagogues, revolutionists, and sections. It has been

carried before the congress by the plenipotentiaries of the great powers of Europe. From the congress it has now passed to the tribunal of public opinion. * * * * The struggle may be long; it will demand prudence and reflection; it will be subject to fluctuations and difficulties; but I have the firm conviction that our cause will ultimately triumph."

The improvement of the country was not lost sight of in the midst of the excitement produced by these foreign questions. No department escaped the ministry's attention. Free schools, evening classes, public lectures, infant schools, and asylums, all attested its solicitude for the intellectual and moral cultivation of the people. True to the cause of religious liberty, it permitted the erection of three Protestant churches—at Nice, at Genoa, at Pignerol, for the Valdese worship; and the members of the free Italian church held their meetings in Turin, Genoa, and several of the provincial towns, without molestation. Extensive manufactories of silk, woollen stuffs, soap, wax, and composite candles, linen, glass, and china, springing up on every side, show the spread of industrial undertakings; and of the perfection to which these may be carried, as well as jewellery, fire-arms, cabinet and wood carving, the National Exhibition at Turin, in 1858, gave some remarkable specimens. Agriculture, as may be expected from the early patron of the *Associazione Agraria*, is carefully promoted. The iron mines of Savoy and of the island of Sardinia, formerly a state monopoly, now wisely thrown open to individual enterprise, promise to become of considerable importance. The newly-opened marble quarries of the Alps and the Apennines lead to similar expectations. So great is the improvement in machinery, that the railroads which cover the state are now traversed by locomotives of native construction; and the watch-makers of Savoy rival those of neighbouring Geneva. The navy is also considerably increased; and the mercantile marine is increasing as rapidly and materially.

After the congress of Paris, the relations of Sardinia and Vienna were, if possible, less amicable than before. The Austrian emperor, who, in 1855, had purposely slighted the Court of Turin, by returning no answer to the official notification of the deaths of the two queens, was deeply hurt when he visited Milan two years after, that, of all the princes of Italy, Victor Emmanuel was the only one who sent no officer to compliment him. Additionally exasperated by the coldly contemptuous treatment he received from all classes of the Lombards, he, it was said, was with difficulty restrained from an aggressive movement against Piedmont.

In the spring of 1857, an angry remonstrance was addressed to Count Cavour, from the Foreign Office at Vienna, on the offensive tone of the Piedmontese journals towards the imperial government, and at the passive attitude of the Sardinian ministry in suffering those personalities, "by which the emperor felt himself personally aggrieved;" at the sanction given to a subscription for the hundred pieces of ordnance for Alexandria; and the reception of *pretended* deputations from the Lombard provinces, to express their admiration of a policy their own governments disapproved.

Cavour's reply, says Mr. Gretton, was considered a most skilful combination of cool reasoning, sarcasm, and intrepidity. Admitting that the language of the liberal press in Piedmont was, to his regret, often intemperate, he regretted equally that the institutions of the country only permitted him to recommend the imperial government to turn to account the means provided by the Piedmontese legislature, for the punishment of offences of this description. At the same time, he owned himself unable to understand how the hostility of the liberal journals could entail any inconvenience on the Austrian government, as their introduction into the provinces of the empire was severely interdicted; and called its attention to the fact, that the attacks of a portion of the English and Belgian press, equally, if not more violent upon the policy of Austria, had never been considered as dangerous to its security, nor ever been construed into an act of premeditated ill-will, or culpable indifference on the part of their respective governments. The sensitiveness now

displayed would lead to the inference that the Austrian newspapers themselves, in their allusions to Piedmont, never passed the limits of moderation. Far from this, however, being the fact, he contended that the virulence of their language, the personality of their attacks against King Victor Emmanuel and his ministers, yielded in nothing to the excesses of the Sardinian press, of which complaint was made; without taking into account this notable difference—that whereas the latter were the emanations of a free press often antagonistic to its own government, the former, as having been previously submitted to the censorship, and appearing in the columns of official journals, might be taken as conclusive evidence that they were sanctioned, if not even directed, by the cabinet of Vienna.

The count continued—"With respect to the demonstrations we are accused of having provoked in other parts of Italy, we defy the production of a single fact to justify the assertion. The Sardinian government having called the attention of the congress of Paris to the condition of Italy, and the necessity of ameliorating it by peaceful and legal means, this proceeding excited, without any other provocation, the expressions of gratitude and sympathy of a great number of individuals inhabiting different parts of the Peninsula. There is nothing in this to authorise the complaints of Austria. She, also, though differing as to the means to be employed, has recognised that the state of things in Italy required modification. By the acts she has recently accomplished, by those announced as speedily forthcoming, she has demonstrated that the statements of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries were not devoid of foundation, and that the approbation inspired by their efforts cannot be imputed as proofs of direct hostility to Austria."

This explanation failed to satisfy Austria. Undoubtedly, Piedmont, under Cavour, was a bad neighbour. In the early part of 1857, the National Society of Italy was formed in Turin, with its committees; and such committees were soon spread throughout the kingdom. Its aim was to expel Austria from the Peninsula; to transfer her dominions to Victor Emmanuel. The government also encouraged deserters and refugees from Venetia and Lombardy, who were received in Piedmont, and formed into a military corps, the members of which made no secret of their object—the termination of Austrian rule in Italy. At that time, the Archduke Maximilian (the present unfortunate Emperor of Mexico; brother to the Emperor Francis Joseph) was governor of Lombardo-Venetia. He was disposed to adopt liberal measures; but was compelled to carry out the orders he had received; and before the year closed, the discontent became general and immense. The archduke had been very popular when he first assumed the government.

But Cavour felt that, by herself, Italy was no match for Austria. Something more was required—a stronger arm; and that arm was supplied by France. Louis Napoleon felt that if he aided Italy, he was enabled to realise one of his earliest dreams—to humble Austria; and, at the same time, to aggrandise France. Cavour was ready to ask; the French emperor to grant.

Accordingly, in November, 1858, the celebrated meeting at Plombières took place. The emperor and empress went there, not for its warm baths exclusively, or even principally. There his ministers followed him; and, whilst Count Cavour was invited from Italy, the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Palmerston (though not then in power) were sent for from London. A veil is drawn over the proceedings: nevertheless, one cannot go far wrong if we conclude that the subject of discussion by the distinguished party, was Italy. Rumour avers, and we have reason to believe correctly, that a treaty was then concluded between France and Sardinia, in which the cession of Savoy and Nice was agreed to by the latter, as the price to be paid for the support of the former; and to draw still closer the alliance between the two countries, a marriage between the Princess Clotilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia, and the Prince Napoleon, son of Prince Jerome, and cousin to the emperor, was arranged. During this time a considerable increase in the Sardinian army had taken place. Austria had also augmented the number of her troops; and when 1858 closed, the two powers seemed on the brink of war.

Under these auspices the year 1859 opened. The first day of that year was observed in Paris with the usual festivities; and the customary reception at the Tuileries took place. To the Austrian ambassador the emperor said little; but that little indicated much. "I regret," he exclaimed to M. Hubner, "that our relations with your government are not so good as they were; but I request you to tell the emperor that my personal feelings for him are not changed." In this little incident every one saw reason to apprehend war; and the speech produced an immense sensation all over Europe—a sensation not diminished by the official *Moniteur*, a few days after, declaring that there was nothing to authorise the fears occasioned by certain alarming reports.

Although the war against Austria had been decided upon by the emperor, intelligence reached Cavour, about the end of March, 1859, that a change had occurred in the imperial mind. On the 25th of that month, therefore, the count went in all haste to Paris, to judge for himself how matters stood. He found the emperor wavering, as if he were almost afraid of engaging in the war he had promised to undertake for the independence of Italy. Indeed, after his first interview, Cavour thought that Napoleon was desirous of withdrawing from his solemn engagement; and he had made up his mind to carry out the plan of his country's redemption by summoning all the revolutionary elements in Italy, and trusting to the strength of his cause, and the valour of his countrymen.

Baron Hubner, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, had got hold of the change in Louis Napoleon's mind; and he therefore desired Count Buol to assume a threatening attitude towards Piedmont, as he assured him both the ruler of France and his ministers had decided to abandon Sardinia to her fate. The advice of Baron Hubner was accepted. Austria became decided. However, though the Austrian representative was well informed at the beginning of this transaction, he was not so at its end. Cavour having had a second conversation with the emperor, succeeded in making him change his mind; and it was decided that the first pretext should be seized upon to declare war against Austria. Cavour returned to Turin completely victorious, while Baron Hubner still thought that his adversary had failed in his negotiations.

Towards the middle of April, Garibaldi was suddenly summoned to Turin by Count Cavour. The famous Italian leader was, as usual, in bad humour with the prime minister of the king. Distinguished by courage, disinterestedness, and public spirit; bred to simple and daring occupations; endowed with an unbounded frankness—Garibaldi had no great liking for Cavour. He thought him too proud of his descent, and of his intellectual superiority. Nevertheless, Garibaldi obeyed the summons, and learnt that the hour was at hand to strike for Italian freedom, and that his aid was required. Moreover, he was informed of the condition upon which the assistance of France had been secured. Garibaldi is reported to have replied to Count Cavour as follows:—"Although my principles are known both to you and the king, I feel that my first duty is that of offering my sword to my country. My war-cry shall be, therefore, 'Italian Unity, under the constitutional rule of Victor Emmanuel.' Mind, however, what you are about, and do not forget that the aid of foreign armies must always be paid for dearly. As for the man who has promised to help us, I ardently wish he may redeem himself in the eyes of posterity by achieving the noble task of Italian liberation." When Garibaldi departed from this conference, he did so as commander of the *Cacciatori della Alpi*—a corps of volunteers, which had been organised by General Cialdini.

Need we stop to narrate the marvellous career of Garibaldi—a career resembling romance more than reality—a name beloved and revered by the friends of freedom in every corner of the globe! There are few who are not familiar with that calm, saintly face, and have not followed the career of the hero. Now, as in 1848, when the Roman assembly charged the triumvir to save the honour of the republic, and repel force by force, he was the man of the hour. May we just cast a retrospective glance at that brief day of glory! "It was then," wrote Dumas,

"the providential man appeared. Suddenly a great cry resounded through the streets of Rome, of—"Garibaldi! Garibaldi!" And an immense crowd cheered as they preceded him, throwing their caps in the air, and waving their handkerchiefs. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which took possession of the population at the sight of him. He might have been thought to be the protecting god of the republic, who hastened to the defence of Rome. The courage of the people increased with their confidence, and it seemed as if the republic had not only decreed defence, but victory." But to return. Garibaldi's division, though slight in numerical strength, was, in itself, a valuable army. It was formed from the best elements of Lombardy, of Romagna, and of the minor duchies; the guides and the Genoese sharpshooters had to provide their equipments and their horses; and in their ranks were, therefore, to be found the youth of the most wealthy families of Genoa, Milan, and Bologna. It was felt that, once in Lombardy, such a body of men, commanded by so illustrious and popular a general, would not fail to recruit its ranks, and become the nucleus of national insurrection.

While these warlike preparations were going on in Piedmont, the latter was imperiously required, by the Court of Vienna, to disband the free corps in three days. The summons was, of course, a declaration of war. Austria had lost her temper, and was, at last, fairly caught in the trap which Cavour had so ably prepared for her. Baron Kellersberg, the bearer of the imperial despatch, was sent back to Milan at the expiration of the third day, and the Austrian general, Gyulai, was then ordered to put into execution the threatened invasion of Sardinia.

It may be added that, previously, Earl Cowley had gone to Vienna, in the vain hope of preserving peace. The British cabinet considered Austria had taken a rash step in its summons to Piedmont. It solemnly protested against it; "assigning to Austria, and fixing upon her, the last responsibility for all the miseries and calamities inevitably consequent upon a conflict which was on the eve of being averted; but which, once begun, would produce a more than ordinary amount of social suffering and political convulsion." The censure was unjust. Austria, if she meant to retain her hold on Italy, had no alternative but to fight for it. France and Piedmont both meant war. Count Cavour made one last effort to get the Derbyite administration on his side. Knowing it to be far from friendly, he sent Mazzinio Azeglio, and Commendatore Nigra, towards the end of April, to London, in the hope of convincing the magnates of Downing Street that the threatening attitude of Austria had rendered peace impossible. It does not appear that much good came of this mission, as, a fortnight after, a member of the government attempted to mystify this country, by speaking of the struggle then proceeding in the plains of Northern Italy, as "*the war now raging in Italy, for some purpose which no one can understand.*"

Gyulai's first step was to invade Piedmont on the right and the left bank of the Po. England made one more attempt at peace. The answer from Paris was, "It is too late." On the 2nd of May, Victor Emmanuel addressed a proclamation to the Italians, in which he called the nation to arms. The Sardinian regular army consisted of five excellent infantry divisions, of about 13,000 men. Each division had two battalions of Bersaglieri; a regiment of cavalry; three batteries of artillery, of six guns; and a company of sappers. There was a division of cavalry, under General Sambery, numbering sixteen squadrons, to which two batteries of horse artillery were attached. The numerical strength of this division was 2,200 horse, and twelve pieces of artillery. The French army consisted of the Imperial Guard, commanded by General Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angély; and of five *corps d'armée*, under the orders of M'Mahon, Canrobert, Niel, and Prince Napoleon.

On the 12th of May the French emperor made his entry into Genoa. The people were in a state of joy, almost savouring of delirium. He addressed his soldiers—"I come to place myself at your head, to conduct you to the combat. We are about to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence,

and to rescue it from foreign oppression. This is a sacred cause, which has the sympathies of a civilised world. I need not stimulate your ardour. Every step will remind you of a victory. In the Via Sacra of ancient Rome inscriptions were chiseled upon the marble, reminding the people of their exalted deeds. It is the same to-day. In passing Mondovì, Marengo, Loda, Castiglione, Ancona, and Rivoli, you will, in the midst of those glorious recollections, be marching in another Via Sacra. Preserve that strict discipline which is the honour of the army. Here—forget it not—there are no other enemies than those who fight against you in battle. Remain compact, and abandon not your ranks to hasten forward. Beware of too great enthusiasm, which is the only thing I fear. The new *armes de précision* are dangerous only at a distance. They will not prevent the bayonet from being, what it has ever been, the terrible weapon of the French soldiery. Soldiers! let us do our duty, and put our confidence in God. Our country expects much from you. From one end of France to the other the following words of happy augury re-echo—‘The new army of Italy will be worthy of her elder sister.’” The emperor arrived at Alexandria on the 13th, and took the command-in-chief of the allied army. He resolved to make the attack on the Austrian right, and massed his troops on his own left, following the Austrians in what was now a retreat. After several skirmishes, which produced no results, the first action took place on the 20th of May, at Montebello. The Austrians were defeated, with the loss of about 15,000 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. The Austrian general had been completely out-manceuvred. At the same time the whole of the French received an order to prepare to change its front. This strategic movement, one of the most skilful recorded by military historians, was commenced on the morning of the 28th of May. The strictest secrecy was preserved, and there were but few of the French staff-officers who knew the real intentions of the emperor. The last and most important orders were only despatched during the night of the 29th, and the greatest care was taken that no suspicion of the contemplated design should reach the Austrian general-in-chief. In less than three days this remarkable movement was made, with astonishing order and precision, almost under the very eye of the enemy.

The Sardinians gradually concentrated at Vercelli; the French occupying the posts they vacated as they advanced. On the 30th of May, they crossed the Tesin at several points; drove the Austrians from Palestro; and, on the 30th, beat a corps of 20,000 men, who attempted to recover possession of that post. On the 1st of June, the allies made a demonstration to the east, which caused the Austrians to continue their retreat by Vigevano, Bereguardo, and Pavia. This backward movement was made in a most orderly manner: the enemy were closely followed by the Austrians and Sardinians. On the 3rd, the Austrians re-crossed the Ticino; and, the same day, General M'Mahon crossed the river, and established himself on the Austrian territory. On the 4th, Napoleon resolved to make an attack upon the enemy, in concert with General M'Mahon. His majesty, at the head of the Imperial Guards and the Zouaves, crossed the Ticino by the bridge of Buffalora, and advanced to Magenta, which stands on the direct road from Novara to Milan. M'Mahon directed his march to the same place, and both divisions of the allies had to force their way against the determined resistance of the Austrians. M'Mahon decided the fate of the day, by driving the right wing of the Austrians, after a fierce conflict, from Magenta. Driven back also from every other point, they withdrew, on the approach of night, to Abbiategrasso, leaving 6,000 prisoners—chiefly Italian deserters—in the hands of the enemy. Their loss was, as estimated by the French, 5,713 in killed and wounded: that of the victors was stated, by the same authority, to have been 2,958. For his share in the victory, M'Mahon was created a marshal of France, and Duke of Magenta.

But we must return to Garibaldi, who, in the beginning of May, was summoned to head-quarters, to confer with Victor Emmanuel as to the conduct of the campaign in Lombardy. After a great deal of talking over maps, and

much discussion of strategetical combinations, Garibaldi begged to be allowed to observe that he would not undertake to carry out any concerted plans, and that he wished to be left to his own daring aspirations. The king's reply was—"Go where you like; do what you like; I feel only one regret—that I am not able to follow you." In five hours Garibaldi was at the head of his dashing volunteers. He and they were soon on Lombard soil. At Varese, and Mauro, and elsewhere, he thoroughly defeated the Austrians, under Lieutenant-marshal Urban; and escaped the latter, who made sure of crushing him by his superior strategy.

"There is," writes Count Arrivabene in narrating this affair, "something apparently supernatural in the life of the Italian leader. Few generals could have so wonderfully escaped from the grasp of an overpowering enemy, who felt certain of surrounding him; and, indeed, had taken measures for that end. The ability shown by Garibaldi during the short campaign I have just sketched, and in subsequent operations, was, no doubt, the result of his experience; and the successes he achieved are mainly to be attributed to that power of comprehensiveness which he possesses in so high a degree. Being an excellent mathematician, he at once studies the ground on which he is going to operate; calculates all possible combinations of strategy and tactics, and acts accordingly. Endowed with the greatest determination, he never hesitates. His plans being once settled in his mind, he strikes instantly, dares all issues, and succeeds. There is, besides, another consideration, which may appear strange at first sight; but which, nevertheless, is confirmed by experience. The secret of Garibaldi's victories is to be found principally in the system he has adopted, of doing almost always the contrary of that which is suggested by the strict rules of war; in a word, of acting quite in opposition to what the enemy would expect him to do. In the campaign of Upper Lombardy, Urban had always thought—and he was right, according to the principles of war—that Garibaldi had a base of operations—a line from which, in case of reverse, he could fall back upon the allied armies. Hence the indecision of the Austrian general: hence Garibaldi's marvellous escape from Villa Medici. It is true that the Italian leader did everything to confirm the Austrian commander in his opinions; but the fact is, that his communications with the Sardinians were almost cut off, without the Austrians being aware of it. He always acted alone. His principal aim was to spread the insurrection among the Lombard population; and he pretended to fall back upon the Franco-Sardinian army, in order to advance more rapidly. With the intuition of military genius, he conceived that, by gaining the Lake of Garda, and occupying the mountain districts of Gardonne and Sala, the Austrians would be obliged to send a considerable force in pursuit of him; and that this would help the allied forces, in case a reverse should retard their progress towards the Mincio. The means resorted to by Garibaldi, in order to lead his adversary astray, were no less vigorous, and always succeeded. His plan is to deploy as many forces as he can spare, in opposite directions. When he first arrived at Como, he sent Captain Jesrari, with 150 men, to Leno; then he ordered sub-lieutenants Cavano, Pisarro, and Zeffrina, to lead, each of them, twenty or thirty men on three different roads, to attack the Austrians wherever they should meet them, without, however, engaging themselves too much. He then made the enemy believe that he was at the head of numerous troops; and the Austrians were easily kept in error. This system had also the advantage of impressing the people of the country with his superiority in numerical strength, and of inducing them to take up arms against their oppressors. The effect of this skilful plan was, that when Urban retired on Mauro, he was quite convinced that General Cialdini's division was operating with Garibaldi; whilst, in fact, the first-named general was then engaged at Palestro, with Baron Zobel. To act upon Urban's mind, Garibaldi, now and then, sent telegraphic messages to Cialdini from different places, knowing that they would be intercepted by the Austrians. In one sent from Como, he said—'Help me: Urban will attack

me to-morrow; I cannot resist.' From Varese he had telegraphed—'I am obliged to fall back upon you. Send the cavalry to support my backward movement.' Neither Cialdini nor any other general were within the reach of such telegrams. There was, however, a general who read them, and who never thought they were concocted with a view to his own deception." And thus Urban, at the head of 10,000 excellent troops, was never able to isolate and surround 3,000 Cacciatori, under General Garibaldi.

We now resume the story of the allied forces. The result of the victory of Magenta was, that the capital of Lombardy was open to the monarchs. Louis Napoleon was overwhelmed by his reception. The Milanese had never before seen a liberator within the walls of their city. Charles Albert had only passed through it after the rising hopes of Italy had been crushed at Custoza. But now they beheld before them the chief of the generous French army. No wonder they were in ecstasies of delight. "How this people must have suffered!" the French emperor was heard to exclaim. Better still than this demonstration was the fact that the revolution was already spreading itself in the minor states of Italy. The Duchess of Parma had thought it prudent to leave her territories on the 9th of June. Two days afterwards, Francis V., following the retreating movement of the Austrians from Ancona, Bologna, and Ferrara, towards the Po, abandoned his Lilliputian dukedom of Modena. The population of these states, freed from their former masters, followed the example of the Tuscans and the Lombards, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel their king. In less than seven days the pope lost the Legations, and the petty sovereigns their dominions. Unity was the war-cry of the Italians, both in the centre of the peninsula and in the north. But unity did not find favour in Louis Napoleon's mind, and had not been anticipated in his convention at Plombières. To stop the revolutionary movement which pervaded the peninsula, and to prepare the Italians for the idea of a confederation, were therefore thoughts which might have been traced, by a keen observer, in the conduct of the emperor, even before the battle of Solferino.

The retreat of the Austrians was not made without fighting; but the only important action was that on the 8th of June, when a body of several thousand men, under General Benedek, which was isolated from the main army, was attacked by the French at Melagnano. The fighting continued that day, and part of the next; the Austrians lost 1,500 men, but were not prevented from continuing their retreat. On the 14th of June, the Emperor Francis Joseph arrived, and took the command-in-chief. On the 18th, the army crossed the Mincio, and was centred in the Quadrilateral, so called from the four fortresses of Legnano, Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera, which were considered to constitute it the key of Lombardo-Venetia; and, on the 20th, the emperor established his head-quarters at Villafranca. Strange to say, just as his system of state-craft was about to collapse, Prince Metternich died.

After a few days' repose, the allies, following the movements of the Austrians, occupied Lonato and Castiglione, and prepared to take up strong positions on the west side of the Mincio, as it appeared to be the intention of the enemy to concentrate their forces, and make a stand on the eastern bank of that river. Although the Emperor Francis Joseph had nominally taken the command, since the resignation of Gyulai, of the army of Italy, the direction of the military operations depended on General Hess. He seems to have been in ignorance of the movements of his adversaries; and they were equally ignorant of his. With an army reinforced by the garrisons of various Italian cities, he was enabled to bring into action 156 battalions and eighty-eight squadrons, which, artillery included, numbered 140,000 men. Inasmuch as these were all fresh troops, while the French had already suffered from long marches and actual engagements, there was probably no great disparity between the combatants. General Hess divided his imposing force into two armies; the second, under the command of Count Schlik, formed the right wing, and was to take possession of Castiglione and Lonato,

marching through the hilly country, which extends from Volta to the Lake of Garda; while the first army, which, under Count Wimpffen, formed the left wing, was to march through the plain on Montechiaro. The plan of General Hess was skilful, and its success was probably regarded by him as certain, the Austrians having exercised there since 1815. It failed, however, owing to the inability of the general to change his design in accordance with the altered circumstances. On the morning of the 24th of June, the engagement began. The length of the Austrian line was not less than ten miles, and the key of its frontier was Solferino. Cauziana, where, at the commencement of the battle, Francis Joseph established his head-quarters, may be considered as its centre.

Early on the morning of the 24th, the corps under the command of Baraguay d'Hilliers and M'Mahon, found themselves in the presence of the enemy. At 5 A.M. the engagement commenced. On receiving the messages of his marshals announcing the fact, Louis Napoleon at once ordered his staff to precede him to Castiglione; whilst he himself, escorted by the Cent Gards, drove, with all speed, in the same direction. He was fully aware that a great battle had begun. Turning to one of his aides-de-camp, he said—"The fate of Italy is, perhaps, to be decided to-day."

When Louis Napoleon arrived at Castiglione, the fight, which had simultaneously begun on the right and in the centre, had also become more serious on the left. Alighting from his carriage, the emperor ascended the steps of St. Peter's church, from whence the great panorama spreads around. As he surveyed the ground, the smoke of the guns enabled him to form an exact idea of the different combinations of the battle then being fought. The directions he sent his generals as soon as he descended, certainly evinced the penetration of the experienced commander. "He at once perceived," says Count Arrivabene, "that the object of the Austrians was to divert the attack of Solferino by outflanking the right of the French army, filling up the space between the second and third corps, and thus cutting the enemy's forces in two. The emperor, therefore, commanded the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, under General Morris, to join M'Mahon, to whom he sent orders to dislodge the enemy from Morino's farm; he also directed General Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angély to march with the Imperial Guard behind the heights on which the first corps was fighting."

These orders were soon executed. The farm was invested by Decaens; Auger shelled it with his rifled guns; a sharp fight took place, and the enemy was obliged to fall back on his reserve, advancing from Guidirino. Auger's shells and shrapnels burst by hundreds amidst the Austrian columns massed in the plain; while their round shot scarcely reached the front of the opposing forces.

It was soon after the taking of Morino's farm that Louis Napoleon joined M'Mahon, to communicate his plan to him. In a few words he told the duke to watch the movements of the enemy on his right wing, and to maintain himself on the plains which separated him from the fourth corps. He was also to prevent the Austrians dividing his forces from the first corps, and was not to miss any opportunity of bending towards Cauziana as soon as the attack of Baraguay d'Hilliers on Solferino succeeded, and Niel's corps had made its appearance. To keep open the communication of his corps with that which Niel commanded, the cavalry of the Imperial Guard was to take up a position on his right.

Judging from these instructions, the plan of the emperor appears to have been clear and precise. His design was to carry Solferino at any cost, and then, by a flank movement, to beat the enemy out of his positions at Cauziana. It is not requisite that we describe here the varied fortunes of the day. It suffices to say, after a severe and protracted struggle, the French were victorious, and in the afternoon the enemy were compelled to begin a general retreat. Baron Benedek, who since the morning had been engaged with Victor Emmanuel's army on the right, was directed to hold his ground, in order to protect this retreating movement, and then slowly to follow, placing his corps under the protection of the guns of Peschiera. He obeyed, but reluctantly; for he had hoped to have struck a decisive

blow at the Sardinian army, which, as he afterwards said, he would have driven into the Lake of Garda. The retreat, however orderly, was so rapid, that the Austrian emperor, who is reported to have wept at the ruin of his fortune, had hardly time to gain the cross-road leading from Cauziana to Valeggio. Two hours afterwards Cauziana was filled by his victorious adversaries; and Casa Pastore, which had been the temporary dwelling of Francis Joseph, opened its doors to receive the rival emperor. When the retreat began, the scene of battle was visited by a fearful tempest—one of those summer storms which envelop in a whirlwind of rain and fire the whole of the country they fall upon. Dark clouds hung over that immense field of death, and lightning and thunder rivalled and subdued the glare and roar of man's artillery. The loss on both sides was enormous. Of the Austrians, at least 20,000 were killed and wounded; 6,000 were made prisoners; and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies. The French had 12,000 privates and sub-officers, and 720 officers, and the Sardinians 6,000 rank and file, and many officers, put *hors de combat*.

On the 28th of June, the allies having replaced the bridges destroyed by the Austrians in their retreat, crossed the Mincio without opposition. On the 30th, the French emperor established his head-quarters at Villafranca, at which time Peschiera, on the Lake of Garda, was invested by the Sardinians; Verona by the mass of French troops; and a strong force was detained to watch Mantua, and prevent any attack from its garrison. On the 1st of July, Prince Napoleon joined the allied army with 35,000 troops from Central Italy, and expectation was at its height, anticipating the result of an attack upon the famed defences of Venetia, when all Europe was startled by the intelligence that, on the 8th of July, in consequence of overtures from the Emperor Napoleon, an armistice was concluded between the belligerents, to extend to the 25th of August.

Cavour was as much deceived as the rest. Two days, says Count Arrivabene, after the battle of Solferino, Count Cavour, and his intimate friend and secretary, Nigra, had a long interview with the French emperor. They found Louis Napoleon exceedingly disgusted with the quarrels of his generals; deeply impressed by the horrible scenes of war he had just witnessed for the first time in his life; but, above all, proud and delighted that the military glory of France, and the superiority of her army over the Austrians, had been once more splendidly asserted. It was generally affirmed, at the Sardinian head-quarters after this interview, that the emperor, far from intimating that it was his intention to make proposals of peace, hinted to Cavour, that to ensure the total defeat of the enemy, he had made up his mind to help the Hungarians. This report was strengthened by the evidence of facts; one of the latter being the appearance of Kossuth's army at the French head-quarters.

Yet, at that very time, General Fleury was receiving from the Kaiser at Verona, an affirmative answer to the letter in which Louis Napoleon had proposed an armistice. Victor Emmanuel and his generals were overcome with emotion.

On the morning of the 11th, the two emperors met at Villafranca. What passed at that meeting, which lasted little more than an hour, nobody can tell. It has been stated, however, that the two conversed sometimes in Italian, but more frequently in German. During the conversation, Louis Napoleon, as if mechanically, picked to pieces some of the flowers placed in a vase before him, the petals of which were found scattered about on the floor, at the side of a table where the landlady of the house had noticed that he sat. When the sovereigns left the house, and appeared in the streets, to present to each other the officers of their staffs, the younger looked pale and embarrassed; the elder gay, and at ease. The proud descendant of the Hapsburgs, doubtless, felt bitterly the humiliation of that period. Louis Napoleon had satisfied what was thought to be one of his greatest desires—the dealing in person with a legitimate emperor. Nothing was written by the two monarchs at this meeting. On returning to Valeggio, Louis Napoleon sent for his cousin, and despatched him as a plenipotentiary to

Verona, that he might arrange with the Austrian emperor the preliminaries of the famous peace which was definitely settled by the treaty of Zurich. On the evening of the same day, he informed Victor Emmanuel of what he had done.

Mortified and surprised beyond all description, Cavour, as soon as he heard the unwelcome news, rushed from Turin to Mourand, to have an audience with his royal master. The great statesman's face was scarlet; and his manner, usually bright and gay, now the reverse, indicated the storm that raged within. The interview lasted about two hours; and it was a tempestuous one. It was stated at the time, that the first words spoken by Cavour were anything but respectful towards the French emperor. He advised Victor Emmanuel at once to reject the terms of peace, and to withdraw his army from Lombardy; thus leaving Louis Napoleon to extricate himself from the difficulty of the situation as best he might. Cavour plainly told his sovereign that Italy's honour had been betrayed, and her dignity offended; he even went so far as to advise an abdication. It is said that, during the discussion, the king showed a degree of calm of which he was scarcely thought capable. He tried in all ways to appease the excitement of his minister, who, overcome with grief, seemed almost to have lost his mind. It was generally reported that Cavour's rage went so far as to induce him to use words which led to his dismissal from Victor Emmanuel's presence. Cavour resigned rather than be a party to such a peace.

On the evening of the 12th of July, the emperor left Morambano for Milan, on his way back to France. The dead silence of the crowd which thronged the streets of that city, and of Turin, when he passed through them, must have told more powerfully than the most passionate utterance could have done, what were the feelings of the Italians on the Villafranca agreement. The local authorities were, fortunately, able to prevent any hostile demonstration; but Louis Napoleon could not mistake the attitude of the masses. In answering an address of the governor of Milan, he said that he was surprised at the ingratitude of the Italians. This remark the French emperor, perhaps, would have spared, had he reflected that the Milanese could not possibly resign themselves to the thought that Venetia, and other Italian provinces, had been sacrificed, either, as Cavour said at the time, to the considerations of a selfish policy, or to a hasty impulse of the emperor's changeable mind. Italy was to be free from the Alps to the Adriatic. Alas! the magnificent promise of Louis Napoleon had not been fulfilled. Mrs. Barrett Browning's poem, *A Tale of Villafranca*, is so appropriate, that we must here quote a part.

“A great man (who was crowned one day)
 Imagined a great deed.
 He shaped it out of cloud and clay;
 He touched it finely, till the seed
 Possessed the flower; from heart and brain
 He fed it with large thoughts humane
 To help a people's need.

“He brought it out into the sun—
 They blessed it to his face;
 ‘Oh, great pure Deed, that hast undone
 So many bad and base!
 Oh, generous Deed, heroic Deed,
 Come forth, be perfected, succeed,
 Deliver by God's grace!’

“Then sovereigns, statesmen—north and south—
 Rose up in wrath and fear,
 And cried, protesting by one mouth,
 ‘What monster have we here?
 A great Deed, at this hour of day?
 A great, just Deed, and not for pay?
 Absurd—or insincere!’

- “ ‘And if sincere, the heavier blow,
In that case, we shall bear;
For where’s our blessed *status quo*;
Our holy treaties, where
Our rights to sell a race, or buy,
Protect and pillage, occupy,
And civilise despair?’
- “ ‘Some muttered that the great Deed meant
A great pretext to sin;
And others, the pretext so lent
Was heinous (to begin).
Volcanic terms of *great* and *just*
Admit such tongues of flame, the crust
Of time and law falls in.
- “ ‘A great Deed in this world of ours!
Unheard of, the pretence is,
It threatens plainly the great Powers;
Is fatal in all senses.
A just Deed in the world?—call out
The rifles! be not slack about
The national defences.
- “ ‘And many murmured, ‘From this source
What red blood must be poured!’
And some rejoined, ‘Tis even worse;
What red tape is ignored!’
All cursed the doer for an evil;
Called here, enlarging on the devil;
There, monkeying the Lord!
- “ ‘Some said it could not be explained;
Some, could not be excused;
And others—‘Leave it unrestrained;
Gehenna’s self is loosed.’
And all cried, ‘Crush it; maim it; gag it!
Set dog-toothed lies to tear it ragged,
Truncated and traduced.’
- “ ‘But he stood sad before the sun
(The peoples felt their fate);
‘The world is many, I am one,
My great Deed was too great;
God’s fruit of justice ripens slow;
Men’s souls are narrow, let them grow;
My brothers, we must wait.’”

The peace agreed to between the high contracting parties was on the following bases:—"The two sovereigns will favour the formation of an Italian confederacy. That confederation shall be under the presidency of the holy father. The Emperor of Austria cedes to the Emperor of the French his rights over Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, so that the frontier of the Austrian possessions shall start from the extreme range of the fortress of Peschiera, and shall extend in a direct line along the Mincio as far as Grazio, thence by Senzarolo and Suzzara to the Po, whence the actual fortress shall continue to form the limits of Austria. The Emperor of the French will hand over the ceded territory to the King of Sardinia. Venetia shall form part of the Italian confederation, though remaining under the crown of Austria. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena return to their states, granting an amnesty. The two emperors will ask the holy father to introduce indispensable reforms in his states. A full and complete amnesty is granted on both sides to persons compromised in the late events, in the territories of the belligerent parties."

On the 12th of July, Napoleon announced the conclusion of peace to his army, telling his soldiers that the principal end of the war had been obtained, and Italy would become, for the first time, a nation. Venetia, it was true, remained to

Austria, but it would form part of the Italian confederation; and "Italy being henceforth the mistress of her destinies, it would be her own fault if she did not progress in order and liberty." The troops were further told, that "they would soon return to France, and their grateful country would receive with delight the soldiers who carried the arms of France to such exalted glory; who, in two months, had freed Piedmont and Lombardy, and who only stopped because the struggle was likely to assume proportions which were no longer in relation with the interests which France had in that fearful war." The same day Victor Emmanuel issued two proclamations; one to his troops, praising their valour, and telling them that important affairs of state calling him back to his capital, he had entrusted General Marmora with the command of the army. The second to the people of Lombardy, whom he congratulated on having had their independence assured by the preliminaries of peace; and calling upon them "to trust to their king, who, established on solid and imperishable bases, would promise happiness for the new countries which Heaven had entrusted to his management." Francis Joseph also addressed a proclamation to his army; in which he said that he "entered on the struggle for the sanctity of treaties, relying on the enthusiasm of his people, the valour of his army, and the natural allies of Austria." He spoke in high terms of the heroism of his troops, fighting against an enemy superior in numbers, and which still remained firm, courageous, and unflinching. But, without allies, he yielded to the unfortunate circumstances of policy, in presence of which it was his paramount duty not to uselessly shed the blood of his soldiers, and impose fresh sacrifices on his people. These proclamations, as we may suppose, took the uninitiated by surprise.

Of the preliminaries of peace, agreed to at Villafranca, a definite treaty was created at Zurich, where the Baron de Bourqueney and the Marquis de Bonneville represented France; the Count Collorodo and the Baron de Meyrenburg, Austria; and the Chevalier Desambrous, Sardinia. They held their first meeting on the 6th of August, and did not finish their labours till the 11th of November. On that day the treaties, three in number, were signed. The first, concluded between France and Austria, stipulated for the cession of Lombardy to France. By the second, between France and Sardinia, the former ceded that province to the latter. By the third, to which the three powers were parties, peace was re-established between them. The debts of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which had been the great difficulty, were thus arranged:—Sardinia was to pay Austria £10,000,000, and France £2,400,000, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, which, according to Count Walewski, amounted to six times that sum. The signing of the treaties was followed by an agreement, entered into between the two emperors, to assemble a congress, for the purpose of communicating to the other powers the treaties just concluded, and to deliberate on the measures which held out the most likely prospect for the founding the pacification of Italy on solid and durable bases. Invitations to the different powers were sent out by France and Austria, and the day of assembling was fixed for January 5th, 1860. We may here state, that the preliminaries of Villafranca, and the treaties of Zurich, were alike disregarded by the Italians. Mazzini had taught Italian unity; Garibaldi was its propagator. The successes of 1859 had filled all Italy with hope and courage. The French emperor had put his hand to the plough, and looked back. Not thus acted Garibaldi.

On the 10th of August Victor Emmanuel made his solemn entry into the capital of Lombardy. Previous to that year many centuries had elapsed since the people of Milan had greeted the arrival of a true Italian monarch in that city. After the battle of Magenta the king had passed a few days there, but the enthusiastic reception he met with on that occasion was, to a certain extent, shared with his powerful ally. Matters had now greatly changed. The peace of Villafranca, in the estimation of the Milanese, absolved them from the duty of unbounded gratitude towards the emperor; and, at the same time, strengthened

the ties which united them to the gallant sovereign of their choice. In the meanwhile great political events were occurring. Farini had been appointed dictator of Modena and Parma, by the unanimous vote of the Chambers of those states. Lionetto Ciprino was governing the Legations with almost dictatorial powers; and Baron Ricasoli was enforcing, with the determination of his ancient Roman character, the unmistakable will of the Tuscans, as manifested in their assembly. The principle of Italian unity, under the constitutional rule of Victor Emmanuel, was thus established over a large part of the peninsula. Although the resignation of Count Cavour had thrown the government of Sardinia into the somewhat less firm grasp of Ratazzi and La Marmora, the mover of the political machine was still the great Italian statesman, who had been forced by the unexpected peace to retire into private life.

A still greater man, Garibaldi, was in retirement.

The army of Central Italy was placed under the orders of General Fante. Garibaldi was then under him. The liberator wanted to advance to Rome; he was held back by Fante and French diplomacy, and had no alternative but to resign. Before leaving Romagna for the island of Caprera he had a sad duty to perform.

On the shore of the Adriatic, not far from Ravenna, spreads the far-famed "Pineta," a pine forest of the ancient Romans. In the middle of this forest died Anita, Garibaldi's darling and noble wife. After the fall of Rome, the hero having failed in an attempt to sail for Venice, was wrecked with Anita and a few daring friends on the shores of the Adriatic, not far from Cernia. A few devoted peasants tended him till he reached a farm belonging to Count Guiccioli. Anita was on the eve of making her husband the father of a third child. She had gone through all the hardships of a stormy voyage without a murmur; she had courageously walked through a part of the thick forest; but at last she fell to the ground, exhausted and heartbroken, and on entering the farm she expired in his arms. At a mile from the farm there is a solitary chapel. Before leaving the peninsula, Garibaldi, accompanied by his children Teresa and Menotti, hastened to that chapel, to behold once more the grave of his faithful companion. The twilight hour was spreading its soft shades through the alleys of the forest, as the hero trod the same paths he had trodden in 1849, when hunted by the Austrians like a wild beast. A priest was waiting, who conducted them to the altar, near to which the humble tomb of Anita was to be seen covered by a black drapery, adorned with wreaths of flowers, freshly gathered. A mass was performed in the chapel, and Anita was mourned and wept anew.

And now Garibaldi leaves the land he has loved well, and well fought for—the land of which he is the most illustrious hero—and betakes himself to the bleak island of Caprera. "When proscribed, and all but a prisoner in the island of Maddalena, he saw lying before him," writes Dumas, "the desolate and rocky isle of Caprera."

"This extraordinary man, who had spent twenty years of his existence in fighting for the liberty of two worlds, whose life had been that of long devotion and self-sacrifice, sighed bitterly when he reflected that he did not even possess a stone on which he could lay his head.

"It then occurred to his thoughts, that the man who should possess that island, who could live there alone, far away from the contentions of men ever eager to persecute and tyrannise one another, would indeed be happy.

"Ten years afterwards, Garibaldi, who never imagined that he should be that happy mortal, succeeded to the inheritance of 40,000 francs, by the death of his mother.

"He at once bought this island, the object of his ambition, for the sum of 13,000 francs; and then purchased a small vessel for 15,000 francs more; and with the rest, assisted by his son and his friend Ozzigoni, he built a white house, visible from the sea—the only building, indeed, on the island."

In 1860, in the spring, Garibaldi is at Turin, in his place in parliament. Cavour is once again premier. The deputies have somehow learnt that Savoy and Nice are to be ceded to the generous friend that made war for an idea. This sad fact had been already anticipated by some Italian politicians, for it was known that when, two months before, General Dahormida, the Minister for Foreign Affairs during Ratazzi's administration, went to Paris to settle the war expenses claimed by France, a hint was thrown out that if those two provinces were made over to her the sum would not be asked for. Cavour was subsequently induced to consent to the sacrifice, as the only means of removing the opposition of Louis Napoleon to the annexation of Central Italy. On the 19th of April the discussion began. At one o'clock the galleries of the Chamber were filled with people, for it was known that Garibaldi intended to attack the advisers of the crown, for having betrayed the interests of the nation in consenting to the cession. "The scene I witnessed that day," writes Count Arrivabene, "will never be effaced from my memory. There was something very affecting when the great Italian general rose, and, in a stern voice, began to read the fifth article of the constitution, by which no sale or barter can be made of any part of the state without the sanction of parliament." Garibaldi, as we know, pleaded in vain. The vote was strongly urged as a political necessity; and, as such, carried. As for Victor Emmanuel, it is stated, that when he heard that the cradle of his ancestors was asked for by his powerful ally, tears came into his eyes. No doubt he was prepared for the sacrifice, for he well knew of the arrangements of Plombières; but as the peace left Venetia to Austria, he had hoped that the sacrifice would have been spared.

Disappointed in parliament, Garibaldi again recurs to the sword.

In May the party of action was ready. "Sire," wrote Garibaldi to his majesty, "the cry for help, which reaches me from Sicily, has touched my heart, and the hearts of some hundreds of my old soldiers. I have not advised the insurrectionary movements of my Sicilian brethren; but, as they have risen in the name of Italian unity, personified in that of your majesty, against the most disgraceful tyranny of our age, I did not hesitate to take the lead of the expedition. I know that I am going to embark on a dangerous undertaking; but I trust in God and in the courage and devotion of my comrades. Our war-cry will be—'Italian Unity—Long live Victor Emmanuel! its first and bravest soldier.' Should we fail in the enterprise we have undertaken, I trust that Italy and liberal Europe will not forget that it has been determpied by the most unselfish sentiments of patriotism. Should we succeed, I shall be proud to adorn the crown of your majesty with a new and, perhaps, its brightest jewel, on the sole condition that you will prevent your advisers from handing it over to foreigners, as has been done with my native country. I have not communicated my project to your majesty, for I feared that the great devotion I feel for you would have succeeded in persuading me to abandon it."

Sicily had long writhed under the brutal sway of the Bourbons, and its people were ready to revolt. Even then they were in a state of insurrection, when Garibaldi, with 1,067 volunteers, landed at Marsala on the 11th of May. On the 15th, he defeated, after a fight of three hours, the Neapolitan general. At Palermo, where a reign of terror had existed—for it was known that Garibaldi was coming—Dumas writes—"The very name of Garibaldi was as a tower of strength to the patriots, and a sufficient consolation for all they had to endure.

"Children, whenever they were near a *sbirro*, chanted, in every variety of tone, 'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'

"The wife, deprived of her husband—the mother of her son, and the sister of her brother—instead of shedding useless tears, all hopefully exclaimed—'Garibaldi is coming!'

"The popular exultation increased so much, that the *sbirri* appeared to shudder at the reiterated mention of this name, so terrible to every head of tyranny.

"A crowd gathered in the principal street of Palermo. The Neapolitan ruler determined he would make them cry—'Long live the King of Naples!'"

"A group of soldiers and *sbirri* accordingly entered the street, shouting—'Long live Francis II.!'"

"Not a single response was made by the people.

"The soldiers and *sbirri* then surrounded a group of bystanders, exclaiming, vehemently and loud—'Long live Francis II.!'"

"Still not a sound was heard in reply.

"After an ominous pause, a man threw his hat up into the air, and cried loudly—'Long live Victor Emmanuel!'"

"The words were scarce uttered when he fell pierced with bayonets.

"Then the musket, the bayonet, and the poniard did their deadly work. Two men were killed, and as many as thirty persons, including women and children, were wounded.

"The whole population retired without replying to this wanton effusion of blood—this murderous massacre—in any other words than those so simply emphatic, yet so terrible to the baffled *sbirri*—'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'"

"The next morning all the horrible details of this unprovoked massacre were everywhere talked about; fathers, while peaceably walking with their children, had been grievously wounded, both themselves and their young ones; others, again, men and women, who had fled for safety into some *café*, had been pursued thither, and sabred by the *gendarmes*.

"The next day, indeed, Palermo presented a very alarming appearance. Like the warning of Belshazzar, the walls of the town bore the equivalents to the terrible 'Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin,' in the simple phrase—'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'"

"During the whole day the streets remained empty, and the windows were all closed. But when the evening had set in, the shutters were reopened, and all through the night anxious looks were directed towards the vast amphitheatre of hills round Palermo, in the hope of perceiving the lighted beacons that were to announce the arrival of the long-expected assistance from the interior of the island.

"One morning—it was the 13th of May—a cry rang through the town—'Garibaldi has landed at Marsala—the avenger has come.'"

On June the 6th, the Neapolitans signed a convention to evacuate Palermo, and the whole of Sicily, except Messina, Melazzo, and some other less important fortresses. Now that he was master of Palermo, Garibaldi did not rest idle. He increased his troops; he summoned all the resources Sicily could afford; he hired steamers; bought arms and ammunition, and made every preparation to resume the campaign. On the 20th of July the battle of Melazzo was fought, and that decided the fate of the island.

He now turned his undivided efforts to the emancipation of Naples. L'Armata Meridionale, as it was called, had been greatly increased; indeed, so much so, that, aided by the insurrection, it could have easily matched the legions of Francis II. Its organisation, of course, was somewhat irregular. The first brigade, under General Eber, a Hungarian of great literary and military merit, was about 2,000 strong; the second, commanded by Bixio, numbered 25,000. These divisions had for their chief General Turr, the well-known Hungarian officer. The second division was under Cosenz, a Neapolitan of distinction, and possessing great military knowledge. Count Millitoz, Sacchi, and Eberhardt were the three brigadier-generals of the division, which was 8,000 strong. Medici, a Lombard, rather heavy and rough, but undoubtedly the best general of the army, was in command of the fourth division, which numbered 4,800 men. To these divisions was to be added that which Colonel Pinciani had intended to take into the papal states, but which joined the rest of the army in Sicily. At a later period, 500 Hussars, under the command of Caussimi; 300 Guides, commanded by Missori; 450 artillerymen,

under Orsini and Scialoja; and 160 engineers, completed this curious army, which had been organised within a period of three months. The navy was composed of the steam-sloop *Velore*, and eleven steam transports. The Marquis Anguissola, the Neapolitan commander of the *Velore*, had passed over with his vessel to the national cause. With these forces, Garibaldi undertook and accomplished the annexation of a kingdom which might have been defended by a well-organised army of at least 80,000 men. But the right cause was on his side: he had with him the majority of the Neapolitan population; and, above all, he was surrounded by that *prestige* which is in itself an army. Under such a leader the march was an ovation. Towns were taken, and armies surrendered scarcely without firing a shot. In Basilicata the insurrection was in full swing. Colonel Boldone, formerly in the service of the Neapolitan government, and a country gentleman, named Nignona, were in command of the revolutionary bands of Basilicata, which numbered about 8,000 men. These, added to the Calabrians, and the 25,000 troops forming the regular army of the revolution, enabled Garibaldi to bring into the field a respectable force, one-third of which, at least, would have matched an equal number of any European army. In the general and well-developed insurrectionary element lay the true secret of those bold movements of the dictator, which ended in so signal a triumph. Garibaldi, with only a few of his followers, was always thirty or forty miles in advance of the leading column of his army. Had it not been for the insurrection and the dread which his name inspired in the Neapolitan soldiers, he might have been made prisoner a hundred times without his army knowing it till days after. At Salerno, the manifestations of the popular joy were such as Count Arrivabene (who attended the expedition as the reporter to the *Daily News*) had never seen surpassed. It was a sort of madness such as only southern races fall into. The demonstrations were those of a people who had abruptly passed from a state of utter slavery to freedom—from inaction to action—from death to life.

On his accession to the throne of his father, Francis II. found the kingdom he had inherited in a state of complete moral dissolution, chiefly brought about by the ferocious system of government which had signalised the reign of Ferdinand II. Corruption on a large scale had been carried on by every class of functionaries, from the highest to the lowest. There were few magistrates, generals, or government officers, who could not have been bought; the only question was, as to the best way of offering the required price. The administration was, consequently, thrown into a state of utter confusion; and the army reduced to a body of prætorians, who only cared for their private interests, honour and courage having deserted their banners. Favours were bought, impunity secured, political and private revenge countenanced, nay, encouraged by the government. Thousands of good citizens were driven from their native country—carrying with them into foreign lands, or into the free state of Piedmont, a lively picture of the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen, and of their own miseries. The all-powerful, cruel, and corrupt police, were aided in their tyranny by the influence of Austria and Rome; and all this while the northern part of the peninsula was prospering under the rule of a constitutional king, and progressing towards the unification of the country, through the valour of the army, and the wisdom of the people. The difference between the two systems was the more striking, because the standard of happiness was to be found within the common country. Happiness and gradual amelioration had become the lot of Piedmont; misery and moral degradation were the fate of Naples. The new king, badly trained by an Austrian step-mother, came to the throne, only to follow the path his father had trod with such fatal success. He had been educated by the Jesuits. His character was weak: he deemed himself a ruler by right divine; and totally unacquainted with the wants of our age, he was led to believe that he could uphold a system which was in every way founded on an entire negation of human rights. England, Sardinia, and France warned him, and remonstrated in vain. Why

should he heed their words? France was ruled by a parvenu; England and Sardinia were the upholders of revolutionary principles. Such was the reasoning of this foolish king. It was from Rome, and Vienna, and St. Petersburg, that he condescended to take advice.

But events had struck down Austrian pride and power. The guns of Magenta and Solferino had emancipated Italy from her embrace. No sooner was Francis Joseph humiliated, than the petty sovereigns of Italy were swept away, and the position of Francis II. became more perilous every hour. The rising of the Sicilian patriots had, though quenched in blood for a time, been revived with greater force on the appearance of Garibaldi on the island. After having failed to satisfy the popular demands by charging General Filangieri with the formation of a hybrid Liberal government, the young king saw the necessity of evoking from the tomb the constitution of 1848, which his father had stifled after the 15th of May of the same year. But, unfortunately for him, though fortunately for Italy, the day for such a compromise was gone by.

In his distress, Francis II. sent Signor Manua to Turin, charged with the duty of negotiating an offensive and defensive alliance between the two kingdoms—an alliance which had been contemptuously rejected by the Neapolitan Court, when proposed by Sardinia only six months before. But it was too late; Garibaldi had already entered Palermo. In vain ambassadors pleaded the cause of the unfortunate king in London and Paris. In his own Court there were conspiracies against him.

"Two days after the victory of Melazzo," writes Count Arrivabene, "Alexander Dumas volunteered to go to Naples on board his yacht *Emma*, in order to watch the course of events, and try to hasten the revolution. On his arrival at Naples, the famous romance writer began to carry out his revolutionary projects, and turned the deck of his yacht into a perfect tailor's shop, where red shirts were openly manufactured under the windows of the king. With all the activity of his nature, Dumas enlisted new conspirators; secretly spread Garibaldi's manifestoes; distributed arms and ammunition; and, in short, became the most active agent of the national propaganda. So far, indeed, did he go, and so openly did he act, that the French admiral and the French ambassador intimated to him, that if the Neapolitan government should order his arrest, they would not protect either his yacht or himself. Dumas, however, is not easily frightened, so he pursued his work all the same."

In the meanwhile Garibaldi had crossed the straits, had captured Reggio, and had begun his progress towards Naples. Don Liborio Romano, seeing that the first throw had been gained by the dictator, thought it expedient to lay down the conditions on which, if Francis II. should lose the others, he would step in and serve the new master. Knowing that Dumas had been sent to Naples by Garibaldi, Don Liborio went to see him, declared himself a warm Garibaldian, and offered his co-operation. This, of course, he professed to do for the good of his country; for there is no man, however cynical he may be, who does not try to justify a reprehensible action by alleging the uprightness of his intentions. The practice is said to be held in great favour by the Jesuits; and Don Liborio seems to have studied in that school with great effect. All the arrangements for the conspiracy were therefore discussed by the minister and the French author. They were to communicate through Signor Corroborgo, Don Liborio's private secretary; and in case the plot should be discovered, a safe refuge for the minister was negotiated by Dumas with the commander of a foreign man-of-war, who was told that Don Liborio might find himself under the necessity of applying for his protection.

The conspiracy, though carried out with the greatest secrecy, was, however, detected by the secret police of the Court. A few days before the flight of the king, Francis II. called his Home Secretary into his cabinet, and abruptly said to him—"Don Liborio, I know that you are keeping up secret relations with Alexander Dumas, and that you are treating with Garibaldi."

"Yes, sire," answered Don Liborio, "it is my duty to watch the intrigues of

your enemies; and, in order to follow them more closely, I have resorted to the artifice of assuming the character of a conspirator."

Count Pahlen gave a similar answer to Paul I., the day before the emperor was strangled.

Thus betrayed on all sides, Francis II. fled to Gaëta. At six on the evening of the 7th of September, Francis II. and his queen, accompanied by the gentlemen of the royal household, and the ambassadors of Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, went on board a Spanish man-of-war, and steamed along the bay towards Gaëta. The only tears which accompanied him in his flight, were shed by a few fisherwomen of Santa Lucia, whose curate had told them that the miraculous Madonna was bitterly weeping for the cause of the fugitive king. Not a man of that populous city was seen to bid a last farewell to the departing vessel. Except the ministers and the courtiers, there was no one beneath the deserted portico of the royal palace to pay the last tribute of compassion to an unfortunate prince. Francis II. might have exclaimed, in the language of Tennyson—

"Woe is me!
Authority forgets a dying king,
Laid widow'd of the power, in his eye,
That bow'd the will."

When the Spanish man-of-war, which carried the last Bourbon sovereign of Naples to Gaëta, was leaving the harbour, the Neapolitan frigate, *Guiscardo*, was lying hard by. Francis II. asked the Spanish commander to stop and put the galley to sea, as he desired to go on board the latter vessel, with a view to persuading the commanding officer to follow him with his ship to Gaëta. In a few minutes the king was on the deck of the *Guiscardo*, only to experience another disappointment. He harangued the crew, he adjured the officers; but the crew were violent, and the officers answered that they could not recognise the royal authority. Great inducements, and even threats, were employed by the gentlemen of the king's suite to induce the seamen to return to their duty, but all was in vain. The commander of the *Guiscardo* was not to be moved; and Francis II. left the deck in despair, muttering now and then the words, "I have been betrayed; I have been betrayed."

Meanwhile Garibaldi arrives in Naples. A weak attempt to organise a provisional government, and to proclaim Victor Emmanuel king, has failed. Accompanied only by a few followers the warrior of freedom entered the city. He has little to fear as he drives under the guns of St. Elmo or Castelnuovo, still garrisoned by the troops of the departed king. "He is aware of his moral force: he knows that the people of Naples are thronging the streets and piazzas only to see and cheer him; and that not one of those soldiers would dare to fire a gun or a musket at the man of fate, the asserter of the people's rights. His carriage makes its way through the dense masses of applauding spectators. He has just reached the church of the Carmine, in front of which once rolled the severed head of the Italian Coradino; and in whose holy precincts flowed the blood of the young revolutionary fisherman, Masaniello. The crowd grows thicker and thicker. The wide roads of the Mandracchio, of the Largo di Castello, and of the street of San Carlo, are so choked with people that it is almost impossible for the carriage to break through. Missori, Statetta, and Nullo, are the heralds who precede the modest *cortège*, and succeed in opening the path. They pass the corner of the Toledo, and at last reach the palace of the Forestra. Garibaldi alights from the carriage, and is received by the National Guard and the *Eletti*, or municipal councillors. Don Liborio Romano had already joined him at the station. But an immense multitude, almost wild with joy, are assembled in the west piazza. They call upon the dictator to show himself, and Garibaldi appears upon the large balcony of the palace. Addressing the people, he tells them that they must prove to Italy that they are worthy descendants of Masaniello. He then retires, for he has more important work to do."

Flushed with success, the party of action, having rescued Naples, were now eager to dash on to Rome. In Naples itself matters were progressing more rapidly than the wise and moderate desired. Mazzini had come, and there had been a talk of a republic. Cavour saw that the best means of thwarting the danger was by striking a blow which, while it would prove fatal to the temporal power of the pope in Umbria, would re-establish, on a firmer basis, the *prestige* of the constitutional monarchy throughout the peninsula, and hasten the annexation of the Neapolitan provinces to Sardinia. The mercenary legions which, under the command of Lamoriciere, were gathered in the Roman states, and the dissatisfaction of Pio Nino's subjects, were enough to justify the course which the cabinet of Turin had adopted. An assurance that France would not effectually oppose the crossing of the papal frontier, had been obtained from Louis Napoleon at Chambéry, when it was urged by Farini, that, if Sardinia were not allowed to enter the states of the church, Garibaldi would undertake the task in the name of the revolution. The campaign in Umbria having been decided on, Sardinia again took the lead of the Italian movement. On the night of the 10th of September Cialdini crossed the papal frontier at Saludicchio, while Fante marched from Arezzo on Foligno. Military operations, therefore, had begun; and they were to be carried out, till Victor Emmanuel should be enabled to effect his junction with Garibaldi on the Volturno.

The organisation of the army was Garibaldi's first occupation after his arrival in Naples. Towards the middle of September he was able to occupy the positions before Capua with an army of 37,000 men. On the other side of the Volturno Francis II. mustered an army of about 43,000 soldiers; among whom was a fine body of cavalry, from 7,000 to 8,000 in number. Screened by the line of the Volturno, and enabled to obtain provisions and ammunition by sea from Gaëta, and by land from the road to Velletri, Francis II. was in a position to hold his ground until the hoped-for Austrian and papal reinforcements should arrive to help him. Being master of so strong a position, he could threaten Naples at any moment, for, by a bold march of twelve hours, his army could easily reach it.

Whilst in this position news came of the victory gained by Cialdini over Lamoriciere, at Castelfidardo. This was a great military event. The advance of Victor Emmanuel's army in the rear of the Neapolitans deprived the latter of their advantages of position. They had, therefore, no alternative but to try the fortunes of war, and assume the offensive against Garibaldi. Francis II. was quite aware that, if he could succeed in routing the Garibaldians and reoccupying Naples, diplomacy would arrest the march of the Piedmontese, and thus restore him to the throne of his fathers. He accordingly held a council of war at Capua, in which it was decided, that on the 1st of October, his birthday, the whole of his army should be concentrated between Capua and Cajazzo; then, crossing the Volturno at different points, and falling upon the Garibaldians, should, if possible, cut through their line, and march on the capital. The attempt was made, and signally failed. Garibaldi, with about 11,000 men, resisted 30,000 Neapolitans; and had routed them as soon as his reserve, scarcely numbering 5,000, reached the field of battle. The Garibaldians had thus won the day by themselves; for the report then spread throughout Europe, and still believed, that the Piedmontese arrived in time to help them, is totally unfounded. Garibaldi's success was followed up by Bixio on the 2nd, when he captured 5,000 of those Bavarians and Neapolitans whom he had beaten the previous day, and who had in vain attempted to re-cross the Volturno. The loss sustained by the Neapolitans on the 1st may be reckoned at 2,500 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners. The Garibaldians had 1,280 *hors de combat*, and 700 prisoners and missing. Such were the losses in the battle of Volturno. In a few days after, Capua fell into Garibaldi's hands.

Political affairs in Southern Italy now entered on a new phase. The plebiscite had already determined, by 1,303,064 votes to 10,312, that the Bourbons should cease for ever to rule over a country they had so long misgoverned.

Garibaldi had accomplished his task. He had won Naples, and presented it to Victor Emmanuel, as a noble contribution towards the sacred cause of Italian unity. The parting was not pleasant: the reward righteously earned, was unrighteously withheld. Garibaldi asked that he should be appointed for three years governor of Southern Italy, with almost dictatorial powers; that the decrees he had signed during his dictatorship should be respected, in so far as they did not oppose the constitutional laws of the country; and that the rank conferred upon him by his companions-in-arms should be recognised by the new government. The first of these demands was peremptorily refused; the second and third, the ministers of the king were only disposed to grant upon certain conditions. In his interview with the king at the royal palace, Garibaldi renewed his application, and could not be persuaded to desist from it. It is even stated that, on this occasion, the general said to Victor Emmanuel—"Get rid of Cavour, and allow me to march on Rome." To which the king is reported to have answered—"I will not get rid of my Premier, and you shall not go to Rome." Victor Emmanuel having failed to bring about the reconciliation which he desired, there remained nothing for Garibaldi but to leave Naples.

And, with thirty pounds, the dictator of the richest provinces of Italy—the man who had added 9,000,000 of people to the Italian kingdom—went back to his island home. When informed of the low state of his treasury, he said with a smile—"Do not be anxious, Basso; we have at Caprera plenty of wood and corn, which we will send to Maddalena for sale." In justice to Victor Emmanuel, it must be stated, that Garibaldi was repeatedly offered rewards and distinctions, all of which he declined.

The remainder of the story of Italy, so far as concerns this narrative, may soon be told. Francis II., morally supported by the presence of a French fleet, determined to make a last stand in Gaëta, trusting that Austria would, sooner or later, come to his rescue. Having chosen those which he considered the best regiments of his army, he shut himself up with about 16,000 men, and prepared for the worst. On their side, the Piedmontese, under General Cialdini, established themselves, towards the end of November, 1860, at Mola, and began the siege. On the 14th of February, 1861, Gaëta surrendered to Cialdini; and the king and queen left, on board the French ship *Mouette*.

Italy was soon called on to sustain, in the sudden and unexpected death of Count Cavour, a heavy loss. Count Arrivabene writes—"There are deaths which induce us to mourn rather for the living than the departed; and conspicuous among these was the death of Cavour. Subsequent events have impressed this sad conviction on every Italian heart; for, from the 6th of June, 1861, to this hour, not a day has passed on which thoughtful Italians have not had occasion to say to one another—"Had Cavour lived, public affairs would have progressed satisfactorily; escaped this danger, or avoided that delay." And not one of my countrymen doubts that, were Cavour still with us, we should, by this time, have proclaimed the unity of Italy from the capital. There may have been Italians whose plots Cavour hated 'with the warmth of a brave and honest man;' and who, in their turn, did not shrink from outraging his memory after death; but these, to the honour of my country be it said, were few in number—a small class of rabid politicians, who exercise no influence over public opinion. The memory of Count Cavour is honoured in Italy with a unanimity rarely manifested in any country, or in any age; for Italians feel that a great sorrow has befallen the land from which Cavour has departed, after having rescued it from the slavery wherein it had been plunged for centuries. Italy can unquestionably boast of other men, who, both by their moral influence, and by the deeds they have performed, are entitled to the gratitude of their fellow-countrymen; and foremost among them, I need not say, stands the valiant conqueror of Naples and Sicily. Yet the services of Cavour exceed by far the achievements of all others. He it was who prepared and gave the first impulse to the great national struggle of 1859. He was the

mind of Italy; the rest were but its arms. From the first assumption by Cavour of the duties of Prime Minister, in November, 1852, down to the 30th of May, 1861—the very day he was taken ill—he was the very soul of the Italian movement. His prodigious activity was equal to any demand that might be made on it. He was not only the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the *de facto* minister of every department. He found time to attend to everything—to give the necessary impulse to all the branches of the public administration. * * * * Engrossed with Neapolitan affairs at the period when he was stricken with mortal illness, the recollection of them haunted his fervent brain. Even a few hours before his death, ‘I will have no state of siege,’ he continually repeated while his last hour was approaching. It was by the beneficent influence of good laws, and wise administrations, that he hoped to bring the annexed provinces of the south to a steady and orderly condition. The mistakes he had been led into by the so-called *consorteria* of political exiles, he willingly confessed; and he had already set to work to have repaired them, when his exertions were cut short by death.” All Turin was present at his funeral, in common with the bodies of state, national authorities, and deputations. The theatres at Turin, Genoa, Milan, and elsewhere, were shut up for two evenings.

In his farewell address to his companions-in-arms, Garibaldi said—

“We must consider the period which is just drawing to a conclusion as almost the last stage of our national resurrection, and must prepare ourselves to finish worthily the marvellous design of the elect of twenty generations, the completion of which Providence has reserved for this fortunate age.

“Yes, young men! Italy owes to you an undertaking which has merited the applause of the universe. You have conquered, and you will conquer still, because you are prepared for the tactics that decide the fate of battles. You are worthy of the man who pierced the serried ranks of a Macedonian phalanx, and who contended not in vain with the proud conquerors of Asia. To this wonderful page in our country’s history, another more glorious still will be added; and the slave will show, at least, to his free brethren a sharpened sword, forged from the links of his fetters. To arms, then, all of you!—all of you!—and the oppressors and the mighty will disappear like dust. You too, women, cast away all cowards from your embraces; they will only give you cowards for children; and you, who are the daughters of the land of beauty, must bear children who are noble and brave. Let timid *doctrinaires* depart from among us, to carry their servility and their miserable fears elsewhere. This people is its own master. It wishes to be the brother of other people, but to look on the insolent with a proud grasp; not to grovel before them, imploring its own freedom. It will no longer follow in the trail of men whose hearts are foul. No! no! no! Providence has presented Italy with Victor Emmanuel. Every Italian should rally round him. By the side of Victor Emmanuel every quarrel should be forgotten—all rancour disappear. Once more I repeat my battle-cry—‘To arms all of you!’ If March, 1861, does not find 1,000,000 of Italians in arms, then alas for liberty! alas for the life of Italy! Ah, no! far, far be a thought which I breathe like poison. March, 1861, or, if need be, February, will find us all at our posts. Italians of Calatafimi, Palermo, Ancona, Volturmo, Castelfidardo, and Isernia—and with us every man of the land who is not a coward and a slave—let all of us, rallying round the glorious hero of Palestro, give the last blow to the crumbling edifice of tyranny. Receive, then, my gallant young volunteers, at the honoured conclusion of ten battles, one word of farewell from me. I utter that word with the deepest affection, and from the very bottom of my heart. To-day I am obliged to retire, but for a day only. The hour of battle will find me with you again by the side of the champions of Italian liberty.”

They met—the hero and his followers; but under the frown of the Italian government; and then not till 1862. A Sardinian force was sent to stop the liberator, and he was wounded at Aspromonte by an Italian bullet. All Europe cried shame.

The following letter, dated Turin, September 6th, gives the fullest account we have yet seen of the events which led to the capture of Garibaldi:—

“General Cialdini, upon hearing of Garibaldi’s landing at Melito, in Calabria, lost no time in laying his plan of operations. He directed Generals Revel and Vialardi to occupy the narrow isthmus of Tiriolo, between Nicastro and Catanzaro—a strong position, which, if strongly guarded, most effectually cuts off the extreme peninsula of Calabria from the adjoining mainland. Having thus shut up Garibaldi within this comparatively small compass, Cialdini ordered the royal cruisers—the *Garibaldi*, *Vittorio Emmanuele*, and *Tripoli*—to ply along the gulfs of Squillace and St. Eufemia, and so to watch the coasts as to prevent Garibaldi from re-embarking. He then collected a considerable force at Reggio, and, placing Pallavicino at their head, he bade them look out for Garibaldi, to press upon him as closely as possible, so as to drive him towards the divisions of Revel and Vialardi on the isthmus, and whenever they came up with him to attack him, ‘anywhere and anyhow,’ unless he consented to an unconditional surrender. In less than forty-eight hours all the troops had taken their positions.

“Garibaldi, it seems, had landed at Melito with from 2,500 to 3,000 men; but, as he compelled his men to very laborious marches over the mountains, he strewed so many of them on his path, that, according to the report written by the officers of his staff on board the *Duca di Genova*, on the 31st of August, only about 1,500 of them had kept up with him when he took up his position at Aspromonte on the 28th, in the evening. He had, on the previous day, felt his way here and there, and reconnoitred the ground towards Gerace, St. Eufemia, Bagnara, and Palmi; but the first skirmishes with the royal troops soon convinced him that he had to deal with earnest adversaries, and he pitched his camp on the brow of the hill. Pallavicino looked for him along shore; but, upon glancing upwards, he beheld the red shirts on the mountain, west; and, following orders, he instantly divided his troops into three columns, and marched. He had with him the 6th Bersaglieri battalion, part of the 25th battalion of the same corps of light foot, part of the 4th regiment, under Colonel Eberhardt, a Prussian, companion of Garibaldi in 1860, and parts of the 29th and 57th regiments. On the whole, his force does not seem to have exceeded 1,800 men. The summit of Aspromonte consists of a vast triangular table-land, open towards the sea on the north-west, but covered with a wild wood on the inland side, where it joins the main Apennine ridge. Garibaldi had placed his men under cover of the wood, and his head-quarters were in a very small room of one of the two huts rising in the centre of that bleak Alpine platform. The place bears the name ‘I Forstali.’ The night between the 28th and 29th was cold and rainy. There were heavy showers from time to time, and violent gusts of wind, putting out the volunteer bivouac fires. In the evening and the morning scanty provisions were distributed; but the Garibaldian column was too strong to be able to support itself in the mountains, as it was too weak to fight its way through the royal forces. Garibaldi had come to the resolution of dividing his little army into two bands, with intent to direct them through different roads to a given point; but the royalists had already reached Arci; they had fallen-in with the Garibaldian outposts at St. Stefano; and before Garibaldi had collected all his stragglers, previous to a start, Pallavicino was upon him. It was on the 29th (a Friday—unlucky day!) that Pallavicino was at St. Stefano; two hours’ march brought him to the table-land, on a level with the volunteers. Garibaldi crossed a small stream that divided the plain; he moved towards the wood—a very dense pine wood, which mantled the ground on the first undulation of the hills. As the advanced lines of the Bersaglieri reached the brow of the table-land, the whole of the Garibaldian youth had sought the shelter of the wood. It was about noon.

“So far there is little or no discrepancy between the various reports which I have before my eyes; but now I beg you to listen to the two hostile parties, as they tell their story one after another. ‘The troops,’ says the letter of a royal

officer, an eye-witness, 'advanced to the attack; they were received by a rifle-shot, and the fight began; a column of the royal troops turned the left flank of the Garibaldians, and threatened them also in the rear. The volunteers were routed. Pallavicino waved a white handkerchief; the firing ceased, and a *parlementaire* presented himself to Garibaldi. The latter was wounded: seeing the *parlementaire*, he snatched up a revolver to shoot him; his own officers, who were by his side, had to tear the weapon from his hand. He cooled a little, and asked on what conditions they were to treat. 'On no conditions,' was the answer; 'passive surrender, and no terms.' 'If it be so,' Garibaldi replied, 'let us recommence the fire;' but this was impossible. All his camp was in utter disorder, enveloped all round by the royalists; he had to bow his head, and yield to fortune. The struggle had lasted an hour, or little more. There were about twelve killed between the two parties; the wounded were about one hundred.'

"Now for the report of the Garibaldian staff already alluded to:—'Garibaldi was in the centre of the hill slope occupied by his column; he sent his officers all along the front with repeated, express, positive orders not to fire. We were being surrounded on all sides; the Bersaglieri were within shot; they had levelled their pieces; all our column was perfectly still. Not one shout; not one shot. The general alone stood up, with his wide gray plaid cloak lined with red, thrown on his massive shoulders, following the movements of the royalists with his spy-glass, and from time to time turning to repeat the order, 'Do not fire!' The officers took up the cry, and 'Do not fire!' went the round of the whole line. But the troops had, on the contrary, precise orders to attack. The Bersaglieri opened fire, and moved forward. No intimation or summons preceded the fire; no *parlementaire* was sent. The firing deepens; the bullets hissed on all sides round our heads. Unfortunately some of our raw recruits, unaccustomed to such terrible sport, answered by a few random shots; the others did not stir. Every one kept his own ground, some standing, some seated. All the trumpets gave the signal to stop fire; all the officers verbally issued the same order. The troops, on the contrary, set up the signal 'forward,' and advanced with well-sustained fire. The general, always at his post, standing in the midst of the densest shower of balls, again cried, 'Do not fire!' He was uttering those words when two bullets struck him; one, a spent ball, on the thigh of the left leg; another, with full force, on the ankle of the left foot. Garibaldi, at the moment of being wounded, not only stood up, upright, but he assumed a majestic attitude; he took off his hat, and waving it with his left hand, he repeatedly cried, 'Long live Italy! do not fire!' Some of the officers, the nearest to him, removed him, and laid him under a tree. There, with his habitual calmness, he continued to give his orders. The most precise were the following:—'Let them come near. Do not fire!' On all our front the fire had ceased. Presently Menotti was brought to the spot. He also had been hit by a spent ball in the calf of his left leg. He was in great pain, unable to stand. Father and son were laid under the same tree; a group of officers and soldiers gathered round the general. He had lighted a cigar, and was smoking. He said to all, 'Do not fight!' The officers, questioned by their soldiers, also invariably answered, 'Do not fight!' The trumpets, too, never ceased from their signal, 'Stop fire!'—not for our men, but for the troops which fired as they advanced, even when they had come up and were mixed with our volunteers. From the first shot, to this moment, hardly a quarter of an hour elapsed. Here a strange sight presented itself. Friends, relatives, brothers, companions in recent battles, when they fought for their fatherland, meet and recognise each other. Some are clad in the red shirt, others in the regular uniform; and here were shaking hands, embraces, mutual reproaches and upbraidings, especially on the part of the red shirts, who protest and declare that 'all they wanted was Rome.'

"The narrative proceeds, stating that here a lieutenant of the staff (royal) appeared before Garibaldi, who bade him put off his sword, as a *parlementaire* should be unarmed. Other Bersaglieri officers were disarmed in the same manner,

though the general soon afterwards ordered that their swords should be restored to them. Meanwhile the surgeons examined and dressed the general's wounds. He bade them apply cold water to them, and all the time he smoked with great calmness and firmness. He asked whether an amputation was necessary?—in which case it should be done forthwith. The doctors assured him there was no occasion for such an operation. Garibaldi asked to see Pallavicino, who, twenty minutes later, came to him uncovered, and with every demonstration of respect. It was afterwards settled between the officers of both staffs, that the Garibaldian column should be disarmed, and placed under the escort of the royal troops. It was agreed that Garibaldi should be removed to Scylla, with as many of his officers as he wished to have with him, all of whom should retain their swords. The dead on both sides were very few; very few also the wounded. In corroboration of this assertion, I must state that the number of the wounded, on both sides, according to official tidings, does not exceed forty-eight.

"Towards evening the Garibaldians improvised a litter for the removal of their chief. After an hour's painful march, over rugged paths, they came to a hut where some wounded men had been laid. Garibaldi refused to abide there for the night. He wished to be taken to some other hut or hay-loft, where he might be alone. The journey in the dark, on so rough a road, must have caused great torture to the general; but he never uttered a complaint, nor a groan. They thus, after three hours' march, reached the hut of the Pastore Vincenzo, a spot well known to the heroes of the expedition of 1860. There, with straw and cloaks, they made up a bed, on which the general rested. 'The night was feebly lighted by the moon; great silence reigned over the country, only broken by the barking of the shepherds' dogs.' They prepared water for the hero's wounds; they gave him broth made of goat's flesh. It was midnight. At dawn they were up, constructing a more comfortable litter; at 6 A.M. they left for Scylla. When the sun rose they screened the hero by a laurel canopy. With the exception of a few halts of half-an-hour, they toiled down those dreary paths till 2 P.M., when they reached their destination.

"At Scylla, Garibaldi, who had asked Pallavicino to obtain for him leave to embark on board an English vessel, was informed that his request could not be complied with. The number of officers who were to accompany him was also reduced to ten. Garibaldi instantly embarked on board the *Duca di Genova*, which was ready for departure. The boats which conveyed him on board passed before the *Stella d'Italia*, on the deck of which were General Cialdini, Admiral Albini, and others. 'No salutation passed between the prisoner and his captors.' Two or three volunteers (orderlies), who had been allowed by Pallavicino for Garibaldi's personal service, were sent back by an order of Cialdini, conveyed through Albini; but the order was revoked, and the orderlies were suffered to accompany their chief. Garibaldi parted with his companions with the cry, '*A Roma! A Roma!*' The treatment of the prisoners on board the *Duca di Genova* was, by their own confession, 'most courteous and considerate.'

"I have thus given the *pro* and *con* of all I could collect respecting this melancholy affair. To readers who are able to compare notes with something like critical discernment, the real truth will shine forth with irresistible clearness. That Garibaldi wished to avoid an encounter, and Pallavicino had orders to seek it, appears very evident. The king's government felt the necessity of dealing a decisive blow, and ending a game which had been suffered to continue too long. For the rest, after the fight, both parties behaved with honour and moderation; and, bating exaggeration, neither of them has any reason for dissatisfaction."

Since the above was written, the report of General Cialdini on the engagement at Aspromonte, has been published in the *Turin Gazette*. The report states, that the instructions given to Colonel Pallavicino were, to pursue Garibaldi unremittingly if he sought to fly; to attack him if he offered battle, and to destroy his band. The official *Gazette* also publishes Colonel Pallavicino's report; according to

which his left attacked the volunteers in front, and, after a brisk fire, carried the position they occupied. The rebels were then surrounded on all sides, and ulterior resistance was useless. At this juncture they signalled the royal troops to stop firing, and Colonel Pallavicino sent an officer of the staff to summon Garibaldi to surrender. Garibaldi replied that he would never surrender. The staff-officer was made prisoner, as well as another envoy subsequently sent by Colonel Pallavicino. They were, however, afterwards released. Garibaldi requested to be allowed to embark on board an English vessel. Several volunteers, when questioned, said they knew nothing of the king's proclamation. Some believed that all had been arranged with the government; whilst others said that Garibaldi had deceived them. At Aspromonte three flags were found, inscribed with the words, 'Italy! Emmanuel!' but not bearing the cross of Savoy, nor having the blue riband attached. No documents nor money were found.

The *Movimento* of Genoa gives the following particulars as to the place in which Garibaldi was confined:—"The building, which contains six rooms, has no furniture whatever, with the exception of some mattresses stretched on the ground for the prisoners. Their kitchen contains no other articles than two magpies, which often hop over the whole house. The food is not bad, but it is served without any table-cloth. The general's chamber alone presents any appearance of furniture. It is not very large. The walls have been at one time covered with velvet paper, which now hangs down in shreds. There are two great cupboards, of wretched appearance, and painted yellow; four or five chairs; a little table, on which stands a brass candlestick, with a tallow candle; and the bed where Garibaldi is lying. 'This bed is worth notice. The mattress is of double thickness. There are four bolsters, but two are without cases.'" Ultimately Garibaldi was pardoned.

His friends in England sent him all that they could; and at length the ball in his ankle was extracted, after the failure of an English, by a celebrated French surgeon.

Nor was Garibaldi ungrateful. Whilst yet lying sad, wounded, and a captive, he thus addressed the English nation:—

"It is while under the double pressure of bodily and mental pain that man can most truly and most acutely appreciate good and evil, and, leaving the authors of his misery to eternal shame, devote unlimited affection and gratitude to his benefactors. And that to you, O people of England, I owe a heavy debt for benefits bestowed, I feel in the inmost recesses of my soul. You were my friends in prosperity, and now you continue the precious boon in the days of my adversity. May God reward you! And my gratitude is the more intense, O worthy people, inasmuch as, rising as it must do beyond the mere level of individual feeling, it becomes sublime in the general sentiment towards those nations whose progress you represent. Yes! you are deserving of the gratitude of the world, because you offer an asylum for misfortune, from whatever part it may come; and you identify yourselves with misery, pity it, and relieve it. The French or Neapolitan exile finds in your bosom shelter from his tyrant; he finds sympathy; he is helped, because an exile, because unhappy. The Haynaus—the hardened instruments of autocrats—find no rest in your liberal land, and fly terrified before the bitter scorn of your generous sons. And, in truth, without your noble bearing what would Europe be? Tyranny seizes its exiles in those other lands where virtue is unnatural, where liberty is a lie; but they are still safe on the sacred soil of Albion. I, like so many others, seeing the cause of justice trampled under foot in so many parts of the world, despaired of human progress. But, turning to you, my mind is calmed—calmed by the contemplation of your fearless progress towards that end to which the human race seems called by Providence. Proceed on your way, O calm, unconquered nation, and be less tardy in calling your sister peoples in the same path of human progress. Call the French nation to co-operate with you. You two are worthy to march hand-in-hand in the vanguard of social progress.

Yes, call her! In all your meetings let 'concord between the two great sisters' be your cry. Yes, call her! Call to her always, and in every manner—with your voice, and with the voice of her great exiles—of Victor Hugo, the high priest of human brotherhood. Tell her that conquest is, in this age, an anomaly—the emanation of an unsound mind. Why should we covet the lands of others, when all men should be as brethren? Yes, call her! And she, forgetting that she is temporarily under the dominion of the genius of evil—if not to-day, to-morrow; if not to-morrow, later—will reply as she ought to your generous and regenerating appeal. Call, and at once, the bold sons of Helvetia, and clasp them firmly to your breast! The warlike children of the Alps—the vestals of the sacred fire of liberty on the continent of Europe—they will be with you. What a host! Call the great American republic, for she is, in truth, your daughter, and is struggling now for the abolition of that slavery which you have already so nobly proclaimed. Help her to escape from the terrible strife waged against her by the traders in human flesh. Help her, and then place her by your side at the great assembly of nations—that final work of the human intellect. Call to your side all those people who would be free, and lose not an hour. The initiative, which belongs to you to-day, may to-morrow concern another. May God forbid such a calamity! Who ever more gallantly than France in '89 assumed that responsibility? At that solemn moment she held up 'reason' to the world, crushed tyranny, and consecrated free brotherhood. Now, after nearly a century, she is reduced to combat the liberty of nations, to protect tyranny, and over the altar of reason to erect the symbol of that wicked and immoral monstrosity which is called the papacy. Arise, then, Britannia, and at once! Arise with your undaunted brow, and point out to the peoples the path they must tread! With a congress of the world to decide between nations, war would be an impossibility. No longer would there exist those standing armies which make liberty impossible. What weapons! What defences! What engines of attack and defence! And then the millions squandered in implements of destruction would be employed in fomenting the industry and diminishing the misery of the human race. Begin, then, O people of England; and, for the love of God, initiate the vast human compact, and bestow this great gift on the present generation! Besides Switzerland and Belgium, you would see other nations, urged on by the good sense of the people, accept your invitation, and hasten to enrol themselves under your banner. Let London now be the seat of this congress, which shall be in future agreed on by a mutual compact of arrangement and convenience. Once more, God bless you! May He repay you for the benefits you have heaped so prodigally on me!—With gratitude and affection, yours,

"Varignano, Sept. 28."

"GARIBALDI.

In England we were privileged, in 1864, to welcome the hero of Italian nationality. Never did king or emperor receive such an ovation. From the highest to the lowest, all conspired to do him honour. Never was there such a scene as when he entered London, and all its workmen turned out to meet him. Of course, he was presented with the freedom of the city. At the Crystal Palace the Italians in London welcomed him. When the last verse of the song composed in his honour—

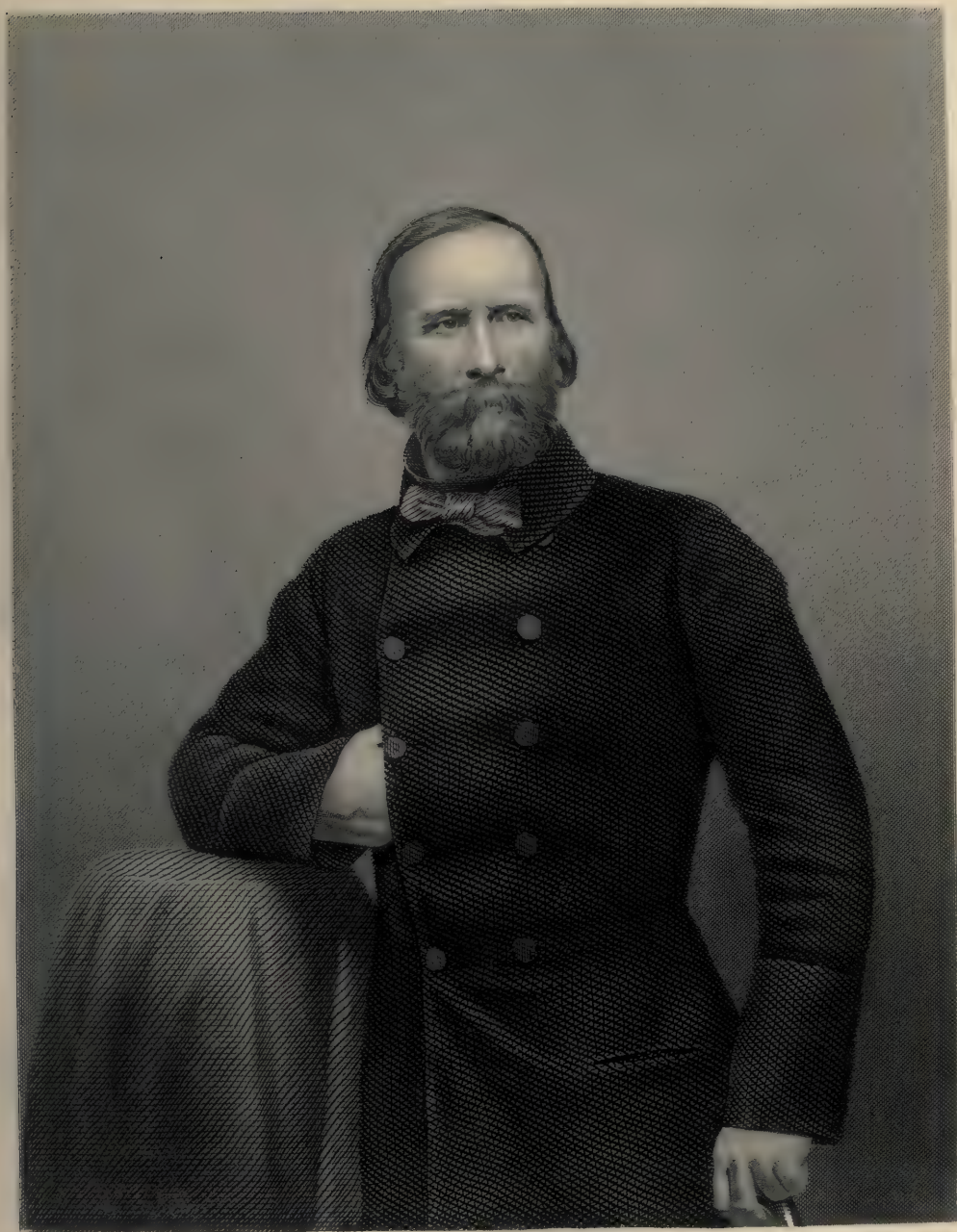
"Hail! oh, leader, from darkness and sorrow
Fame hath woven a wreath for thy brow;
Bright be the dawning of Italy's morrow—
Dawn it shall, for the herald art thou.
O Garibaldi! true and noble heart,
Lead on, we are thine
Until our latest breath;
From hearths, and homes, and loved ones we depart,
To battle, to glory, to death!"

Was sung, no words can describe the scene which took place. The principal vocalists turned towards the balcony which contained Garibaldi, and with

every gesture and look of which the impassioned Italian frame is capable, signified their enthusiastic concurrence in the sentiments, to the utterance of which they lent every power with which nature had gifted them. The choir and orchestra, inspired by the fervent action of their excellent conductor, who, with his national colours tastefully displayed upon his breast, threw himself with all the ardour of a loving compatriot into his work, seconded their efforts nobly; and thus a chorus was produced, such as can never be forgotten by the least susceptible individual who was privileged to hear the strain, and see under what circumstances it was sung. At the first line of the refrain, "O Garibaldi nostro, salvatore," the audience, moved by one impulse, rose up, and remained standing, turned towards the Italian hero, during the remainder of the piece. When all was ended, the voice of the multitude found scope; and men and women, artists and conductor, laid down their respective functions to join in one overpowering demonstration of enthusiastic devotion to the serene-looking and noble man, who looked down in a sort of glad, yet quiet wonder, too great to be confused by this tumultuous homage; and replied better by his sympathetic eyes, moved lips, and very simple gestures, than by any amount of actions, such as are associated with heroes of a similar kind. The chorus of *Ernani* was made to do homage to the general by the words "A Garibaldi gloria" being substituted for the name of Charles the Fifth; and this was followed by the English national anthem, the solo verse of which was finely sung by Mademoiselle Fricci. Then followed a well-merited cheer for Arditì, and many more for Garibaldi and Menotti, whose departure from their gallery terminated the concert.

At the close of the proceedings swords were presented to Garibaldi and his son, by the Italians resident in London. Garibaldi received his sword with the words—"I thank you, Italians, for this beautiful present. I promise you I will never unsheathe it in the cause of tyrants, and will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and to Venice." Other presentations were made, and other addresses offered; after which the general and his party returned to London. On his way back from the Crystal Palace, the general paid a visit to the Duke of Somerset, at his official residence at the Admiralty. In the evening he dined with Lord and Lady Palmerston, at Cambridge House.

In the midst of all this popularity, the public were thunderstruck by hearing Garibaldi was suddenly to leave England. The explanation, believed in many places, was, that he was sent away in consequence of an intimation from high quarters that his presence here was a cause of embarrassment between England and France. The public said Garibaldi never was in better health; that Mr. Gladstone was deputed to give Garibaldi the hint; and that the whole affair was a disgraceful truckling to the French emperor. The official statement of the Premier, of course, denied this; but more than one smile was seen on many an M.P.'s face while Lord Palmerston gravely assured the House of Commons, that, so far from the French emperor's being hurt by the reception afforded to Garibaldi, on the contrary, he had expressed to the Earl of Clarendon his delight at it. The writer of this may be excused for being sceptical on this point, as the last time he was at Paris, the orders were that no portraits of Garibaldi were to be exposed for sale. But the real truth is, Garibaldi's health was suffering. The excitement and the change of living were too much for him. On Monday night, after the general's return from the Crystal Palace, he was so confused that he could not recollect whether he had been to the Crystal Palace once or twice. Rest, therefore, he required; but why not rest in England? And then he might have visited the great towns which had such strong claims on his presence. In the meanwhile, let it be said that every one was delighted with him, and that, in his foreign English, he has pretty well made a clean breast of it politically. He was understood to prefer Mr. Russell (as he calls him) to Mr. Palmerston; the latter aged statesman he considered to be far too friendly with the French emperor; and we need not add that Louis Napoleon, many



W. H. B. B. B.

as are his admirers, cannot class Garibaldi amongst the number. Indeed, we may go so far as to say, if the loving and tender-hearted Garibaldi hates any one on the face of the earth, it is the French emperor. And no wonder. It is owing to him Garibaldi was driven from Rome, that he was struck down at Aspromonte, and that even his Italian nationality has been taken from him. No wonder Garibaldi cordially dislikes the French emperor. The simple soldier and the wily intriguer have nothing, and can have nothing, in common. What fellowship hath light with darkness? was asked in old time.

For years to come the Italian question will occupy men's minds. In our days we have seen it presented in a wonderfully changed aspect to the world. For ages the fairest portion of the surface of Europe was trodden under foot by the despot and the priest. In vain were revolutions attempted—in vain did patriots die—the hour of the regeneration of Italy had not yet come. In our day we have seen the first grand movement in that direction. Italy, aided by France, resolved to shake off the Austrian yoke. Undoubtedly she has gone further and faster than France intended; and the result is that, with the exception of Rome, Italy is free. The question now is, is she worthy of this freedom—can she maintain it? The Italian revolution, mixed as it is, like all human things, with elements base and ignoble, and somewhat barren in the production of those great men whom lesser convulsions have rarely failed to draw forth, is yet assuredly, judged in all soberness, one of the grandest events in modern history. It is no sudden gust of national passion impetuously overturning the thrones of the past, but a slowly elaborated achievement, wrought out with immense sacrifice—sacrifice not only of lives and gold such as every revolution claims, but of provincial and national interests and prejudices, which are the last things usually abjured in such convulsions. It is not an outbreak of fanaticism either religious or political, the work of men disgusted by the falsehood of one system, and blindly rushing at its opposite. Rather with regret do we see the Italian Catholic caring so little to cast down the idols of his church, and rejoice to find the Italian citizen content to replace political despotism by a constitutional monarchy, and not by any more democratic system, for whose enjoyment he is yet untrained. Lastly, it is not a revolution of a single class of the population—a cabal of nobles, or a rebellion of the middle ranks, or a riot of the mob—nor yet is it the work of a great capital city deciding by itself the cause of the whole country, as Paris has so often presumed to do for France. Never, perhaps, in any history has a revolution been so completely the reverse of all this. Italy is being very rapidly regenerated. Railways have been developed, and the common roads of the country have been vastly improved, especially in Naples and Sicily. Before the annexation of the other provinces, Piedmont was vastly in advance of the rest of Italy in education. One in ten out of the entire population attended the schools; while, in Naples, not one in ninety did so; and, in Sicily, out of the female population, even at present, not one in two hundred. The first care of the government has been to reform the system of education, to open schools both for boys and girls in every commune, and to train fitting teachers. The army of Italy now consists of 400,000—a terrible, but at present a necessary, expense. Important changes are taking place in the administration of justice. Nor is this a small matter when we remember, as Miss Cobbe tells us, that in the provinces which formerly owned the sway of the successor of St. Peter, or of Bomba and Bombalino, no safeguard of persons or property, no trial by jury, no *habeas corpus*, no coroners' inquests existed. Every judge almost had bought his office by a bribe, and used it with every venal trick. Another good sign is to be found in the fact that Italy is beginning to read. Of anything to be called a national literature, there is, says Miss Cobbe, as yet no sign; but newspapers are increasing; and, in time, the people will read. Of course, there is a reactionary party, consisting of the old nobility and the priests; but the former are losing their temporal influence, and the latter are now mainly recruited from the lower strata of society.

CHAPTER XIV.

PALMERSTON AGAIN PREMIER.

IN 1859, the Tories have appealed to the country: the verdict has been against them—they resign.

Lord Palmerston is again at the head of affairs. In a work published this year—*Chiefs of Parties*—we find the following sketch of his lordship—a sketch which, at the time, represented pretty fairly the opinion of the sensible and well-informed:—

“In his system of managing the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel was called a great parliamentary middle-man. Irish society also supplies the illustration most apt for Lord Palmerston’s foreign policy. He was the *Captain Rock* of Europe. The desultory fierceness and wordy arrogance of Lord Palmerston’s diplomacy, imitated, on a vast scale, the minacious lawlessness of agrarian outrage in Ireland.

“His rage for meddling with the affairs of small communities was of the most singular kind. A petty territory—whose name is probably omitted by some of the gazetteers, and whose frontiers have the same proportions to European demarcations as the borders of a Kidderminster carpet to the boundaries of England—could not go right unless its internal affairs were supervised and regulated from our too famous ‘F. O.’ in Downing Street. We had to conquer Brobdignag, and we had also to dwarf our minds to the backstairs intrigue of each atom of the Lilliputian confederation. Our diplomacy, under Lord Palmerston’s auspices, was becoming ludicrous. Its machinery was applied to the arrangement of trifles beneath contempt. Village scandals were exaggerated into diplomatic questions of momentous importance. Somebody in some place pulled another by the nose, and their respective nations had recourse to protocols. The most contemptible squabbles were brought before the cabinet of the British empire. Under no other Prime Minister was there so much personal acrimony, such envenomed bitterness, such constant spleen about trifles, as under Lord Palmerston.

“There was scarcely a country in the world where we were not involved in a diplomatic entanglement about some ridiculous trifle entirely beneath the statesmanship of a great empire. In Greece a minister insisted on introducing to the Court a lady of doubtful reputation. The queen resisted. Then came a ministerial crisis, and all our diplomacy was set to work. Could anything be more ridiculous than our interference in such petty Court scandals at the other end of Europe? If Mayfair was gossiping for a week about the tattle of the Orkneys and the Hebrides, or if the Secretary of State for the Home Department were called on to aid in a case of female small-talk about what Mrs. Honour said about Mrs. Abigail, we should all laugh.

“At Tuscany, a squabble about an *attaché* of the Sardinian legation was magnified into a mighty affair, as if it were as serious as some of the causes of quarrel between Charles V. and Francis I. And then, crossing the Atlantic, our foreign office busybodies were all in a hurry, on account of some despicable filibustering expedition. The steam had to be got up to an armada panic temperature. Immense events were looming in the distance: when, lo! two or three suspicious-looking crafts are seen, hull down, on the horizon; our West Indian fleet gives chase. ‘England expects that every’—little midddy should have a laugh at the big-wigs; and the farce ends—not in another Trafalgar, but after the plan of battle in the *Critic*:—‘The Yankee fleet I cannot see, because ’tis not in sight.’

“Lord Palmerston, in his mode of treating foreign affairs, had a strange talent

for nursing a whitlow into a wen. His political habit was so inflammatory, so constitutionally excitable, that the prick of a pin was a grave wound in his case. To exaggerate trifling grounds of irritation into serious causes of anger was a fatal and foolish policy. 'This country cannot afford little wars,' said Wellington: nor can it. The consequences of this mania for meddling are ruinous, and also ridiculous. A busybody is always mischievous to himself, while the cause of mirth to his neighbours. Dramatists and novelists, in all ages, have delighted in painting the character of one who minds everybody's business but his own. The character has a popular relish, because it is so readily recognised. John Bull was playing it before the world under Lord Palmerston's management. Foreigners took his 'F. O.' in Downing Street as a contraction for *Figaro*, the cypher letters which supplied the key to his foreign policy. His system was discredited from the most opposite quarters. The Duke of Wellington opposed it; so did Sir Robert Peel and the Earl of Aberdeen, and Earl Grey and Sir William Molesworth, and Mr. Cobden; and last, and not least, for twenty years the *Times* denounced it with great energy and ability.

"No change in a melodrama could be more startling than that by which Lord Palmerston was converted into being the chief of the Liberal party, and the leader of the House of Commons. On the domestic question he had always been neutral. His relationship to his colleagues in the Melbourne Whigs and the Bedford Whigs, was just as if he and they had shaken hands upon an agreement. 'So that you allow me to dictate to Christendom as I like, you may pull and drag Old England to pieces if you please. I will not meddle with you, and leave me alone.' In point of fact, several of his Whig colleagues were not competent to check him.

"When Lord Aberdeen fell, the position of Lord Palmerston was powerful. He stood well with the Tories. Society had always said, 'There's a great deal of Toryism in Lord Palmerston.' He had some ephemeral and flying popularity with the plebeian politicians, who are inspired by the licensed victuallers; and in London he was vastly popular. He knew everybody worth knowing, and he was ready to receive anybody who had anything to tell that was worth hearing. His mansion was the resort of a strange congress. The clubs often stared at the names of his guests; and even the House of Commons wondered how his bitterest and most envenomed assailants on the Monday, enjoyed his hospitality on the next Saturday. Cambridge House and its witcheries produced great effect. Lord Palmerston had so many personal and social resources, that he felt quite confident, when the patronage of the Treasury was placed at his disposal, that he could get any amount of popularity that he would require.

"So he could, and so he did. It rained panegyrics for a twelvemonth. He was described insidiously as a second Chatham. The ears of the town were stunned with the clatter of his admirers: their reasoning was the logic of defiance; their rhetoric was the tautology of boast. Amidst their vaunting verbiage was a vehement chuckle, which occasionally rose into a stormy self-approbation, that showed Master Æolus was still puffing away—

" 'Milla se jactet in aula
Æolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.'

"But though he could obtain the noisy and fictitious counterfeit for a real popularity, my Lord Proteus could not secure the confidence of a party; for his triumph was only for the hour. As a party chief, and as a leader of the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston decidedly failed, and failed ludicrously. * * * * Experience failed him in his post. His tone and conduct in the leadership of the Commons were utterly unworthy of the place and the audience, and were most unsuitable to one with the ambiguous antecedents of the noble lord. Never did any of his lordship's predecessors so entangle themselves with adversaries, and descend to 'ribald ridicule.' His tone was not only unbecoming a man of his rank and station, but it was *maladroit* in an assembly where the noble lord had

some superiors, and several equals, on the score either of birth, or of fortune, or eloquence, or lofty intellect. It was the first time that parliament had seen the spectacle of a blustering leader of the House of Commons. Lord North was often familiar, but never vulgar; if he was too often witty on grave questions, Lord North was neither offensive nor coarse. His delightful temper has been commemorated by the most brilliant of his adversaries. It may be doubted whether, in the orations of Burke, Fox, and Barré, against Lord North, there was so galling a passage as that withering invective hurled by Mr. Bright against the 'official personage' who sat on those treasury benches some years before he (Mr. Bright) was born. Lord Palmerston, we surmise, does not yet forget the vivid contrast drawn by Mr. Bright between the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, Lord J. Russell, and Mr. Disraeli—'who left no stain on that distinguished post'—and the style assumed by Lord Palmerston himself. If the Premier forgets Mr. Bright, others do not. The House cheered that speech vehemently.

"But it was droll to witness the jovial tone in which the Prime Minister laughed at the public, and both houses of parliament, and even himself! He took them all in as regularly as the newspapers; he played upon them all round with unparalleled hilarity; winked to confederates in his secrets (if not in his cabinet); gave the artful leer of invitation to some of his confiding dupes; and then, after chuckling over some decoyed Benthamite, he put on a sentimental face, while he heaved a sigh over some ruined Whig reputation! The rollicking air with which he performed his cajollery was quite wonderful in its way; and he never seemed more astonishing than when, with a grimace on his face, he encountered a British public in its gloomiest mood. For the growls of John Bull, the comic Premier had his wallet of small pleasantries of an excruciating kind. But his prodigious performances in luring the Radicals into supposing him to be playing their game, while he was really aiding to put us back to Tory times, was far more ludicrous than his best joke.

"It was this singular position of Lord Palmerston that explained the qualified support given him by some of the Conservatives. They found it hard to take part against a gay old Tory of the oldest school disguising himself as a Liberal, and hoaxing the Reform Club.

"As a matter of sentiment, many Conservatives refused to deal roughly with one whom they regarded as a sort of parliamentary grandpapa. They forgave the irregularity of his political conduct. They did not fire upon a craft which belonged to their own squadron, though for the time it hoisted false colours. Severer courses would have been warranted towards him; but it would have been waste of what Canning called 'that valuable commodity, indignation,' to lavish any of it upon a cabinet minister in a cap and bells. A solemn lecture, richly deserved, would have convulsed the jolly Premier.

"He was taken at his word, and looked at as a great parliamentary *quiz*—making game of everything. His elevation was traceable to the rout of the Peelites, the fall of Lord John Russell, and the dearth of talent amongst the independent Liberals. With great connections, and experience without parallel, it took our 'Brummagem Alcibiades' fifty years to climb into the Premiership, though Mr. Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and several more statesmen under whom he served, gained that distinction with few of his personal advantages.

"Yet it cannot be denied that the *vis comica* of his political career was well kept up. His capacity for pastime was incessant. If thorough-going jollity could pilot the state vessel, the helm should never have been taken from the rollicking Premier. The jesting way in which he encountered a difficulty, and succumbed under it without a pang of self-reproach, was a rare sight. The joyousness with which he offered his hand to friends and foes, treating them all alike, with the same impartial jocularity, and the sportive ease with which he played with principles, was amusing as a piece of character. But Lord Palmerston, at that time, wearied the House of Commons. He lost its respect,

and it rose against him. His elevation to the pinnacle of power made him grow giddy, and he affected to be a dictator. His wit was not brilliant enough, or his eloquence so dazzling, as to hide the egregious errors of his department when he assumed the part of a low angry wag. He had never been a party man; he had coquetted with all connections; and it seemed rather absurd to take up the obsolete name of a Canningite after the Reform Bill had been carried. It was curious that he exhibited some of the worst traits of Mr. Canning. * * * * Though he did not succeed as chief of a party, or as leader of the House of Commons, Viscount Palmerston was nearly the greatest personal success in the politics of his age. * * * * For a season, during his culmination, Cambridge House, in the eyes of Europe, was 'No. 1, London;' and its occupant might be fancied as looking down, from the Piccadilly highlands, upon the Stafford House Whigs, the houses of parliament, and even upon a grander and more august abode. It was a dictatorship, fast but fleeting. The *entourage* of his domestic circle was unrivalled. With Almack's, with Exeter Hall, with the Irish Orangemen, with the Reform Club, with invisible factors of public opinion, he had special relations. He had fortune, and fashion, and fame; he stooped to conquer; and it was wonderful that he was not stifled under the cloud of incense which rose up before him. Walpole and Pitt were not intoxicated by the giddy height, where they stood so long; and Lord Palmerston, from the sudden elevation, might be pardoned for losing his steadiness. The Duke of Portland died at seventy years of age; and it was with him that Lord Palmerston commenced his career; and, since the revolution, Lord Palmerston was our oldest Prime Minister.

"The sight of so much vigour with so much age—of seventy winters carried with buoyant and elastic ease after a life of hard toil and excitement—was dazzling to behold. His mind was fresh and vivid; his tongue keen, trenchant, and vivacious; his temper did not corrode, though he became dictatorially contumelious; neither was he retrospective or servile in his conversation, like some of his colleagues and companions. In the morning, with a playful and extremely arch speech, the gay viscount would make a bevy of bridesmaids titter; in the afternoon he would quietly arrange his thunderbolts, for the battering of some second-rate powers; and, in the evening, he was ready to Hector a House of Commons, and, with a bold front, to browbeat a bench of provincial tribunals. He forgot himself at last. His pretensions were great, but those of the House of Commons were greater still. He spoke and lorded it in his own time; but the Commons rose in the name of England. They had amongst them patrician families, whose bloodsprings had been running for centuries before the Temples were chronicled in story; and the gentlemen of England, with pedigrees prouder than their oldest oaks, would not tolerate being treated as if they were so many shopkeepers or Marylebone vestrymen. The House of Commons spurned him; and it was right that the lesson should be given him: but it was a terrible lesson, and a tremendous fall. Another man would have been mortified at such humiliation; but Lord Palmerston did not feel it: and it is the worst thing that can be said of him. His fatal fault was, in not being able to distinguish between true and false public opinion. It is sincerely to be lamented that, at the beginning of 1858, he lost such an opportunity of consolidating and purifying his reputation. He broke down when he had to mediate between the people of England and the passing wrath of the Emperor of the French. Where, then, were his defiance and his menacing self-confidence? Where, then, was the nerve of the modern Chatham? He clouded the character of his diplomatic system, and authenticated the censure of those who had condemned his policy, as consisting only of the commonplace acts of wordy insolence and dexterous subservience. When pitted against a formidable antagonist, he failed; and it was lamentable that it should have been before a Bonaparte that the tone of England should have faltered, and the reputation of Lord Palmerston crumbled. It was under its noisiest vindicator that the honour of Britain was, for a time, gravely compromised. But the subject is too painful to dwell upon."

Such was the opinion held by many, as they saw Lord Palmerston, in 1859, again return to power.

Let us take another portrait. In the *Russian Sketches*, written at this time, Mr. Sutherland Edwards observes—"It may be remarked that, in or out of office, Lord Palmerston is always the representative of England. The Russians, one way or another, evidently think a great deal of him. They tell the strangest anecdotes about him; and have paid him the compliment of bestowing his name on a fashionable great-coat. Mr. Urquhart, who proves regularly every week, in a paper by no means generally known, that Lord Palmerston has been, for years past, nothing but an *employé* of the Russian government, would be astonished to find how little that minister's services are appreciated in Russia itself, where the noble lord is perpetually abused by all classes of the community, as the special enemy of Russia, and as an intriguer, whose machinations may, at any moment, involve Europe in a fresh war. This is not merely the pretended belief of the military; it is the firm conviction of the mercantile classes, who, in Russia, as in every other country, are in favour of peace at any price." At the time of the Crimean war, a caricature appeared in St. Petersburg, representing Lord Palmerston pointing to the map of Russia, and bullying the sultan: Louis Napoleon is standing behind, and flourishing a sword evidently much too big for him; the sultan seems at a loss what to do; while a Russian soldier, keeping quite aloof, wears a portentous frown, as if to indicate that he must interfere. The verses accompanying Mr. Edwards translates as follows:—

"'Tis Palmerston the warlike!
With diplomatic skill
He conquers Russia on the map,
According to his will.
Fired by the martial prowess
Of the ever-daring lord,
'*Allons, Courage!*' cries the Frenchman,
Waving high his uncle's sword."

In Russia, as elsewhere, Lord Palmerston was considered the evil genius of Europe. At dinners at Damascus, Mr. Disraeli makes an Eastern emir pettishly exclaim—"I cannot endure this eternal chatter about Palmerston. Are there no other statesmen in the world besides Palmerston?" Even on the other side of the Atlantic, his influence was felt. He was at the bottom of all the American intrigues; and if things went wrong in the great republic of the west, it was Palmerston's fault. We read, in an American paper, that the mad act of Brown and his deluded followers at Harper's Ferry, was all owing to Lord Palmerston. We shall see that, with his lordship a second time Premier, abroad he is equally susceptible of affront; but at home he has learnt a wiser policy. He ceases to Hector the House of Commons. They trust him: he treats them with respect. But his chief successes are due to the fact, that Mr. Gladstone is Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1859, Mr. Gladstone attained that elevated rank in statesmanship which, at the time at which we write, has made him the most popular and powerful of living men.

Mr. Gladstone's peculiarity is, that he works better in office than out of it. In 1859, people were still afraid of him, as metaphysical and crotchety. The criticism of that day implies that he lacked directness. "His understanding," says one, "is rapid in apprehension, powerful in retention, and versatile in capacity. There is scarcely one of the sciences in which he could not with facility become a proficient. Vigorous and plastic, and with all his faculties under the ready command of its owner, his intellect would be enviable but for defects which will always cause doubts as to the soundness of his conclusions. He is too precipitate in theorising; too subtle and overstrained in his inductions; and he places too much credence in the philosophic potentiality of the logic of the schools. These are blemishes which seriously detract from the moral weight of his assem-

blage of brilliant faculties, as an administrator, an orator, and a writer. * * * Apparently taking pleasure in puzzling others, Mr. Gladstone often bewildered himself. A jury of M.P.'s, selected impartially, would find it impossible to return a verdict as to his creed. He has been a Tory upon the turn, a Liberal of a loose sort, and a Christian in a state of chrysalis. What his next development might be would defy the computation of the most scientific observer. As yet he has never been a Whig; and his ingenious intellect would find it difficult to weave a creed for the families. To drag parliament into a labyrinth, of which he alone should possess the logical clue, that he might enjoy the confused crowd asking for deliverance from his aid, would seem to be his mission. He asks the House to weigh a series of scruples with him, but gives it nothing to weigh them with; and he enjoys the sight of honourable members tantalised, while he refreshes himself conscientiously."

Mr. Gladstone, in 1859, is accepted as "a brilliant representative of that class of the community who derive their wealth from commerce, and their prejudices from the universities. His social and political vitality are already much affected by his Liverpool origin, and his Oxford training. We see the marks of his non-aristocratic origin in his freedom from traditional party spirit. His mind, unlike that of Lord Macaulay, has no partly natural, partly acquired deference of a sentimental kind to the great families of England. To his intellect, the territorial constitution, panegyrised by Mr. Disraeli, must appear as absurd as his own *Oxford Logic* and *State Conscience* to the author of *Vivian Grey*. We rather miss the historical elements in his parliamentary speeches. Of national antecedents he seems to take comparatively little notice; and he tries to solve difficult social subjects with the elaborate apparatus of a logic less perspicuous than, and almost as abstract as, the arguments of the late Sir W. Grant. His speeches have none of that racy English idiom, that homeliness without coarseness, that happy mixture of pithy sense and popular frank manner, which are almost classical in parliament. There is in them too much of the academical arts of persuasion—too great a parade of logic, inducing the suspicion of undetected sophistry. Yet the power displayed when upon his legs, and at a pressing emergency, by Mr. Gladstone is admirable. The ease and supple adroitness which he manifests are dazzling in themselves, and, as gladiatorial feats, evoke the admiration of the senate. Proficient in the mechanical parts of an orator, with perfect command of language, no *extempore* speaker in parliament excels Mr. Gladstone in the finished style and logical arrangements, even of his unprepared speeches."

Mr. D. Maddyn—for it is to him we refer—continues—"One of Mr. Gladstone's finest displays of talent was in the debate in which Lord Derby's cabinet, in 1852, fell from office. On that occasion, the concluding night of the discussion was occupied nearly altogether by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone; and those who were present will not forget the displays of eloquence made, worthy of the proudest days of parliament. Mr. Disraeli confessedly made an extraordinary *tour de force*, under very trying circumstances, calculated to depress and dishearten an orator. Jaded with excessive fatigue from being the main man of business in his party; with an unexpected coalition of hostile parties in his front; personally assailed by a host of adversaries, and representing a sectional and then defeated cause, the member for Bucks stood up to the last encounter with desperate energy, and fought for his flag with those dauntless qualities which always obtain admiration from a large audience of Englishmen. Scalping his assailants right and left; bearding, with unfaltering nerve, his coalesced and triumphing opponents, he denounced their projects, and criticised some of the antecedents of some of his political censors with galling severity. Exulting in his command of language, he met bitter taunts by thundering invectives. In a vehement and fiery style of rhetoric rarely heard now-a-days, he poured forth a flood of incriminating rhetoric; and, with buoyant self-reliance, appealed to the prejudices of his partisans, and lashed their passions. The circumstances of the crisis, and the speaker's

eloquence, made this one of the most effective oratorical displays heard within the walls of parliament in modern times. It was the stag at bay, and fighting under the smart of his ministerial death-wounds. To reply to such a speech required talents of a rare order. It was two hours past midnight, and the House was eager to divide. If the orator who had just sat down had spoken under circumstances calculated to dishearten, the orator who had arisen had the difficulties to contend with of an audience at once excited and jaded, and the advanced period of the debate. Disregarding the signs of impatience in his hearers, Mr. Gladstone rapidly and artfully wound himself into the ear of the Commons. Roused, himself, by the great effort of his adversary, he strained his powers to the uttermost, and became grand with natural passion. For two hours he enchained the attention of that audience; and, with masterly art, he vindicated the policy of free trade, and inveighed against the protectionists. Nor was there any other debater than Mr. Gladstone who possessed the union of financial knowledge, readiness of logic, and rare parliamentary eloquence requisite for replying to Mr. Disraeli on that eventful night. This was the greatest success, as a speaker, ever attained by him, and was in itself enough to stamp his name in the annals of parliament."

In the upper House, as Lord Chancellor, the Premier has the assistance of Lord Campbell, who received the rudiments of his education at the unpretending grammar-school of his native town, of which his father was the clergyman; whence he removed, at a comparatively early age, to enter as a student at the university of St. Andrew's, where the Rev. George Hill, afterwards principal of St. Mary's College, was his tutor. After taking his degree of Master of Arts at his university, he, fortunately for himself, decided to repair to London to try his fortune at the English bar. In the year he attained his majority he came to the great metropolis, and entered his name among the students of Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the bar in Michaelmas Term, 1806. It will not be out of place to remark, that while a student of Lincoln's Inn, he, with an honourable desire of independence, acted as one of the parliamentary reporters on the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper. In 1817, he was made king's counsel; in 1830, he entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Stafford. He was made Solicitor-general in 1832, by Earl Grey; and in 1834 he became Attorney-general. In 1841, he was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland by Viscount Melbourne. It was only a short time before he proceeded to Dublin, that he made his great forensic speech for the defendant in the celebrated case of "*Norton v. Lord Melbourne*." On the return of the Whig party to office in June, 1846, after the resignation of the late Sir Robert Peel, Lord Campbell joined the cabinet, and was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the succeeding month. In 1850, his lordship was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, which became vacant on the death of Lord Denman. He held that high legal and judicial post until Lord Palmerston's accession to the head of the government in 1859, when he selected Lord Campbell to fill the distinguished office of Lord Chancellor—an appointment which gave general satisfaction. His lordship was something more even than a great lawyer. As a literary man, he had acquired some reputation. His *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*, and his *Lives of the Chief Justices of England*, are well and widely known.

His lordship married, September 8th, 1821, Miss Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir James Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger); by whom (who was created Baroness Stratheden in 1836) he left issue three sons and four daughters—namely, William Frederick, Lord Stratheden; the Hon. Hallyburton and the Hon. Dudley Campbell; the Hon. Louisa, married to the Rev. W. S. White; the Hon. Mary, the Hon. Cecilia, and the Hon. Edina.

The Lord Chancellor ranks, after the princes of the blood-royal, as the first lay subject. Anciently the office was conferred upon some dignified clergyman. He is the reputed keeper of the sovereign's conscience. Amongst the great prerogatives of his office, he has the power to judge according to equity, con-



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science, and reason, when he finds the law of the land so defective that the subject would be injured thereby. If a person be illegally imprisoned during the vacation, he has power to grant a *habeas corpus*, and do him justice according to law; the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas not being competent to grant such writ but in term time. His patronage is great, as he has the power to collate to all ecclesiastical livings in the gift of the crown.

In the House of Commons, the Attorney-general is Sir. R. Bethell—next to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Palmerston's most valuable ally.

Lord Westbury, the late distinguished chancery advocate, and first law officer of the crown in the administrations of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston, is a native of the town of Bradford, in Wiltshire, where he was born on the 30th of June, 1800.

He is descended from an ancient Welsh family of the name of "Ap Ithel." His father, Dr. Bethell, was a physician, residing in Bristol, and afterwards in London. This gentleman enjoyed the reputation of being exceedingly skilful in his profession: he was a man of education and considerable mental powers, who had little or nothing to depend upon but his medical practice. He devoted himself earnestly to the education of his son Richard, the subject of the present sketch, who invariably attributes whatever success he has had in life to his father's attention to his education, and to the care and skill with which that gentleman formed and disciplined his mind from his earliest years.

The subject of our sketch was brought up in Bristol, where his early education was conducted at a grammar-school. The school was given up just before he attained the age of thirteen, when he returned home, and remained for a short time, still pursuing his studies under the care of his father. As soon as he was fourteen years of age, his father determined to send him to the University of Oxford, where he at once proceeded, and presented himself for admission into Wadham College. This was in the month of October, 1814. After some demur by the authorities on account of his extreme youth, the boy was permitted to matriculate, and began to reside as a commoner. A scholarship at Wadham College was the subject of a competitive examination in June, 1815; and it is a noteworthy fact, that although there were many candidates, and consequently a severe contest, young Bethell, in spite of his extreme youth, was fortunate enough to obtain it, and to be elected scholar on the day he was fifteen. To this scholarship the college added an exhibition for proficiency in Greek; and these emoluments enabled the young student to take his degree of Bachelor of Arts with comparatively little assistance from his father. He was examined for his degree in April, 1818, before he had reached the eighteenth year of his age, when he obtained a first class in classics, and a second class in mathematics. Mr. Bethell continued to reside in the university, wholly maintaining himself by private pupils, until he obtained a fellowship in the year 1822. He then came to London, having some time previously entered as a student at the Middle Temple, and began a diligent course of study for the profession of which he is now so distinguished an ornament. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, in November, 1823; immediately after which he began to practise in the courts of equity. His success was unusually rapid. One circumstance which brought his name into particular notice may be mentioned, to show that no one can tell the benefit that may result in future life from some distinction gained in the early part of it. When Richard Bethell was examined for his degree at Oxford, in 1818, Dr. Gilbert, now Bishop of Chichester, was one of the public examiners, and subsequently became the principal of Brazenose College, in that city. Shortly after Mr. Bethell was called to the bar, a suit in chancery was commenced by the late Lord Suffield against the college, which involved matters of great importance, not only to that establishment, but to all the colleges in Oxford founded before the accession of William III. Dr. Gilbert appointed Mr. Bethell, though a young and inexperienced practitioner at the bar, counsel for the college; and gave, as a reason for it,

the favourable impression made upon him by Mr. Bethell's public examination. An adverse decision would have seriously affected the interests of the college, in consequence of which several very eminent counsel advised a compromise of the suit. But Mr. Bethell strongly recommended the opposite policy; he encouraged the representatives of the college to resist the action, which was accordingly brought into court, and was finally decided in their favour. It is understood that the learned counsel's arguments chiefly influenced the judge (the late Sir John Leech) in arriving at this determination. This success at once trebled Mr. Bethell's practice, which increased year by year, until, in the beginning of 1840, Lord Cottingham promoted him to the dignity of Q.C.

On the elevation of Mr. Knight Bruce and Mr. Wigram to the bench, and the death of Mr. Jacob, Mr. Richard Bethell became the leader of the court of the Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, and at one time was supposed to have had great power of influencing his mind. A ridiculous pun used to be current in court in reference to this supposition. "Why is Shadwell like King Jeroboam?" Answer: "Because he has set up an idol in Bethel."

Mr. Bethell appears to have been reluctant to enter the House of Commons; but having given a promise to Mr. (now Sir William) Hayter to do so, he became a candidate for Aylesbury in April, 1851, when a vacancy in the representation of that borough was occasioned by Mr. F. Calvert being unseated. Mr. Bethell was opposed by Mr. Ferrand, but was returned over that gentleman by a considerable majority. At the general election of 1852, he had a severe contest to regain the seat lost by the dissolution of parliament, but was finally returned in conjunction with the celebrated author and traveller, Mr. Austen Henry Layard; the numbers, at the close of the poll, being as follows:—Mr. Layard, 558; Mr. Bethell, 525; Dr. Bayford, 447; and Captain J. T. West, 435. The learned gentleman was re-elected as one of the representatives of Aylesbury on several subsequent occasions, until the month of May, 1859, when circumstances occurred which led him to retire from the borough. At the general election in that year, the Conservative party proposed to Sir Richard Bethell that the sitting members should be returned without a contest, to which he agreed. When the time of election arrived, however, another candidate was brought forward by the Liberal party, in the person of Mr. Vernon Wentworth, son-in-law of the Marquis of Clanricarde. Sir Richard declined to go to the poll, and, accordingly, withdrew from the borough which he had represented with distinguished ability upwards of eight years. The honourable gentleman took his seat in the new parliament, nevertheless. Having received an invitation to canvass the electors of Wolverhampton, he went there, and was elected without opposition, in succession to Mr. Thornely, who retired on account of ill-health, after serving his constituents faithfully for many years.

The Vice-Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster was conferred upon Sir Richard Bethell in 1852. In the month of December in the same year, when the Earl of Aberdeen formed his memorable coalition ministry, the honourable and learned gentleman received the appointment of Solicitor-general; Sir Alexander Cockburn, at the same time, taking office as Attorney-general. Shortly after the changes consequent upon Lord Aberdeen's accession to the Premiership, the new Solicitor-general received the honour of knighthood. While engaged in the discharge of the duties of this important post, Sir Richard Bethell greatly assisted in carrying the Succession Duty Bill; also the Oxford University Reform Bill; the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and several other measures of importance. On the promotion of Sir Alexander Cockburn, in November, 1856, Sir Richard was appointed Attorney-general, in which capacity he carried, after a formidable struggle, measures for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Testamentary Courts, the establishment of the Divorce Court, &c. He also brought before parliament the Fraudulent Trustee Act, and the Charitable Trusts Act, in addition to certain measures relating to improvements in equity and common law courts.

When the new Court of Probate and Divorce was about to be formed, it

is understood that Lord Palmerston offered the judgeship to Sir Richard Bethell, as an acknowledgment of his distinguished services in conducting to a successful issue the important measures of law reform upon which the court was established. Patronage to the extent of £40,000 is attached to the office: but Sir Richard declined the offer, considering that the circumstance of his having had the carriage of the bills in the lower House, might lay him open to the imputation that his exertions in connection with them had not been of that disinterested character which parliament and the public had a right to expect at his hands.

The learned gentleman resigned the Attorney-generalship in February, 1858, on the failure of Lord Palmerston's famous Conspiracy Bill; but returned to office in June, 1859, although generally named for the Lord High Chancellorship.

In the House of Commons Lord Westbury was an eloquent speaker and a ready debater. Unlike many honourable members, and unlike many of his brethren at the bar, he introduces the largest amount of matter in the fewest possible words; while he rarely, if ever, repeats an idea. As an illustration of his powers of oratory, it may be mentioned that short-hand writers, in reporting many speakers, are able to lay down their pens from time to time during the delivery of speeches without losing anything of importance. Repetitions and unnecessary phrases are so frequent, and so readily detected by professional stenographers, that they can desist from their labours minutes and minutes together, and yet afterwards present an unquestionably full and accurate report. With Lord Westbury, however, the case is widely different. His ideas are so aptly expressed, and his arguments so concise, that a momentary inattention would indubitably result in the omission of some sentence necessary to the whole, and consequently fatal to the report. The measures adopted by the Inns of Court for the education of the students, are due to the exertions of Lord Westbury. He was, from the commencement, chairman of the Council of Legal Education.

Amongst the important law cases conducted by Sir Richard Bethell, may be mentioned the Egerton will, the Montrose peerage, and the Shrewsbury peerage cases. In the former, property was involved to the enormous extent of £2,000,000 sterling. In the latter, he appeared, by virtue of being Attorney-general, as assessor on behalf of the crown; and afterwards, when out of office, during Lord Derby's administration, as counsel for the infant son of the Duke of Norfolk.

At the Board of Trade, there is an infusion of Radical blood in the person of Mr. Milner Gibson. This popular politician was born at Trinidad, in 1807, and was the only son of the late Major Gibson, of the 87th regiment. Young Gibson was a wrangler at Cambridge, and first entered parliament as Conservative member for Ipswich; but, two years later, having changed his opinions, he resigned his seat, and once more appealed to his constituents. He was defeated, and remained for some time out of parliament, having, in the interim, contested the borough of Cambridge without success. During this interval in his parliamentary career, he threw himself, heart and soul, into the great movement which had for its object the abolition of the duty on corn, and became one of the most successful orators of the League. In 1841, he was invited to stand for Manchester; and, after a smart contest with Sir George Murray, was returned for that important constituency. In 1846, at the conclusion of the anti-corn-law agitation, when Lord John Russell had taken office, and declared that his general policy was to carry out, to their natural consequences, the principles of free trade embodied in Sir Robert Peel's recent legislation, the minister sought to strengthen his cabinet by incorporating with it some of the leading members of the League; and the great skill, business habits, and persevering character of Mr. Gibson, marked him for selection. Accordingly, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a Privy Councillor; and held that office until it was thought that his connection with the government might embarrass him in his relations with his constituents, who were more desirous of progress than Lord John Russell was at that time. In 1848, Mr. Gibson resigned his position, and took his seat on the benches famed as those

of the Manchester party. Indeed, he so thoroughly identified himself with the peace advocates, that in 1857, on a general election, he lost his seat for Manchester. However, he managed to get back into the House as member for Ashton-under-Lyne. As M.P. for Manchester, he moved the vote on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which led to Lord Palmerston having to resign his Premiership. As an able tactician and pleasing speaker, Mr. Gibson has few equals in the House. This was illustrated by his conduct as leader of the agitation for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. At the termination of the anti-corn-law agitation, Mr. Gibson became the parliamentary advocate of free trade in knowledge. Session after session he called the attention of the House to the subject. He prevailed at length upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repeal the duty on advertisements. In 1855, he succeeded in abolishing the penny stamp on newspapers; and even when we had still war budgets, Mr. Gibson tried hard for the repeal of the tax on paper. In this agitation he was indefatigable. The society was nothing without him. It was Mr. Milner Gibson, the member for Manchester, who conferred on it respectability and power; who presided at the annual meetings in the metropolis; who put the facts of the case in a telling way before the House of Commons; and, by his tact and *bonhomie*, secured parliamentary votes, which compelled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take action in the matter.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell is Irish Secretary. He is a Liberal Conservative, and was first returned to parliament in 1842, for Clitheroe. He next had the honour of representing Liverpool; losing which, and unsuccessfully contesting Ayrshire, he became M.P. for the city of Oxford, on the appointment of Sir W. Page Wood to the Vice-Chancellorship, in the beginning of January, 1853. At college Mr. Cardwell attained high honours; and he was well trained and qualified for success at the bar. In his political character as a free-trader, he is one of its most zealous advocates; and distinguished for the liberality of his opinions in all matters which concern the commercial interests of the country. He is also remarkable for the accuracy and extent of his knowledge of such subjects. He has served the country in various offices. His first appointment dates from 1845, when he was Secretary to the Treasury. Although not a professed orator, Mr. Cardwell's concisely arranged remarks invariably command the most profound attention. In his speeches he delivers himself in a free and unpretending manner—in an even conversational tone—free from any violent gusts of passion, and utterly free of all oratorical tricks, or attempts at effect. He is now at the age of maturity—affable and courteous, both in the House and in private life; conciliatory in matters where his especial duties are concerned, and, in some respects, where asperity of temperament is almost difficult to be avoided. Let the discussion be what it may, or the warmth of debate ever so great, it is impossible to disturb Mr. Cardwell's habitual calmness and self-possession. A contemporary observes—"Mr. Cardwell is, perhaps, one of the most polite men that, perhaps, ever held an official appointment; and I should confidently believe the most scrupulous in the discharge of its duties. As far as I have personally witnessed his conduct through a lengthened period, as a public man, it has ever been marked with moral rectitude, and the earnest desire to aid the administration under which he has fulfilled various offices to the best of his ability, blended with discretion and judgment agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience." To such an one, the office of Irish Secretary, for reasons to which we need not more particularly allude, is exceedingly appropriate.

His chief, the Irish viceroy, is that genuine and well-meaning Whig, with a pleasant face, and a warm heart—the late Earl of Carlisle, better known to Exeter Hall and the British public as Lord Morpeth. The noble lord was compelled to resign the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in consequence of ill-health. Since his return to England he had been living in retirement at Castle Howard. The disease, however, under which he was suffering made steady progress; and the noble lord died in 1864. He was born in April, 1802. As Viscount Morpeth he pursued his



EARL OF CARLISLE.

O. M. 1884

studies with great success at Oxford, and entered public life as member for the borough of Morpeth. In 1841, after being elected for Yorkshire, he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. On the dissolution of parliament, which preceded the retirement of Lord Melbourne's administration in 1841, he stood again for the West Riding, and was defeated. Afterwards he visited the United States, where he received unusual honours. He was subsequently again elected for the West Riding, and was appointed Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and, later, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1848, he succeeded to the earldom. In 1855, when Lord Palmerston's government came into power, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and held the office until the advent of the Derby administration. When Lord Palmerston returned to office, the earl was again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and remained in that office until a few weeks of his death. He was the author of *A Diary in Greek and Turkish Waters*; and one of his lectures on the life and writings of Pope, was a most able criticism of the writings of that poet. Lord Carlisle died unmarried; and was succeeded in the peerage by his brother, the Hon. and Rev. W. G. Howard, the eighth earl.

Another noticeable man in the new ministry is the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P. for Kidderminster. In our time few have achieved greater parliamentary successes. He was returned to the House of Commons in July, 1852; and upon the third occasion of his addressing the House, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli's budget, he was complimented by the most distinguished men on both sides. In the following month he was appointed one of the secretaries of the Board of Control. Mr. Lowe is the son of the late Rev. Robert Lowe, rector of Bingham, Notts., where he was born in 1811. He was educated at Winchester, and University College, Oxford; and at the Union Debating Society he was one of the most talented and vehement orators on the Liberal side. In 1833, he took his degree. In 1835, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen; in 1842, after he had obtained a high reputation at Oxford as a private tutor, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn; and the same year sailed for Australia, where, as a colonial barrister, he soon acquired a very lucrative practice. In 1843, Mr. Lowe was nominated one of the legislative council, and greatly distinguished himself by his labours upon the education and land questions; his committee reporting in favour of Lord Derby's, or the Irish national system, which now forms the basis of the educational plan adopted in every part of Australia, except Sydney. He took a very active part in colonial political struggles, and in exposing the administrative abuses of the colonial government; besides distinguishing himself as a successful law reformer—one of his measures being the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Mr. Lowe returned to England in 1850; and, in 1852, commenced his parliamentary career. In 1855, he was created a Privy Councillor, and appointed to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade; and, shortly afterwards, to the office of Paymaster-general. In 1859, he was Vice-President of the Board of Education.

"Mr. Lowe's speeches, while in Australia, were distinguished," says a writer in the *Illustrated London News*, "by close argument, felicitous illustration, and notations; ridicule and sarcasm being powerful weapons in his calm hands: but in denouncing fraud, tyranny, or injustice, he can be terrible in vehement invective."

Nor must we forget that important personage, the parliamentary whipper-in. That office, on the present occasion, is filled by the Hon. Mr. Brand, M.P. for Lewes. The Treasury whipper-in is a great and important person. He takes you under his protection, and your seat is safe. He frowns, and you had better accept the Chiltern Hundreds. Be on good terms with Mr. Brand, and you are elected a member of the Reform Club; your son gets a birth in the Circumlocution Office; your wife has a ticket for Lady Palmerston's assemblies. The whipper-in, when on duty, is the most active of men. You will see him in the lobby when the Speaker is at prayers; after the Speaker has done prayers; long after the gas has been lit—far into the night; oftentimes in the early hours of the approaching morn. He seems to live in the lobby; to be able to do without food and sleep; and

to have the gift of perpetual motion. He says to one, "Come," and he cometh; to another, "Go," and he goeth. He is friendly with all; and tries to make things pleasant to all. He can talk to a dozen M.P.'s at once: he holds one by the button; to another he gives a friendly dig in the ribs; he slaps peers jocosely on the shoulder, and shakes hands heartily even with Irish M.P.'s. His duty is, as Canning said, "To make a House, to keep a House, and to cheer the minister." Altogether he is a very powerful man; not an orator, but perhaps something better, as facts speak stronger than words.

The Paymaster-general is the Hon. Mr. Cowper, Lord Palmerston's step-son—a respectable Whig, who has ever been in office with his party since he was appointed private secretary to Lord Melbourne. One little fact will testify as to Mr. Cowper's manliness of character. We have referred to the Sunday disturbances in Hyde Park. On one occasion, while a stump orator was holding forth vehemently on the question of aristocratic selfishness and tyranny, and especially signalling Mr. Cowper as the object of his animadversions, Mr. Cowper himself chanced to be a listener; and, on the conclusion of the stump oration, declared himself the individual who had been thus violently abused. Standing on the late speaker's bench he boldly addressed the multitude, entirely vindicating his character, and clearly and decidedly arguing, that so far from attempting an invasion of the people's rights, his efforts to preserve the park were in the interest of the community at large. His aim was, in reality, to afford the utmost freedom of access to the humbler classes, who had but one day in the week to enjoy the privilege. It is almost needless to add, that the multitude were highly satisfied with the honourable member's declaration; and that they greeted his unexpected appearance among them, to the great dismay of the stump orator, with the very heartiest cheers and acclamations. It speaks well for Lord Palmerston, that Mr. Cowper, with all his merits, is in a, comparatively speaking, subordinate position. Against his lordship little charge of nepotism could be laid. His maxim was that of Fourier—"To every man according to his capacity; to every capacity according to its work."

His appointment of Mr. Gibson showed Lord Palmerston's Christian-like forgiveness of injuries. It was also a holding out of the olive-branch to the extreme Radicals, which was followed by the adhesion of another advanced Liberal. Northampton, a very dissenting and Radical borough, returned Mr. Charles Gilpin as its representative to parliament; and Lord Palmerston made him Secretary to the Poor-Law Board. There was little of the blue blood of aristocracy in Mr. Gilpin's veins. Originally, he was a commercial traveller, hailing from Manchester. He then became the Quaker bookseller in Bishopsgate Street, London; and, as a relative of Joseph Sturge, and a Quaker, had much to do with peace societies, temperance societies, societies for the abolition of death punishments, and so forth. He had worked his way, also, into the Common Council of the City of London; and had been known there as the champion of advanced political reforms. In the House of Commons his place had been with Cobden and Bright; and it was thought rather clever, on Lord Palmerston's part, to detach Mr. Gilpin from his natural leaders, and to place him on the Treasury benches. The Premier gained more than Mr. Gilpin by this step: the latter found his tongue tied, and himself reduced to insignificance, politically speaking; the former acquired the credit of rising above party or aristocratic considerations, desirous to be on good terms with the Manchester school, and to confer office on men qualified, by business tact and talent, for the successful discharge of the duties attaching to it.

As might be expected from Lord Palmerston's antecedents, the new ministry acted the play of *Hamlet*, omitting Hamlet. The late cabinet had gone out on a Reform Bill; the new cabinet took care that, at any rate, they would avoid such a catastrophe. The affair is too disgraceful to dwell on. It is little that we feel inclined to say on the unwelcome theme.

In the royal speech of June, 1859, as soon as the new parliament met, the

queen was made to say—"I should, with pleasure, give my sanction to any well-considered measure for the amendment of the laws which regulate the representation of my people in parliament; and should you be of opinion that the necessity of giving your immediate attention to measures of urgency relating to the defence and financial condition of the country will not leave you sufficient time for legislating with due deliberation, during the present session, on a subject at once so difficult and extensive, I trust that, at the commencement of the next session, your earnest attention will be given to a question of which an early and satisfactory settlement would be greatly to the public advantage."

Again, in January, 1860, her majesty states—"Measures will be laid before you for amending the laws which regulate the representation of the people in parliament, and for placing that representation on a broader and firmer basis."

While in opposition, Lord Palmerston, during the discussion of the Derby-Disraeli Reform Bill, is reported to have said—"With respect to the borough franchise, I confess, myself, that I entertained a strong opinion that the £10 franchise was one that ought to be maintained; but, on further consideration and inquiry, I am of opinion that it would be desirable to lower that amount, for the purpose of admitting to the franchise the better, the more instructed, and the more respectable class of working-men. * * * * I am convinced a reduction might be made, and I think ought to be made, in the borough franchise. * * * I do not suspect that the government have quite so great a want of a due sense of the duties which they are called upon to perform, as to abandon thus a measure which they have deliberately undertaken to propose to parliament on the important subject of reform. * * * * If this measure is not now carried, and the question is hung up for public discussion for the next twelve months, I am sure it is scarcely necessary to remind the House that great public inconvenience is likely to be the result."

In his election address, in June the same year, he declares—"We shall also have to consider the important laws which regulate the representation of the people in parliament; and I trust that we may be able so to deal with that subject as to strengthen the institutions of the country by placing them on a broader and firmer foundation."

When the new parliament had met, and he was again Premier, Lord Palmerston excused the delay in bringing in a new Reform Bill as follows:—"It would be trifling with so great and important a subject as that of parliamentary reform, if we were to attempt to introduce into this House, during the present session, a bill upon that subject. That it will be our endeavour and determination to avail ourselves of the earliest moment of the next session of parliament to prepare and produce such a bill, I will give the assurance of myself and my colleagues."

And, in 1860, when the House seemed inclined to trifle with the measure, he thus expressed himself—"I say it is not a straightforward or a manly course to endeavour, by delay, to oppose the passing of a measure to the principles of which gentlemen on the other side of the House are as much pledged as those who sit on this. * * * * Is the House prepared to affirm that there shall be no reform in the representation of the people? I ask honourable gentlemen opposite, whether, after all that passed when their leaders were in office, they will venture to affirm that there shall be no reform in the representation of the people? It is impossible!"

His colleagues were of the same opinion. Sir George Grey said—"I believe that there are very few honourable members who do not think it is absolutely necessary that this question should be disposed of; not by attempting to set it aside, or shelve it; not by endeavouring to shut the doors against those of the working classes who are now excluded from the franchise, but by the admission of a portion, at least, of them to the exercise of the suffrage upon the principles embodied in the bill now before the House."

In July, 1859, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, made his financial statement. The total revenue of the year, which had been estimated at £63,900,000, had produced £65,477,000; the total annual expenditure had been £64,663,000; the surplus being upwards of £800,000. The revenue for the current year he estimated at £64,340,000; and the expenditure at £69,207,000. He proposed to meet the deficiency by several measures, the principal of which was the addition of fourpence in the pound to the income-tax, payable on incomes of £150 a year, and upwards.

The Divorce Act, enabling husbands and wives to gain a divorce when the matrimonial tie was unbearable (which had been found to work well), was further amended. In July, Lord Brougham called the attention of the House to its working, which had been satisfactory; but he argued that the amount of business in court showed the necessity of an increased judicial force. Undoubtedly, much of the success of the new court was due to the appointment of Sir Cresswell Cresswell as its first judge. Sir Cresswell was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1819. Having won for himself the rank of king's counsel in 1834, and led the northern circuit with an ability which acquired for him high reputation, he was elected as M.P. for Liverpool in 1837. Mr. Cresswell continued to represent that great commercial community till 1842, when, by the government of Sir Robert Peel, he was appointed one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and knighted on his elevation to the bench. Sir Cresswell gave such signal proofs of his accuracy, his acuteness, and his quick wit, that his appointment, in 1858, to be judge in the newly-created Divorce Court, was, on all sides, considered most appropriate; and, till his death, which took place a few years after, by an accident when riding, every one felt that Sir Cresswell discharged the duties of his delicate and difficult position with unparalleled ability and tact.

Parliament was prorogued by commission, August 13th, the royal speech being read by the Lord Chancellor.

Amongst the miscellaneous occurrences of the year, we may note that, on February 26th, the Armstrong gun, a weapon of vast range and great power, was introduced into the artillery service of Great Britain, after numerous testing experiments at Woolwich.—A curate, Mr. Poole, who had introduced the confessional at Knightsbridge, had his license revoked.—At Malta, the custom hitherto observed, of sentries carrying arms, and presenting arms at the passage of the Host in procession, was discontinued, in consequence of instructions from the home government.—At Galway, there were serious riots on account of Father Gavazzi visiting that town to lecture against popery.—Australia was also favoured with two new bishoprics—that of Brisbane and Goulbourn. Towards each of these new bishoprics the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts contributed £1,000.—In small matters, we note that, on the 10th of April, about 200 ministers of the gospel, in London and its vicinity, preached sermons on the early closing of shops, with the view of allowing assistants additional time for mental improvement; that a great meeting was held at Willis's rooms, in support of the drinking fountain movement, the Earl of Carlisle in the chair; and that, on the 21st of April, the first public drinking fountain, erected under the superintendence of the association, at the expense of Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., was opened at the corner of St. Sepulchre's churchyard, in the presence of a large number of spectators, by Mrs. Wilson, daughter of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vauxhall Gardens was also closed at this time; not so much, however, an indication of advanced morality as of the increased value of its site as building-ground.

In the scientific world, the wonder of the time is the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, which, on the 7th of September, left her moorings at Deptford, for Portland roads. On the voyage, which was otherwise satisfactory, an explosion took place off Hastings, owing to some imperfection or neglect in connection with the casing of

one of her boilers, when ten firemen were killed, and several persons seriously injured. Ultimately the ship makes successful voyages to America. One of them is thus described by a writer in the *New York Herald*:—

“Seven hundred feet of flush deck, never wet with spray in any ordinary gale; 1,200 people sprinkled about the monster, making no more show than the ordinary complement of a common steamer for society. The four 18-pounders peal out their parting salute to the crowded docks at Liverpool, and notify us that we are under weigh—a fact that is hardly indicated to a close observer by any jar of the engines, or any motion of the ship, even when she is going at speed in smooth water. Below decks the ship looks most unostentatiously plain, but substantial to the highest point; and with the hammering she had in the terrific gale when she lost her rudder, and afterwards, when she struck a new-found rock in mid-channel off Montauk, not the slightest sign of strain can be found upon her. Her arrangements for passengers are the first step in that reverse of old quarter-deck rules which steam must sooner or later bring, in order to avoid coal-smoke and other nuisances. Her forecastle for the crew, to speak Hibernice, comes next the taffrail, then the quarters of the steerage passengers on the after part of the two decks, with air ports, which can be kept open all the time—price of passage being about what a labouring man can earn during the thirty-five days that he will save as compared with the crowded ’twixt decks of a sailing ship. Forward of this comes the intermediate steerage, where, at a low rate, a few passengers get very fair quarters in rough state-rooms, which most people would prefer, for eleven days, to the cabin of a sailing ship for forty. These arrangements for the crew and steerage passengers take up less than a quarter of the ship’s length. Next comes the second cabin, the occupants of which share the remaining three-quarters of the deck with the captain, officers, and first-class passengers. Below decks they are only separated by an iron bulkhead and a curtain door from the first cabin, and yet, practically, all the advantages of the first class, good air, state-rooms, good, substantial food, and a fair half of the delightful music which the band discourses at meals in the first cabin. We now come to the more aristocratic part of the ship, which is generally plain as a pikestaff, and owes its attractions more to its ample light and perfect ventilation, than to any attempt at elegance or ornament, excepting the grand saloon and ladies’ cabin, which shine with gilt and mirrors. Those who have been smothered for a fortnight in the little air-tight state-rooms of the little 3,000-ton steamers, flavoured with sea-sick reminiscences, can but appreciate the luxury of an open port, fifteen inches in diameter, in each state-room. Here you can get quarters in rooms, varying from twenty feet square, at corresponding prices, but all having the one thing needful for health—namely, fresh air *ad libitum*, and some suites of rooms with baths and water-closets attached. We have now surveyed the comforts of the ship. The luxuries consist of a good table, attention, service, and a most capital band of fifteen pieces, which sounds the *réville* in the morning, and the retreat at night; announces the meals by bugle-calls, accompanies the dinner below, and then amuses the world above for an hour or two about sunset, giving the steerage and other passengers a chance, which they often wait for, to dance upon the broad and even deck. But, asks a timid friend, how about safety with all this comfort, luxury, and grandeur? and how about sea-sickness? Let us weigh our good ship’s qualities in the light of prudence and experience. Once at sea, all admit that she is the safest ship that floats. She is built with wonderful strength and skill, and has stood more tests than any ship now extant. Any ordinary collision with other vessels could only result in her favour. She is nearly fireproof, and her fire-engines have lain nightly along her decks, reducing her danger to almost nothing. A gale of wind at sea is merely sport to her. In case of breaking down one set of engines, she has, besides her sails, either her screw or her paddles left. But how can she be safe in approaching the shore with her unwieldy bulk and great draught of water? Let those who saw her go into Queenstown inner harbour before a gale of wind, and turn in her

own length amid the shipping, under the guidance of Captain Paton, as a steed obeys its rider, say whether she is docile. In truth, the advantages of handling her in narrow water by turning the screw one way and the paddle the other, makes her, under skilful hands, more manageable than ordinary sea-steamers. This brings us to her one admitted fault, counterbalanced by so many virtues—that she draws five feet more water than a steamer of 3,000 tons, and may thus pick up a new ledge of rocks or an old sand-bar when the other would go clear. True, she may again, as she did off Montauk; and what was the result? With six holes in her bottom, one of them one hundred feet long, and one forty feet long, she resumed her voyage into port, and delivered her passengers unfrightened, her cargo undamaged. She has, in fact, double bottoms, three feet apart, besides a great number of compartments, some of which could be filled by ruptures in both her bottoms without the ship sinking. It would be a long story to tell the patience and invention which enabled Captain Paton and his officers to repair her bottom without the help of any dock; but the same qualities which then got her out of difficulty gives the best guarantee for her future safety while he walks ‘the monarch of her peopled deck.’ How about sea-sickness? There is absolutely no pitch to her in any ordinary gale, an angle of six degrees being the greatest her decks ever attain fore and aft. Here is one-half the motive cause of sea-sickness taken out. She rolls with an easier motion than most ships, but still she rolls at times about as much as smaller ships. On the passage we have had racks on the table to secure the plates part of two days. Very sensitive people will still sometimes be sea-sick on board; but, with freedom from pitching and from bad smells, and with the abundance of fresh air, it is difficult to imagine any better security against nausea than she furnishes. Out of 1,200 passengers a few have been sick; but a great majority of those who are usually sea-sick are entirely free from it. Let us now leave these dry details, and revert to the scene which enlivened the good ship on the 4th of July, 1863. The sky was bright, the sea was blue and smooth, and most of her passengers were on deck. About noon certain mysterious bundles were seen rising to her masthead; and, at a signal from Captain Paton, these unrolled and displayed the glorious stars and stripes upon one mast, and St. George’s red cross on the other, while her cannon thundered forth a national salute, and the full band gave us the inspiring ‘Hail, Columbia.’ The salute ended, two standards were handed—one, the American, to a fine-looking Englishman, and the other, English, to a stalwart American; and the passengers, steerage and cabin, marched three times round the ship (nearly a mile), led by the band, playing national airs. A few speeches, good for the shortness, if for nothing else; cheers for the flag, for the queen, for the ship, and for Captain Paton, closed this harmonious festivity. At dinner the best feeling was manifested by all, and much interchange of courtesy between Americans and English occurred; but there was no formal celebration, our energies being reserved for the evening.”

Another item of shipping intelligence is the arrival of Captain M‘Clintock, in September, from the Arctic region, whither he had been looking, in the *Fox* yacht, for Sir John Franklin and his brave companions, who had sailed there to prosecute geographical inquiries. Alas! no living trace of the expedition remains: they are all dead. Such is the conclusion at which Captain M‘Clintock arrives. He brings home numerous relics, to be religiously preserved.

In November, on the 26th, there is a terrible gale, causing extensive loss of life and property over England, and on its coasts. A fine new steamer, the *Royal Charter*, homeward bound from Australia, is wrecked off the Isle of Anglesey, just as the passengers had calculated that all danger was past, and that “home, sweet home” was safely reached. Sad to say, of a crew and passengers numbering 500, more than 450 perished in that dark and dreadful storm off that rocky coast.

In foreign matters—with the exception of Italy, to which we have already alluded—there is little to interest. In July, the island of St. Juan, in the strait between Vancouver’s Island and the Washington territory, is taken possession of by

General Harvey, in the name of the United States' government—an assumption protested against by Governor Douglas, of British Columbia, on behalf of Great Britain.

At Paris, in April, there was a conference of the European powers in reference to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Couza, the new hospodar of Wallachia, had been previously elected to the hospodarship of Moldavia, thus practically uniting the two principalities under one government; and this, on certain conditions, was accepted by the sultan.

Schamyl, the heroic leader of the Circassians, is this year betrayed to the Russians. Concerning this man, so much has been written that is false, that it is really difficult exactly to ascertain what is really true. It is said he was born in 1797, in the north of the Caucasian district of Daghestan. From his earliest years he was proud and ambitious, inclined to athletic sports, and trials of skill with his compeers. A mystic as well as a soldier, Schamyl soon became a noted man. In 1824, when he first took part in his country's defence, the leader of the Lesghians, the most warlike of the tribes, was Kasi Mollah. Schamyl became one of his ardent and efficient followers, and rapidly rose in esteem, on account of his valour and devotion. For several years the mountaineers defended themselves with brilliant success; but, in 1831, the Russian general, Van Rosen, assembling a large army, marched against Koissu, in northern Daghestan; stormed the reputedly impregnable pass; drove his enemy from position after position in sanguinary battles; and finally threw Kasi Mollah and his Murids back upon Himry. The Russians surrounded the place; and the besieged fought their last battle. Kasi Mollah and his Murids were all slain. Schamyl, pierced by two balls, fell at his leader's feet. From this critical predicament he managed, nevertheless, to escape in time to be present at the first meeting of the discomfited tribes, held after the battle. In 1836, he was elected Kasi Mollah's successor. In 1837, he inflicted on the army of General Iweletsch the most serious defeat, until then, sustained by the Russians. In the same year, with a handful of men, he defended Tiliboa so successfully against 12,000 Russians, under General Hafi, that they, in spite of partial success, had to make a precipitate retreat. The result was, that a division which had heretofore existed was healed, and that Schamyl was universally recognised as leader. The Czar Nicholas now visited the Caucasus; and preparations were multiplied on either side. The Russians had this advantage—that they had completely hemmed in the enemy in his mountainous territory: nevertheless, he evaded them, and often inflicted on them considerable loss by his attacks. In 1839, Schamyl was placed in extreme danger while defending the castle redoubt of Akhoulogo, against General Grabbe. Fifteen hundred of his Murids fell, and 900 were taken prisoners: yet, when the battle was over, Schamyl was nowhere to be found. The Russians, knowing that he had been present, and believing that they were masters of all the communications of the place, could not believe that he had escaped them, until they found themselves attacked in the rear by another force led by Schamyl in person. These numerous escapes have contributed to exalt Schamyl, among the great mass of his followers, as a being enjoying the special favour of Heaven. His mode of warfare was strictly adapted to the nature of the country in which he operated; and was essentially defensive, notwithstanding the frequency of his forays. His personal appearance is thus described:—"He is fair, with grey eyes and a regular nose. He is a middle-sized man, and a sufferer from pain in the eyes. His hands, feet, and mouth are small; and his skin is whiter than that of his countrymen. His beard is grey."

The young Queen of Portugal died this year, after an illness of only five days. She had been only a few months married.

Spain, a country that never pays its debts, and is always in disorder, must needs rush into an unjustifiable war with Morocco. The government of the latter country energetically protested against the harsh and precipitous conduct of Spain in commencing hostilities. The protest, which is addressed to the representatives

of foreign powers resident at Tangier, and is signed Mahommed le Kalib (the Morocco Minister for Foreign Affairs), thus concludes—"Our desire is to keep up the most friendly relation with all nations; but we renew our protest against the unjust conduct of the Spanish nation, which does not know how to decide on what it demands, or how to respect its promises. We appeal to Almighty God, and to the great and powerful governments of Europe and America; we appeal to all men who in this world follow the path of justice, and who judge the rights of others without having recourse to force. We put our trust in God, praying Him to regard us with a favourable eye. We calmly await the course of events, and we shall act in such a way that no one shall be able to reproach us: all the evil will come from our enemies. Peace be with you."

As regards our illustrious ally, the French emperor, there was still, in England, a considerable amount of uneasiness. We were alarmed at the ease with which France suddenly despatched an immense army to Italy. The sudden peace of Villafranca brought with it fresh suspicions; and in parliament, and in the press, there certainly was displayed but little cordiality towards France.

On the 21st of August, the session of the council-general was opened. On taking his seat as president of the *Pay de Dôme*, Count de Morny especially adverted to the warlike speeches in the English parliament, the articles of a similar tendency in the English newspapers, and the volunteer movement. These things were justified, he said, in England by the tone of the French press, which was alleged to be that of the French government; and he represented the English as saying, that "the emperor retained, at the bottom of his heart, the desire to avenge Waterloo and St. Helena;" and that he had only concluded peace with the Emperor of Austria, as he had previously done with the czar, to render Francis Joseph his friend, and an enemy of England. The count denied all this. He told his hearers, that when he went as ambassador to Russia, his instructions were, "not to let any encroachment be made on the English alliance." And the subsequent acts and objects of the emperor had been equally misrepresented: but, he said, "time, and the determination of the emperor to lead France into the occupations and labours of peace," would, he doubted not, triumph over chimerical fears. "The only war to be made on England was a manufacturing and commercial war." The only conflict between the two nations was to be one of progress and civilisation; loyal, avowable, and which would be advantageous to all. That was what the emperor desired; and he called on his hearers to second the efforts of his majesty. On the same day, another of the emperor's friends, M. de la Guéronnière, president of the council-general of the *Haute Vienne*, endeavoured to lessen the disgust which was expressed in many quarters at the preliminaries of Villafranca. He described the agreement between the two emperors as a fitting sequel to the victories gained by the French armies. "It tore," he said, "one of the most mournful pages of the treaty of 1815." It changed and reformed the conditions of the balance of power in Europe, and secured for France a preponderance which Louis XIV., notwithstanding the sword of Turenne, and the genius of Colbert, could not accomplish.

The feeling of distrust in this country still existing, four Liverpool merchants—Messrs. Shaw, Irving, Mellor, and Blackwell—had the impudence, or ignorance, to address a letter to the French emperor, requesting to know "what were his intentions with respect to England." M. Mocquard, the private secretary of the emperor, replied to this missive in his majesty's name, on the 30th of November. He told the four merchants that, "on the one hand, they were affected with an imaginary disease, which seemed to have attacked their country like an epidemic; on the other, they counted on the loyalty of him from whom they expected an answer." He assured them that, "up to that moment, there had been no word of the emperor, or an act, which had permitted a doubt respecting his sentiments, and, consequently, his intentions towards England. His conduct, irrevocably the same, had not, for a moment, ceased to be that of a faithful ally. That which he

had been, he wished to continue to be. In proof of the fact, there was the approaching community of distant perils between the soldiers (alluding to the Chinese war) of the two nations."

Still, what Mr. Cobden terms the "panic" went on. The Lords had originated it: they did not avowedly espouse or defend the cause of Austria; public opinion was too strong in the opposite direction. But, to "proclaim the danger of an invasion of England, and thus rouse the hostile passions of the French emperor," wrote Mr. Cobden, in his pamphlet on the *Three Panics*, "operated, to some extent, as a diversion in favour of his antagonists; and he is said, by those who were in a position to be well-informed on the subject, to have been so far influenced by the hostile attitude manifested in high quarters in this country, that it operated, among other causes, disadvantageously to the Italian cause, in bringing the campaign to a precipitate close." On the 1st of July, the volunteer corps and the navy estimates became the subject of discussion in the upper House. It seemed as if we were actually at war with France. Lord Ellenborough called for seventy line-of-battle ships, but declared that no increase of the navy could, under present circumstances, protect us against invasion; that, for "six months in the year, an enemy may land 60,000 to 80,000 men on any beach on the south coast of England;" and, with his wonted proneness to strategy, he called for forts to protect "all the ports and all the roads in which it would be possible for an enemy to place a fleet with any degree of security, and where he might form *têtes-de-pont* that would assist his future operations;" and he particularly pointed to Portland, "that port which the late French ambassador went down to reconnoitre, and which he took the trouble of visiting at the end of last summer, in order to see the particular advantages it possessed. He trusted that whenever that respectable gentleman went to that port again, he would find it in a better position than when he saw it last."

Lord Howden, who said "he resided in France, and his social relations were chiefly in that country," declared that the entire population of that empire were eager for the invasion of England, regardless of the consequences.

"He did not believe that the idea of conquering this country had ever entered into the head of any sane Frenchman, any more than any sane Englishman had ever entertained the notion that we should allow ourselves to be conquered by France. He felt assured that no Frenchman had ever dreamt of taking possession of this island; but he felt almost equally certain that every Frenchman living dreamt, both by day and by night, of humiliating this country, and robbing her of the position which she alone maintained among the nations of Europe—that of possessing an inviolate soil. Thousands of persons in England scouted the very thought of an invasion. They asked, 'What is the use of it?—it could have no permanent result.' The people of France were aware that it could not; but then they did not adopt the same mode of reasoning on the subject. A forlorn hope might enter some miserable village, inhabited by six fishermen and a ploughboy; a bulletin might be signed on British soil, proclaiming the glorious triumph of French arms; the French eagles might stream from every steeple from Acton to Ealing, and from Ealing to Harrow. The very prospect was enough to throw every Frenchman into a transport of joy, and that, too, though he might be perfectly aware that not a single one of his countrymen would return home to tell the tale."

But the great speech of the session on this subject, and one which was a nine days' wonder at the clubs, has yet to be noticed. On the 5th of July, Lord Lyndhurst brought forward the subject of the national defences. He began his argument by repeating the statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that "France exceeded us the year before, in a small proportion, in line-of-battle ships; but that she exceeded us, in an enormous proportion, in steam frigates." He brings the two "fleets" into combat in the Channel; and argues, in case of defeat, that we have no reserve to prevent an immense military force from being landed on our shores. The "fleets" are brought also into collision in the Mediterranean

and elsewhere; but no allusion is made to the existence of any other than ships of the line and frigates. He cites Lord Palmerston's "very emphatic words, that steam has converted the Channel into a river, and thrown a bridge across it;" and he argues that "a large army may, within a few hours—in the course of a single night—be landed on any part of our shores." "I know," said he, "from information which I have received, and the accuracy of which I do not doubt, that the French are, at the present moment, building steamers for the purpose of transporting troops, each of which is constructed to carry 2,500 men, with all the necessary stores. This, therefore, is the description of force which you must prepare yourselves to meet." He called for an establishment of 100,000 troops and embodied militia, and the same number of disembodied and trained militia, "in order to be prepared for any emergency which may arise." He avowed that he felt something like a sentiment of humiliation in going through these details. "I recollect," said he, "the day when every part of the opposite coast was blockaded by an English fleet. I remember the victory of Camperdown, and that of St. Vincent, won by Sir John Jervis; I do not forget the great victory of the Nile; nor, last of all, that triumphant fight at Trafalgar, which almost annihilated the navies of France and Spain. I contrast the position which we occupied at that period with that which we now hold. I recollect the expulsion of the French from Egypt; the achievement of victory after victory in Spain; the British army established in the south of France; and, last of all, the great victory by which that war was terminated." Interspersed with these irritating reminiscences were such remarks as—"I will not consent to live in dependence on the friendship or forbearance of any country:" "are we to sit supine on our own shores, and not prepare the means necessary in case of war to resist that power?"—remarks which, as Mr. Cobden wrote, "considering our overwhelming naval superiority at the time, can be compared only to the act of brandishing a weapon in the face of a friendly neighbour."

In the House of Commons, the great panic speech of the session, as Mr. Cobden terms it, was that of Mr. Horsman, who, on the 29th of July, brought forward his motion for raising money, by loan, for completing the necessary works of national defence, projected or already in progress. The assumption was, that all other modes of defence, whether by fleets, armies, militia, or volunteers, were insufficient. He proposed to borrow a sum of money, which ultimately took the formidable proportions of from ten to twelve millions, to be expended on fortifications. "Not a moment," exclaimed the honourable gentleman, "must be lost in making the country safe against every accident; and until it was so, we must act as if the crisis were upon us. No human tongue could tell how soon or suddenly it might arrive; and that it might still be distant was our good fortune, of which we should make the most. Every public or private yard should be put into full work; every artificer and extra hand should work extra hours, as if the war were to begin next week. As gun-boats could be built more rapidly than men-of-war, gun-boats should be multiplied as fast as possible; as volunteers could be enrolled faster than the line, they should at once be raised; as rifles could not be made fast enough in England, we should renew that order in Belgium, even though they should cost sixpence a piece more than the Horse-Guards' regulation; and night and day, the process of manufacturing, constructing, arming, drilling, should go on till the country was made safe; and then we might desist from preparations, and return to our peace expenditure, with the certainty that these humiliating, lowering, and degrading panic-cries of invasion would never disturb our country or our government again."

Yet, after all, we were not so badly off. In a subsequent debate on the national defences (5th August), Lord Palmerston said—"I hold that, in the event of war, we could put into the field something little short of 200,000 fighting-men. We have the regular force of, I hope, not less than 60,000 men. Then we have the militia, the establishment of which is 120,000 men; and if that militia be well recruited and supplied—as, in the event of emergency, I am sure would

be the case—I reckon upon 100,000 there. Then we have 14,000 yeomanry; 12,000 or 14,000 pensioners; and then we have those men who have served their ten years, with whom my right honourable friend, the Secretary for War, proposes to deal to-night. We have, also, always at home a certain force of marines; and we could, if we chose, reorganise our dockyard battalions for the defence of those establishments. Putting all these forces together, I say that an enemy contemplating an attack upon us, must reckon upon not less than 200,000 men to resist him.”

Outside the walls of parliament, the panic took the more sensible form of the establishment of the rifle corps movement—a movement which has for its aim, “Defence, not defiance;” which has rendered us secure at home; and which has done much to add to the manliness of a public hitherto too much absorbed in business or sedentary pursuits. Not only were special meetings called to forward the object, but at every public gathering, whatever its origin or purpose, the topic was sure to be obtruded. Especially was it so at the Agricultural Society’s meetings, whose orators, instead of descanting on the rival breeds of cattle, or the various kinds of tillage, discussed the prospects of an invasion, and the best mode of dealing with the invaders. “How much will you charge the French for your corn when they land?” cried one of his audience, to a sturdy Somersetshire yeoman, who was on his legs addressing them; and his reply—“They shall pay for it with their blood”—elicited rounds of applause. The assumption everywhere was—founded on the declarations made in parliament—that France was surpassing us as a naval power. In the language of Mr. Cobden—who may be taken as a witness to the feeling of the time—the ambitious designs of the third Napoleon were discussed in language scarcely less denunciatory than that which had been applied to his uncle fifty years before. To doubt his hostile intentions was a proof of either want of patriotism or of sagacity: had not venerable peers proclaimed their alarm; and would they have broken through their habitual reserve without sufficient cause? And did not successive governments make enormous additions to our navy estimates: they were in a position to command exclusive information; and was it likely, unless they had positive proof of impending danger, that they would have imposed such unnecessary expense on the country? This last appeal was quite irresistible; for the good British public defer, with a faith amounting to superstition, to the authority of official men. All this tended to throw the odium of our increased taxation on the emperor, who was supposed to personify our national danger; and the ominous words were sometimes heard—“We had better fight it out.” Such was the state of fear, irritation, and resentment in which the public mind was thrown towards the close of 1859; and probably at no previous time, within the experience of the present generation, had an accident afforded the occasion, would the country have been so resigned to a war with France.

Happily, owing to the wisdom of their rulers, no such terrible catastrophe as war between France and England occurred. Happily, also, the volunteer movement took root, and prospered, and became a permanent institution. It began by several corps offering their services, in 1859, under the old act of George III. In 1863, the volunteer force was returned at 159,000—a number, perhaps, less than was at one time anticipated; but sufficiently large to provide, with the addition of the regular army, for the defence of the country, and to preserve us from the disgraceful panics with which it had been our habit periodically to fall. When Lord Palmerston’s administration came into office, there were thirteen corps established. Their services were offered gratuitously, and they received no arms or ammunition. The first step taken by Lord Herbert towards granting the volunteers assistance, was the offer to supply from 15 to 25 per cent. of the rifles and ammunition. Ultimately, the whole of the rifles used by the volunteers were supplied from the government stores. Other steps were taken, with a view to promote the efficiency of the force; but still no pecuniary aid was given. In 1862, a commission was appointed to consider the state of the volunteer organisation; and they recom-

mended a grant of money, to which parliament readily assented; and government resolved to give every man of the Light Horse Engineers and Rifle Volunteers, who should come up to the prescribed standard of efficiency, 20s. a year; and if he should go through the appointed course of ball-practice, 10s. a year in addition. To every efficient artilleryman, 20s. more is also given; and for certain other requirements, 10s. additional. In 1862, the vote taken on behalf of the force was £122,888; in 1863, £321,884—a sum the nation does not, nor need not, grudge. It is not too much for an army of 159,000. We are not an aggressive people. We have no designs against the happiness, the freedom, or the prosperity of other nations. All we ask is, that our soil may be preserved from the tread of the invader; that our commerce may be secure; that the sanctity of our hearths and homes may remain undefiled: and thus is it that the volunteer movement is the most popular movement of the day; that we all rush to its annual reviews on Brighton Downs; that in its friendly rivalries we rejoice, and find that, like Barry Cornwall's far-famed Trinity ale—

“ When rightly understood,
It promoteth brotherly neighbourhood.”

In the good old days the English were the first bowmen of Europe. At the battle of Hastings our Anglo-Saxon forefathers learnt a lesson which they took care not to forget. From that period the English archers began to rise in repute, and, in course of time, proved themselves, by their achievements in war, both the admiration and terror of their foes. The exploits of other nations were thrown into the shade. The great achievements of the English bowmen, which shed lustre upon the annals of the nation, extended over a period of more than five centuries. All the youth and manhood of the yeomanry of England were engaged in the practice of the long bow. We were at that time a nation of volunteers. Hence sprang the large bodies of efficient troops, ready for the service of their country. These men were not a rude undisciplined rabble, but were trained and disciplined to deal their arrows with terrible effect. Some few places still retain names which tell us where the bowmen used to assemble for practice—as Shooter's Hill, in Kent; Newington Butts, near London; and St. Augustine Butts, near Bristol. Many of the noble and country families of Great Britain have the symbols of archery on their escutcheons. There are also existing families who have derived their surnames from the names of the different crafts formerly engaged in the manufacture of the bow and its accompaniments. As, for instance, the names of Bowyer, Stringer, Arrowsmith, &c. If we refer to our language, there will be found many phrases and proverbial expressions drawn from, or connected with, archery; some suggesting forethought and caution—as, “Always have two strings to your bow;” it being the custom of military archers to take additional bowstrings with them into the field of battle: “Get the short hand of your adversaries;” “Draw not thy bow before the arrow be fixed;” “Kill two birds with one shaft.” In speaking of a man's evil designs recoiling upon himself, they expressed it as, “To outshoot a man in his own bow.” “He shoots wide of the mark,” represented a foolish guess. “A fool's bolt is soon shot,” was the way in which they described vague and silly conversation. It was said of braggarts, “Many talked of Robin Hood who never shot with his bow.” Our ancestors also expressed liberality of sentiments, and their opinion that merit belonged exclusively to no particular class or locality, by the following pithy expressions:—“Many a good bow besides one in Chester;” and “An archer is known by his aim, and not by his arrows.”

And the result was, we never feared invasion. Those were not the times when old ladies were frightened out of their night's sleep. Every Englishman was a free, a ready, and a fearless soldier. The foe might growl at a distance, but he never dared to touch our shores, to plunder our cities, to massacre our smiling babes, and to do outrage worse than death to our English maidens: and thus it

will continue to be, now that the bow has been superseded by the rifle, when our lads of public spirit respond to the poet's appeal—

“Form ! riflemen, form !”

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION, AND THE FRENCH TREATY OF COMMERCE.

IN the letter of the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, dated December 22nd, 1859, and which appeared in that journal of the 24th, a conversation between an Englishman and a Frenchman was reported, which we are told did not at first excite much attention. The Englishman, without entertaining them himself, was described as drawing the attention of the Frenchman to the feelings so prevalent in England, that France entertained bad intentions towards that country. As particular facts denoting those intentions, “the development given to the French navy, out of all proportion to the requirements and greatness of the country;” “the building iron-plated ships at Toulon,” and, “at Nantes, hundreds of flat-bottomed boats;” the large supplies of coal which had been imported, and the activity at the arsenals, were insisted upon by the Englishman. The Frenchman explained them all. First, ignoring “the supernumerary” and “extraordinary” credits which had every year been added to the sums voted in the budget, he pointed out, “that not a centime could be expended without the vote of the legislative body, and the previous examination of the council of state;” and that the sums voted “indicated no excessive expenditure on the part of government.” With respect to the navy, it had been directed by a royal ordinance of November 22nd, 1846, that the naval force on the peace establishment should comprise 328 ships, of which forty were to be of the line, and fifty frigates. When the great superiority of steam over sailing vessels became manifest, the emperor, in 1855, named a commission, under the presidency of Admiral Hamelin, to fix the basis of the new fleet necessary for France. The commission reported in favour of transforming the sailing ships into steamers. It was calculated that thirteen years would be required to complete the transformation; and an extraordinary credit for the navy, of 17,000,000 francs per annum, was voted for the thirteen years. At that moment they had thirteen ships of the line and thirty-five frigates to build, to complete the peace establishment fixed by Louis Philippe. As to the plated vessels, which were claimed as an invention of the emperor, they were merely an experiment; and transports were building, because the merchant navy was not sufficiently developed to enable the government to procure steam transports when needed. As to the flat-bottomed boats, they were intended, when the English ministry seemed disposed to make coals a contraband of war, to promote the internal communication. French coals were brought to Nantes, and had to be taken to Brest by canals; and the boats were intended to facilitate the transfer over the docks. As to the quantity of coals purchased and imported, they were required to supply the fleet in China, and in other parts of the globe; and the activity in the arsenals was the result of that state of transformation which the artillery as well as the ships had to undergo. The Englishman thanked his companion for the information, and said he would turn it to account. It turned out that the Englishman was Mr. Cobden, and the Frenchman the emperor himself.

It had occurred to Mr. Cobden, as it had done to Mr. Pitt before him, that a commercial treaty with France would tend to perpetuate peace and good-will between that great country and ourselves. “He had frequently,” says his biographer, “talked over this idea with other illustrious free-traders, especially with such

men as Michel Chevalier, the distinguished French political economist, and Mr. Bright: and the latter publicly expounded it, and urged its adoption, in a speech delivered shortly after the formation of the ministry in 1859. Chevalier, when he read this speech, wrote to Cobden, stating his belief that the time was now ripe for the completion of the idea which had formed so frequent a subject of their mutual converse and their dearest hopes. He also declared that the co-operation of the emperor was certain. This was a great encouragement to Cobden, and he resolved to set about the task. He communicated his plans to Mr. Bright, and the two proceeded to Hawarden Castle, the seat of Sir Stephen Glyn, a relative of Mr. Gladstone, and whom the latter gentleman was then visiting. Mr. Gladstone accorded at once his warmest approval. Cobden then waited upon the Premier, who also sanctioned the enterprise; and the former proceeded at once to Paris, to commence the execution of his difficult but glorious task." The negotiation was long and protracted. In France, a land thoroughly devoted to the doctrine of protection, there were enormous difficulties to be overcome; but the French emperor, it seems, had made up his mind on the subject; and, such being the case, every obstacle in time gave way.

The first indication of the emperor's intention was given in a letter, which, on the 5th of January, he addressed to the Minister of State. In this letter his majesty said, that "notwithstanding the uncertainty which still reigned upon certain points of foreign policy, it was easy to predict with confidence a pacific solution; and the moment had arrived when they could occupy themselves with giving a great impulse to the different branches of the national riches. * * * For a long time the truth had been proclaimed that it was necessary to multiply the means of exchange to render commerce flourishing; that, without concurrence, industry would remain stationary, and keep up those high prices which opposed the increase of consumption; and that agriculture itself, which prospered industry and developed capital, would remain in its infancy." It was therefore necessary to "develop successively the elements of public prosperity, only taking care to ascertain within what limits the state ought to follow the different interests, and what order of preference it ought to accord to each. Before developing their foreign commerce by the exchange of products, agriculture must be ameliorated, and assisted with capital to carry on its works of drainage, and industry must be freed from those internal burdens which placed it in an inferior position. * * * As 160,000,000 francs of the war loan remained unexpended, the legislative body would be asked for authority to employ that sum in public works, and also to sanction the following measures:—The suppression of duties upon wool and cottons, and their gradual reduction upon sugars and coffees; an improvement in the means of communication; a reduction of the duties upon canals, and, as a consequence, a general lowering of the cost of transport; to advance loans to agriculture and manufactures; to undertake works of public utility; to suppress prohibitions; to conclude treaties of commerce with powerful foreign nations. These measures, it was anticipated, would multiply the means of exchange. The successive reduction of duties on articles of great consumption would then be a necessity; as also the substitution of protective duties for the prohibitive system which limited their commercial relations."

The appearance of this letter caused the greatest consternation among the French manufacturers, all of whom were the supporters, not merely of high protective, but of prohibitive duties on foreign goods. At Rouen they threatened to discharge their workmen; and such was the outcry raised, that, on the 18th of January, it was announced in one of the semi-official papers, that the protective and prohibitive duties would not be abolished before July, 1861, when they would be replaced by protective duties of 30 or 35 per cent.; and that before taking any definitive resolution, the emperor would hear the opinion of the principal manufacturers. In many of the commercial towns, such as Bordeaux and Havre, the emperor's letter had a different effect. In those places, the announced abandonment

of prohibition, and the expected improvement of commerce, gave rise to great rejoicings, and banners were displayed as if a great victory had been gained.

On the 23rd of January, the commercial treaty was signed, and was considered very favourable to France. Whilst England agreed, as soon as the ratifications were exchanged, to admit *all* French produce and manufactures free of duty, except wines and brandies (the duties on which were to be reduced), France continued her prohibitive duties until October, 1861, except on coal and iron, and raw materials; and then *ad valorem* imposts, not to exceed 30 per cent., were to be substituted. Coal and iron, so much wanted in France, were to be admitted immediately at reduced duties; and England bound herself not to prohibit the export of the former article. Raw materials were to be admitted duty free, after July, 1861. The treaty was unpopular in both countries; and there was great difficulty in settling the details, and apportioning the duties, which was done by MM. Rouher and Chevalier on the part of France, and Mr. Cobden on the part of England, assisted by committees of the various manufacturing interests. The treaty was to continue in force ten years.

After the successful completion of the French treaty, Lord Palmerston, on the part of her majesty, offered to Mr. Cobden a baronetcy, and a place in the Privy Council. Cobden declined the hereditary rank and the personal honour. He was contented with having performed his duty, and earning the eulogium passed upon him in parliament by Mr. Gladstone, who, in explaining and defending the commercial treaty, said—"With regard to Mr. Cobden, speaking, as I do, when every angry passion has passed away, I cannot help expressing our obligations to him for the labour he has, at no small personal sacrifice, bestowed upon a measure which he, not the least among the apostles of free trade, believed to be one of the most memorable triumphs free trade has ever achieved. Rare is the privilege of any man, who having, fourteen years ago, rendered to his country one signal and splendid service, now again, within the same brief span of life, decorated neither by rank nor title, bearing no mark to distinguish him from the people whom he loves, has been permitted to perform a great and memorable service to his sovereign and his country."

In the House of Commons, the discussion on the treaty was very vehement. It was gallantly defended, however, by Lord Palmerston, Milner Gibson, Mr. Gladstone, and many others. In introducing it to the House in his budget speech of February 10th, Mr. Gladstone said—

"I will not affect to be unaware that many objections have been stated to this treaty. It has even been said that its terms indicate a subserviency to France, and involve a sacrifice of British interests to those of foreign nations, or of a foreign government. Sir, I am thankful to think that no ministry, be its own merits, or be the distinction of its chief what they may, can, in this country, hold office for a single session upon terms involving subserviency to any foreign power whatsoever. There is, with us, a perfect security for the honour of the country (to omit all mention of any other guarantee) in the nature and in the traditions of the two houses of parliament. But, sir, I know not what is meant by subserviency to France as regards the articles of a treaty like this. We have given to France, in the proper sense of the term, nothing by this treaty, if I except some apparent, but very trifling, fiscal sacrifices which we are to make with respect to the single article of brandy. I mean that, perhaps, it might not be necessary for our purposes to reduce the duty to quite so low a point as is fixed by the treaty; and therefore there might be a question whether, in that form, there may be a concession of some infinitesimal advantage. But with that small, and, I believe, solitary exception, we have given nothing to France, by this treaty, which we have not given with as liberal a hand to ourselves. And the changes here proposed, are changes every one of which deserves the acceptance of the House on its own merits, in conformity with all the principles that have been recognised and acted upon for many years past by the legislature.

"But further, sir, as respects the charge of subserviency to France, I know that this treaty may be said to bear a political character. The commercial relations of England and France have always borne a political character. What is the history of the system of prohibitions on the one side and on the other, which grew up between this country and France? It was simply this—that finding yourselves in political estrangement from her at the time of the revolution, you followed up and confirmed that estrangement, both on the one side and the other, by a system of prohibitory duties. And I do not deny that it was effectual for its end. I do not mean for its economical end. Economically it may, I admit, have been detrimental enough to both countries; but for its political end it was effectual. It was because it was effectual that I call upon you to legislate now for an opposite aim, by the exact reverse of that process. And if you desire to knit together in amity these two great nations, whose conflicts have so often shaken the world, undo, for your purpose, that which your forefathers did for their purpose, and pursue, with equal intelligence and consistency, an end that is more beneficial.

"I do not forget, sir, that there was a time once when close relations of amity were established between the governments of England and France. It was in the reign of the later Stuarts: it marks a dark spot in our annals; but the spot is dark because the union was a union formed in a spirit of domineering ambition on the one side, and of base and most corrupt servility on the other. But that, sir, was not a union of the nations, it was a union of the governments. This is not to be a union of the governments apart from the countries; it is, as we hope, to be a union of the nations themselves; and I confidently say again, as I have already ventured to say in this House, that there never can be any union between the nations of England and France except a union beneficial to the world; because, directly that either the one or other of the two begins to harbour schemes of selfish aggrandisement, that moment the jealousy of its neighbours will be aroused, and will beget a powerful reaction; and the very fact of their being in harmony, will of itself be, at all times, the most conclusive proof that neither of them can be engaged in meditating anything which is dangerous to Europe.

"There is another class of objections, of which I do not complain, but which, nevertheless, I hope to remove. There are those who say that a commercial treaty is an abandonment of the principles of free trade. Well, certainly a commercial treaty would be an abandonment of the principles of free trade, in the latitude in which we now employ that phrase, if it involved the recognition of exclusive privileges, or if it were founded on what I may call haggling exchanges. In this sense, I admit that Mr. Pitt's commercial treaty would, if we had now adopted it in the precise terms in which it was expressed, have been, on our part, if not an abandonment of free trade, yet a retrogression rather than an advance; but, at the same time, I cannot mention that treaty without saying that I think it was, for the time at which it was made, one of the very best, and one of the very wisest measures ever adopted by parliament, and that it has contributed, at least as much as any other passage of his brilliant career, to the fame of the great statesman who introduced it. We, however, have no exclusive engagements; we have not the pretence of an exclusive engagement. France is perfectly aware that our legislation makes no distinction between one nation and another; and that what we enact for her, we shall, at the same time, enact for all the world. Nor have we affected to be undertaking burdens in exchange for benefits; we have dealt with the stipulations of the treaty, subject to the slight exception I have named, as being, on both sides, only beneficial throughout.

"I am, however, a little surprised at the number and variety of these objections, which come rushing from all quarters. It is like the ancient explanation of the physical cause of a storm, which taught, by the poet's mouth, that all the winds—north, east, west, and south—come rushing together upon a single point—

"*Una eurusque notus que ruunt creber que procellis Africus.*"

"Sometimes we are told that a treaty is an obsolete and antiquated idea; sometimes that it is a dangerous innovation. In the view of one class, it is an abandonment of free trade. There are also men of another class, holding opinions diametrically at variance with these; and they are gentlemen with whom we shall have much difficulty in dealing. These are they who find fault with it; and that, I must say, is by far the soundest objection, inasmuch as it is, unquestionably, founded on the facts, because it is an abandonment of the principle of protection. This treaty is an abandonment of the principle of protection. I am not aware of any entangling engagements which it contains. It certainly contains no exclusive privilege; but it is an abandonment of the principle of protection; and a means, I hope, tolerably complete and efficacious, of sweeping from the statute-book the chief among such relics of that misnamed system as still remain upon it."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer unfolded his plan, which included a proposal for an extension of the license system to refreshment-houses for the sale of wines; the abolition of the duty on paper, and on numerous other articles; the renewal of the income-tax, at tenpence in the pound on incomes above £150, and sevenpence in the pound on incomes above £100; also other measures: and a fierce contest ensued.

On February 20th, on the motion for going into committee on the Customs' Act, Mr. Disraeli moved an amendment—"That this House does not think fit to go into committee on the Customs' Act, with a view to the reduction or repeal of the duties referred to in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and the Emperor of the French, until it shall have considered and assented to the engagements in that treaty." This amendment was supported by Sir Hugh Cairns, Sir F. Kelly, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Malins, Mr. S. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Horsman; and opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-general, Mr. Bright, Lord John Russell, and Lord Palmerston; and, on a division, was negatived by 293 to 230 votes. Nor was this the only attempt made to defeat the measure. On February 21st, Mr. Du Cane moved the following resolution:—"That this House, recognising the necessity of providing for the increased expenditure of the coming year, is of opinion that it is not expedient to add to the existing deficiency by diminishing the ordinary revenue; and is not prepared to disappoint the just expectations of the country, by reimposing the income-tax at an unnecessarily high rate." The discussion was continued for three nights. On the third the government gained a decisive victory. The numbers were—for Mr. Du Cane's motion, 223; against, 339.

Subsequent events have confirmed the expectations of those who, in a spirit of enlightened patriotism, planned, and supported, and carried the commercial treaty with France. Fortunately, Mr. Cobden lived to see all the morose vaticinations, both of French and English opponents, disappointed. "He lived," writes his biographer, "to hear from his antagonists their own candid confession of their error; and the French manufacturing classes, who were, five years before, the most protectionist body in Europe, not only vied with the English people in their expression of sorrow at Cobden's death, but it was a common saying of English travellers to France, in the spring and early summer of 1865, that they actually believed the mourning for Cobden occupied more deeply the French bosom than the English." As years roll away, the good effects of the beneficent treaty, on both sides of the Channel, will be better appreciated and understood.

Meanwhile, we must state, that, from papers published by authority, we find that the exports of the French manufactures increased, by important but sober gradations, from 2,266,400,000 francs in value, at which they stood in 1859, the year before the French and English treaty, to 2,924,000,000 in 1864, being an increase of 657,800,000 francs. Descending to the details, we perceive that the cotton, linen, and woollen manufactures, which it was said would suffer most, have not only maintained a regular increase, but, in certain cases, made a startling progress. In respect to these articles, it would have, perhaps, been more satisfac-

tory if the writer of these papers had assigned the proportion of allowance that must be made for increased prices in judging of increased exports by increased values. But, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that the increase of prices, owing to the American war, greatly checked the natural development of trade. In this period, however, of unexampled disturbance, the cottons exported amounted to 26,000,000 francs more in 1864 than in 1859. So in linens, although for these goods France has to import from Belgium and England the raw material, the increase of French exports in the same period was 9,000,000 francs, or more than one-half. Since 1859, also, the woollen industry, which was to be utterly annihilated, has nearly doubled, and the figures with respect to yarns are equally remarkable. In metals France is less richly endowed than any other country in Europe; but although she has to import the raw material, her metallic exports rose in the five years 1,500,000 francs; and that part of them which consisted of machinery, increased no less than 2,700,000 francs. And in all these cases, it is to be remembered that the amount of exports in 1859 was considerably above the average. In chemicals and in fish (about which great fears were entertained), the result was quite as encouraging.

On the whole, the effect of the treaty was, "by the removal of encumbrances (some of which, being indirect in their pressure, were not assignable with precision), to enlarge the extent to which France was able to meet competition, not only in her own, but actually in foreign markets, to an extent and with a rapidity that the most sanguine expectations could hardly have realised." The more precise question, as to whether Great Britain has, in a peculiar manner, profited to the detriment of France, is settled by figures, which show that the increase of French exports to Great Britain is quite as great as the general increase in the totals. In linen alone there is an infinitesimal decrease. In woollens, French exports to this country have increased from 39,178,000 francs to 98,512,000; in cottons, from 5,742,000 to 12,671,000; in metal goods, from 4,395,000 to 8,912,000; in yarns, from 406,000 to 8,842,000; and in fish, from one million of francs to three.

As the budget of the new year was the greatest free-trade budget since the time of Sir Robert Peel, it will not be out of place here to give a few figures from a paper published by the Board of Trade, and which abundantly testify to the blessings accruing to England and her commerce from the liberal commercial policy of late years. It appears that the exports of 1842 were but little in excess of those of the previous thirty years; but while, in 1842, our exports of home produce were worth £113,841,802, in 1865 they were worth £363,067,112. Our imports, in the same period, rose from £65,253,286 to £181,806,048. Then taking our exports of foreign and colonial produce, we find they increased in real value from £18,636,366 in 1842, to £52,995,914 in 1865. The increase of articles of food imported tells a story quite as agreeable. In 1842, we only imported 8,355 cwts. of bacon and hams; but, in 1865, we received 713,346 cwts. No horned cattle were admitted in 1842; but 283,271 came in 1865. Butter—a good test of popular plenty—increased from 175,197 cwts. to 1,083,717; eggs, from under a million, to nearly four; while rice was imported, in 1865, in a quantity nearly four times as great as when these economical changes began. The quantities retained for home consumption of articles still under customs' duties are equally significant, though we will not trouble our readers with the figures. As to exports of British manufactures, that of haberdashery is multiplied, between 1842 and 1865, nearly sevenfold; that of cotton nearly threefold; earthenware, threefold; hardware, more than threefold; leather, sixfold; linen yarns, 100 per cent.; linen manufactures, fourfold; machinery, tenfold; iron and steel, fivefold; tin plates, fourfold; silk, fourfold; woollen yarn, eightfold; woollen manufactures, fourfold. Was there ever a brighter picture? Happily, the navigation laws repeal produced one as bright. British tonnage entered with cargo was 17,413,643 in 1865, against 5,415,821 in 1842; while the foreign tonnage was 7,572,202, against 1,930,983. The building of ships went on, in 1865, to an extent thrice as

great as in 1842; and between 1851 and 1865, our steamship tonnage increased from 186,687 to 823,533. Passing to the excise and customs' duty total, we read, once again, in this document, the happy results on which Mr. Gladstone has so often congratulated the country.

But we must return to the budget. One part of it contained a clause for the repeal of the duty on paper—a duty which had been condemned already by a vote of the Commons. "The paper duty," said Mr. Gladstone, "is a bad duty. In the first place, as a uniform duty on a variable article, how does it operate? It presses on the poorer sorts; and while we find that the duty on fine papers, owing to the growth of literature, is rapidly increasing, on the coarser sorts it does not advance. Look, again, at its operation on literature. On dear books, which are published for the wealthy, it is a very light duty; on books brought out in large quantities, by enterprising publishers, for the middle and lower classes, it is a very heavy and a very oppressive duty. I think the committee will admit that it is a most desirable and legitimate object to promote the extension of cheap literature. I do not speak of newspapers alone, but of newspapers and periodical publications in common with all the other cheap literature which we have seen so greatly enlarged of late, and the character of which, I am bound to say, since the penny stamp on newspapers was removed, has been so highly creditable to the conductors of what is called the cheap press.

"It is hardly possible to describe adequately, except by an amount of detail on which I shall not venture, the manner in which the paper duty obstructs general skill and enterprise. I spoke just now of the production of British and of spurious wines. Strange as it may seem, this subject has a point of contact with the paper manufactures. I am told that, in an inland town, there is a manufacture of British champagne. It is made from rhubarb; and the suggestion has been made, that after the champagne has been extracted from the rhubarb, the residue of pulp or fibre should be made into paper. That is, or seems to be, a recommendation. I believe really, and seriously, that whatever grows and has fibre, might, by skill and enterprise, probably in course of time, be made available, in one mode or another, for the purposes of paper, if it were not for the necessary obstructions offered by the regulations of the excise department.

"But again, what are the purposes to which paper is applicable? Not only those narrow ones with which the ordinary experience of every man makes him familiar. I do not think the committee is aware of the enormous variety of purposes to which this material may, in one form or another, be applied. I have a list of sixty-nine trades, in hardly one of which an ordinary consumer of paper would guess it to be used. For example, it is largely used by anatomical machinists to make artificial limbs; by telescope-makers; by boot and shoemakers; by cap-manufacturers, for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks, and many of the tops, which look like leather; by china and porcelain manufacturers; by coach-makers; by comb-makers; by doll-makers; by ship-builders. Again, in making optical instruments; in pictures and looking-glasses; in portmanteaus; in Sheffield goods and teapots. One manufacturer writes that he has made panels for doors from paper; and, above all, he looks forward to making carriages of paper when the duty shall have been taken off. Another manufacturer, who is asked into what combinations paper may be made to enter, writes to me—and I think it is a very just and forcible observation—'Who can fix the limit to ingenious combinations when we see india-rubber, for instance, being made into strong and durable combs, and other articles of that sort.' 'Only this morning,' he proceeds, 'I was informed that paper pipes are actually made, prepared with bitumen, and capable of standing a pressure of 300 lbs. of water to the inch.' These are partial, but not uninteresting details; and I think that to which they bear consenting witness, is the unbounded expansion of which this trade is capable, and the way in which we may confer benefits on the working classes, by means of abolishing the charge; not only because they will get paper cheaper, which must

be of advantage to every man who furnishes a cottage, and who desires to give some of his rooms an appearance of comfort and neatness, and to every purchaser of tea and sugar—for into the cost of these, too, it enters when tea and sugar are wrapped in it—but by putting in motion an immense trade, we shall, I trust, give a greater and wider stimulus to the demand for the labour of the country. Above all other benefits, let me say, the great advantage of this change is, in my opinion, and that of her majesty's government, that we may hereby provide a diffused demand for labour, and, in particular, a demand for rural labour; that we shall not merely stimulate the process for massing people together in great centres of industry, but the demand for labour all over the country. Where there are streams, where there are villages, where there is pure and good air, and tolerable access, these are the places in which the paper manufacture tends to establish itself."

Mr. Gladstone then argued against the possibility of being able to preserve the harassing and vexatious excise duty on paper. "The heads of the inland revenue department are completely agreed that there ought to be a repeal of the duty. I asked the gentlemen whom I may call the agitators against the duty, to furnish their reasons in a series of short propositions, in order that I might see how far they could be admitted by the inland revenue. They sent me fifteen arguments, and I transmitted them to the Board of Inland Revenue. The heads of that department replied, that two of the propositions were rather in the nature of general propositions of political economy, upon which they could give no opinion; but that with regard to all the other thirteen, they agreed with the agitators. We are warned by the conclusions of that Board, that we cannot reckon on being able to maintain the duty beyond a certain time. Such are the difficulties raised as to what paper is, and what is not paper; as to what are sheets of fibrous substance, and what are not, that not only is there the greatest soreness among the manufacturers, coupled with the sense of injustice that attends capricious and unequal law, but the officers of the revenue find it more and more difficult to perform their duty; and the maintainers of the law will soon be placed in the same ridiculous position in which they were placed some years ago, when they were found unable to say what was a newspaper. In short, as the paper duty must sooner or later follow the newspaper stamp, for the honour of the law, and for the advantage of the state, we say, let it be sooner, and not later; and we propose that it should follow now."

On March 12th, Mr. Miles moved an amendment on the paper duty, to the effect that it was better to reduce the income-tax by one penny in the pound, than to abolish the paper duties. For the amendment, 192; against it, 245. On May 8th, the Abolition Bill was read a third time, and passed by 219 votes to 209.

In the Lords, the repeal of the paper duty was not regarded with a favourable eye. The peers thought books and newspapers were cheap enough; perhaps they thought a little learning was a dangerous thing. It had been the fashion, in the upper circles of society, to regard newspapers with a very unfavourable eye. A heavy advertisement duty was imposed on them; a prohibitory stamp was levied; and the duty on paper rendered it bad and dear. A society for the repeal of these taxes—commonly called taxes on knowledge—was established, and, in time, triumphed. First, the newspaper duty was repealed; the next battle was on the stamp, now reduced to one penny. A parliamentary committee had reported, in 1851, that news was not a subject for taxation; and thenceforward the agitators for the repeal redoubled their evidence to show that this duty did serious evil; that it was an incentive to ignorance and drunkenness; that a free press must be a good press, and that, in consequence, the intelligence and morality of the country will improve. Men of great experience in literature, acquainted with the management of newspapers, with hardly one exception, concurred in stating how much an unstamped newspaper tended to the moral advancement of the people. Mr. Whitty, the proprietor of the *Liverpool Journal*, stated before the committee—"Previous to the reduction of the price of newspapers in Liverpool to

threepence, in 1847 there came into Liverpool about 20,000 of those threepenny papers weekly; and the moment that we reduced our prices, and sold at the same price, of course we had a decided preference, and the result was that we nearly annihilated that trade; but the trade immediately revived in going up in our prices again, and is now almost as flourishing as ever it was.

"Then you are of opinion that if newspapers were sold at low prices there would be few or no bad publications issued?—Yes, very few indeed. That is my decided opinion after all the reflection that I have given to the subject, and the exercise of the experience that I have had.

"Can you state to the committee some grounds for that assertion?—One is the illustration that I have just given of the effect produced in Liverpool; the other two illustrations are—first, the unstamped publications driving out the obscene trash; and the threepenny papers, which, indeed, have nearly annihilated all that kind of publications.

"You fancy that a purer taste has been created?—Yes, the appetite grows by what it feeds upon; in fact, newspapers are the only things that people will ever read, and that they desire to read: for instance, the working people now can read them only through the public-houses or coffee-houses. In Liverpool we have no coffee-houses, and they must go to the public-houses, and they get them when they are very old.

"Does it follow that the taste for good papers is the most prevalent?—Unquestionably; we find that good is always preferred by the multitude: in a theatre, for instance, and even the speeches delivered in parliament, reported in newspapers, and in literature of every description their taste is natural; in other and the more educated ranks, of course, the taste is, to a great extent, artificial—conventional; it may be bad or it may be good; but the taste of the people I apprehend is always correct.

"Some doubts have been entertained as to the effects of cheapness on the quality; you seem to think that it would do good?—Immense; I should say, decidedly, that in our own case it improved our paper very considerably; besides, the very fact of addressing a larger number would have a great influence upon the writer, as it would have in the same way on an orator: he would exert himself more, and feel more sympathy; that was the case I know always with myself."

The beneficial effect of the repeal of the stamp in promoting morality, was also much dwelt on by Mr. John Cassell.

"The effect of your evidence is this, if I understand you, that it would assist the objects of all those temperance movements, and those moral and religious movements, materially, if their monthly organs or class publications were permitted to contain news and narratives of passing events?—Yes; my opinion is, that if we are allowed to publish news—and I take it from my own experience—for instance, take the temperance movement, here is this periodical coming out month after month, and it is crammed, from one end to the other, with entirely temperance news; it is the same subject over and over again: if we could mix up with this temperance news—letting temperance be its object—general intelligence, our circulation would be four or five times greater than it is now.

"Thus, in fact, aiding the cause of temperance?—Yes, most materially; any one must be aware that an individual, especially amongst the working classes—I speak from my own experience, having associated in my earlier days with the operative classes—a man makes a resolve that he will be temperate, and he has a great deal to contend with in the workshop; and it requires something in the shape of a periodical to stimulate his zeal, and keep him up to high-water-mark."

Similar evidence was also given by Messrs. Bunting; the Norwich operative; the Rev. Thomas Spencer, the well-known advocate of social and political reform; Abel Heywood, the great Manchester bookseller; W. E. Hickson, late proprietor of the *Westminster Review*; Dobson Collett, the secretary of the Society for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge; and other gentlemen. We make one extract

from the evidence of this latter gentleman, to show that, with a cheap press, we should have it more ably conducted than at present. Sir T. F. Lewis put to Mr. Collett the following questions:—

“Would a reduction in the price enable the proprietors of newspapers to pay more for the literary talent employed?—Undoubtedly.

“Would they not, by paying more liberally, obtain higher literary talent?—Yes. I was told by one of the managers of the *Weekly Dispatch*, that when the law was altered, and the postage reduced to a penny, they had to recast their management; a paper arose at threepence, which contained all the news of the week; and, in order to compete with that paper, they were obliged to engage writers of eminence, who wrote articles which no other paper could produce; and having done so, their paper is now in as firm a position as it was before.”

We could strengthen our case by extending the extracts; but we have given enough. The tax as it existed was utterly bad. The post-office was cheated. Intellectual nutriment was denied the people. The working-man was driven to the public-house for his newspaper. All who wished well to the people—who wished to see intelligence and morality increase in the land—demanded the repeal of the newspaper tax: and it was repealed; and the last of the taxes on knowledge would have shared the same fate had it not been for the Lords. On May 21st, Lord Granville moved the second reading of the Paper Duty Bill, which was opposed by Lord Monteagle, who moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The amendment was supported by Lord Lyndhurst and the Earl of Derby. On a division, the numbers were—for the second reading, present, 90; proxies, 14: total, 104. Against—present, 161; proxies, 32: total, 193. Majority against the second reading, 89.

In all parts of the country this act of the Lords was regarded with regret and dislike. The public knew that Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, had been compelled to abandon a cheap and useful publication, which had reached a sale of 80,000, because it did not pay, in consequence of the burden of the paper duty; that the same cause had arrested so many of the noble enterprises of Mr. Charles Knight; that another leading firm had to pay £10,000 a year duty on their publications. People were convinced, moreover, that the Lords retained this tax on paper, after it had been abolished by the Commons, by what was deemed an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. The friends of cheap knowledge were on the alert. A Constitutional Defence Association was formed, of which Mr. White, M.P. for Brighton, was chairman. Numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons against the aggression of the House of Lords on the privileges of the House of Commons, by rejecting the Paper Duty Bill. One from Birmingham was signed by 10,000 persons. It seemed as if there might be an angry collision between the two Houses. However, the matter was settled by Lord Palmerston's moving the following resolutions, which were ultimately carried:—

“1. That the right of granting aids and supplies to the crown is in the Commons alone, as an essential part of their constitution; and the limitation of all such grants, as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them. 2. That, although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation, by negating the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year. 3. That to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, may be maintained inviolate.”

In the Commons, one more fight was made for dear paper. On August 6th,

in debate on the Customs' Act, an amendment was moved by Mr. Pullen, to the effect that it was not desirable, at present, to take any steps for the reduction of the import duty on foreign paper. On division, there voted for the resolution, 266; majority against it, 233. We may add here, that in 1861 the paper duty was quietly repealed.

Another important question agitated now, was that of reform, to which parliament had been pledged times without number. Lord Palmerston, it may be, was not an ardent reformer, but he was quite prepared to carry a measure of reform if the House desired it. Accordingly, on March 1st, Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation. His lordship said—"We propose to add to the county franchise an occupation franchise of £10 a year." In the boroughs, the franchise was to be lowered to £6. Lord John proposed to deal with the question of disfranchisement as follows:—"The principle of total disfranchisement is one of very grave importance. It ought not to be adopted without some grave and palpable benefit would accrue from it. I cannot think, therefore, that the abolition of some six or seven, or ten boroughs, leaving eight or ten others of a similar character, immediately above them in population, would be a wise or expedient measure. It would evidently create great dissatisfaction among those that are disfranchised; and they would certainly be able to show that other boroughs immediately above them were much of the same description. It is a much milder proposition to say, that at the bottom of the scale there are a certain number of boroughs which may still continue to be represented, but which are now overweighted in the representation; and some of these seats should be given to the more populous towns and larger counties. We therefore propose that boroughs whose names I will read shall no longer send two members to parliament. They are—Honiton, Thetford, Totnes, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Lymington, Ludlow, Andover, Knaresborough, Tewkesbury, and Maldon. Thus far, I believe, the list agrees with that contained in the bill of last year. We go on, however, to reform Cirencester, Huntingdon, Chippenham, Bodmin, Dorchester, Marlow, Devizes, Hertford, and Guildford—that gives us twenty-five seats on the whole, which would have to be disposed of by parliament. Now we propose that the following counties shall return additional members—namely, the West Riding of Yorkshire, two additional members. All the rest which I will read are to return one additional member—namely, the southern division of Lancashire, the northern division of Lancashire, the county of Middlesex, the western division of Kent, the southern division of Devonshire, the southern division of Staffordshire, the North Riding of Yorkshire, the parts of Lindsey (Lincolnshire), the southern division of Essex, the eastern division of Somerset, the western division of Norfolk, the western division of Cornwall, and the northern division of Essex. It will be seen that we do not propose to divide the West Riding of Yorkshire; and the reason is, there is a great repugnance in that vast riding to have its magnificence at all diminished by a partition. There will thus be fifteen seats given to counties; of which, though some are of a manufacturing, others are essentially of an agricultural character. Coming to boroughs, we propose that Kensington and Chelsea combined shall form one borough, to return two members to parliament; that Birkenhead, Staleybridge, and Burnley should, in future, return one member each; and that Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, should henceforth return three members each, instead of two. The House may remember that, upon a former occasion, I made a proposition which was not very palatable to the House, and which was certainly not popular in the country—namely, that there should be a division of votes; in other words, that where there were three members, each elector should have only two votes. As that proposition was not very popular—although I think it a fair and just one—I shall not attempt to renew it upon the present occasion. * * * * Sir, I have stated the distribution of seats which we propose to make with reference to counties and boroughs. But there is another seat at our disposal, and we propose

to give it to a learned body, which contains within it a sort of representation of those who are excluded from the older universities. I mean the University of London."

The second reading led to an animated debate, which was again and again adjourned. On May the 3rd it was read a second time. It was, however, evident that the opponents of the measure were strong enough to destroy it by delay; and, accordingly, on the 11th of June, on the motion for going into committee on it, Lord John Russell intimated to the House that, in consequence of the large number of amendments proposed by members, and the lateness of the session, it had been determined by government to withdraw the bill. The order for going into committee was then discharged. In the upper House, on the motion of Earl Grey, the peers had already agreed to appoint a select committee to inquire into certain matters relating to the representation of the people in the Commons' house of parliament.

In the midst of all these discussions, the important subject, as it was deemed, of national defences was not lost sight of. On August 2nd, the plans for new fortifications were discussed; and a resolution being moved for raising two millions for executing the first portion of the plans, Mr. Lindsay proposed an amendment, to the effect that it is not expedient to enter into a large expenditure on land fortifications; but, on August 9th, the bill was read a second time—an amendment, by Mr. Edwin James, to the effect that further information should be obtained before proceeding with the bill, having been rejected by 143 to 32. Indeed, the Prime Minister left no alternative. His speech of July 8th, on the subject, was quite a panic one. Lord Palmerston said—"Now, sir, as to the necessity for these works. I think it is impossible for any man to cast his eyes over the face of Europe, and to see and hear what is passing, without being convinced that the future is not free from danger. It is difficult to say where the storm may burst; but the horizon is charged with clouds which betoken the possibility of a tempest. The committee, of course, know that. In the main, I am speaking of our immediate neighbours across the Channel; and there is no use in disguising it."

The effect of this speech in France was fully equal to that which it created in England. As Mr. Cobden said—"At that moment, the negotiation of the details of the commercial treaty with France, upon the liberal arrangement of which depended the whole success of the measure, was at its most critical and important stage. The public mind was under considerable misapprehension respecting the progress of the measure, owing to the systematic misrepresentations which were promulgated in certain political circles, and by a portion of the press. The British ministry alone knew that, up to that time, the French government had manifested a disposition to carry out the details of the treaty with even unexpected liberality; and they could not have been unaware how important it was at such a juncture, to preserve a conciliatory tone towards that government. It was at this critical moment that the speech burst upon the negotiators in Paris. Had its object been to place the British commissioners at the greatest possible disadvantage, it could not have more effectually accomplished the purpose. It cut the ground from under their feet, in so far as the French government had been actuated by the political motives (apart from politico-economical considerations) of seeking to strengthen the friendly relations of the two countries, as represented by their governments. This plea of high state-policy, with which the emperor's government had met the complaints of the powerful interests which believed themselves compromised by the treaty, was in a moment silenced and turned against itself. The offensive passages in the speech were instantly transferred to the pages of the protectionist organs, accompanied with loud expostulations addressed to their own government. 'You are sacrificing us,' they said, 'in the hope of conciliating the political alliance of our ancient rival; and now behold the reward you are receiving at the hands of the Prime Minister of England!' These taunts resounded in the *salons* of the enlightened Minister of Commerce; and murmurs were heard even

in the palace itself. A profound sensation was produced among all classes by this speech; and no other words could adequately express the emotions experienced by the French negotiators, but astonishment and indignation. Had the emperor seized the occasion for instantly suspending the negotiations, he would have undoubtedly performed a most popular part; but on this, as on other occasions, his habitual calmness and self-mastery prevailed; and to these qualities must be mainly attributed the successful issue of the treaty." He did more. Aware of the doubts which seemed to pervade all classes of English society, he addressed a letter to Count Persigny, disclaiming any hostile feeling towards this country.

In the meanwhile, in more than one quarter of the globe, the forces of England and France were acting side by side. In the course of the month of June, the European public were struck with horror by the receipt of intelligence from Syria of the massacre of thousands of Christians by the bigoted Mahomedans of the Lebanon. For a couple of months the frightful work was continued. During its progress Abdel Kader gave an asylum to the consuls, and other persons, and armed his followers to protect the Christians as far as possible. The representatives of the five great powers assembled; and, on the 3rd of August, two protocols were signed between those powers and Turkey: the former agreeing to send a military force to restore order in Syria, and the latter assenting to the intervention. It was at first arranged that all the powers were to contribute to the occupying force; but ultimately only 6,000 French troops were sent, and a French and English squadron took up its station off the coast. The massacres had ceased before the French soldiers arrived. On July 31st, Lord Dufferin was sent by the British government to assist in alleviating the misery there prevailing, and in bringing about a restoration of security. On the 20th of August, Fuad Pasha, the commissioner appointed by the sultan to quell the disturbances in Syria, and to punish the guilty, caused 167 persons, implicated in the massacre, to be publicly executed at Damascus, of whom 110 members of the police were shot; and fifty-seven persons were hanged in the most public parts of the city. It was estimated, that in Damascus alone, during the five or six days of the reign of terror, about 5,500 men, women, and children were massacred; and that the total number of persons killed in cold blood by the Druses and Moslems, since the disturbances broke out, was estimated at 12,000: 163 villages, 220 churches, seven convents were destroyed; and 200 priests were butchered. Many of those concerned in these atrocities were sent by Fuad Pasha to Constantinople to be imprisoned, and put to hard labour. The French soldiers assisted in re-establishing order; and their stay in Syria, which was to have ceased in March, 1861, was prolonged, by the consent of the other powers, to June, when they returned to France.

With China we were again at war, though not through our own fault. By the treaty of Tien-tsin, it had been stipulated that the French as well as the English should have liberty, at all times, to travel through all parts of the country; and that the treaties concluded with England and France should be ratified at Pekin, in presence of the ambassadors accredited to the emperor. A small squadron of French and English vessels, acting as a convoy to the ambassadors, proceeded from Shanghai, in June, 1859, to the Peiho river, on their way to the Chinese capital. On arriving off the island of Sha-lin-tien, in the gulf of Pecheli, it was ascertained that the Taku forts had been repaired, additional guns mounted, and a strong Tartar force stationed there. When the allies attempted to proceed up the river, they found their advance obstructed by barriers placed across the stream. After spending several days in negotiations without effect, an attempt was made to force a passage; but there were only eleven small French and English vessels, with guns of light calibre; and after fighting some time they were obliged to withdraw, with the loss of upwards of 600 killed and wounded, and three guns. The ambassadors and the expedition returned to Hong-Kong; and despatches were sent to the governments of Europe, by whom reinforcements were immediately despatched, with orders to force the passage of the Peiho, and proceed to Hong-Kong. Baron

le Gros and Lord Elgin were deputed, as commissioners from France and England, to proceed to that city, and conclude a fresh treaty, which was to include an indemnity for the additional expenses which the bad faith of the Chinese had thrown upon the allies. The commissioners embarked in the *Malabar*, which, when leaving the port of Galle, in the island of Ceylon, was wrecked: the bullion on board, the baggage, with the commissioners' credentials and papers were lost; but the crew, passengers, and part of the mails were saved. Their excellencies proceeded to Hong-Kong, where they arrived on the 21st of June. It was then found that the French contingent was not so strong as that of England by 2,000 men; and that a vessel containing their harness had been lost at Amoy. Baron le Gros, therefore, issued a protest against the expedition proceeding; but Lord Elgin induced him to withdraw it. The expedition sailed on the 26th of July, and reached the Peiho on the 1st of August, when the commissioners established themselves at the village of Pehtang, where they found the northern and southern forts evacuated. The troops commenced their march into the interior on the 12th; attacked and captured a fortified village called Tanghoo on the 14th, taking forty-five guns; and, on the 21st, they attacked and captured the Taku forts, after a determined resistance on the part of the Tartar garrison. Count Montauban commanded the French, and Sir Hope Grant the English forces. The forts were attacked upon a plan proposed by the latter, against the protest of the former, who declared that he would wash his hands of all responsibility should the attack fail. The count's staff were of a similar opinion.

After the capture of the forts, the allies advanced to Tien-tsin, where they were informed commissioners were waiting to negotiate with them. There they experienced more proofs of the Chinese insincerity. A draft of a convention was drawn up, which was to be signed on the 8th of September. When that day arrived, however, after considerable hesitation, the Chinese officials, who had represented that they had full powers, declared they could not affix their signatures till the draft had been submitted to the emperor. Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros immediately broke off the negotiations, and ordered the commander-in-chief to advance to Tang-chow, on the road to Peking. Here they defeated the Chinese army, and took seventy-five guns. The enemy had 600 killed, while the loss of the allies was small: but an event occurred which cast a great gloom over the army. Mr. Parkes, the British consul, was entrapped into a discussion with some Chinese officials at Tang-chow; and though protected by a flag of truce, he and his companions were surrounded by a Tartar force, and carried off prisoners. Mr. Lock (Lord Elgin's private secretary), Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, Private Phibbs, M. de Norman (*attaché* to her majesty's legation), Mr. Bowlby (correspondent of the *Times*), the Abbé de Luc, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture (who was on a scientific mission), Colonel Grandchamps, Intendant Debut, M. Arden, several French soldiers, and eight Sikhs, were taken with Mr. Parkes. Some of them died from the inhuman treatment they received.

On the 21st of September, the allies advanced in the direction of Peking, and again encountered and defeated the Chinese, whose loss was estimated at 2,000 killed and wounded. The next day a flag of truce was sent in from Peking, with proposals to reopen the negotiations; but the allied commissioners refused to treat till the prisoners, so treacherously entrapped, were restored. After halting a short time to rest, they, on the 5th of October, had advanced so near Peking, that the emperor, in great haste, had to quit his capital. On the 6th, the emperor's summer palace was taken possession of by the French, who despoiled it of all its splendid ornaments and furniture before the English came up. When the latter arrived they burnt the palace, as a punishment for the violation of a flag of truce. On the 8th, another demand was made for the release of the prisoners; and Messrs. Parkes and Lock, a Sikh soldier, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, and four French soldiers, were sent into the allied camp. On the 12th, five Sikhs and one French soldier were also allowed to return. The allied army, with its siege-train,

was now concentrated before Pekin; and the Chinese were informed, that unless the letters of the convention, drawn up at Tien-tsin, were agreed to, and the gates of Pekin thrown open, the capital would be bombarded next day. On the 13th, just before the time allowed had expired, a chief mandarin, Hangchu, announced that the demands of the allies were acceded to, and the gates of Pekin at their disposal. The outer and inner gates were immediately taken possession of, and a portion of the allied force was cantoned on the walls of Pekin.

Two more Sikh soldiers were given up by the Tartars on the 14th of October; but that was all. The others died of the tortures to which they were subjected, excepting Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc, who were beheaded by the order of one of the Chinese generals, in revenge for a wound he had received. The bodies were all restored except that of Captain Brabazon; and, on the 17th, they were buried with due solemnity in the Russian cemetery outside Pekin. On the 24th of October peace was concluded, when the English treaty was signed. The terms were—a renewal of those agreed to at Tien-tsin in 1858, with the addition of articles stipulating the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and to the families of the men who had been betrayed and murdered; opening the port of Tien-tsin to the trade and commerce of French and British subjects; removing the interdict to the emigration of the Chinese to the colonies of the allies; and ceding Cowloon to the British crown, as a dependency on Hong-Kong. The treaty signed and ratified, the allies left Pekin for Tien-tsin on the 1st of November, where the troops remained till the middle of 1861. There has been, however, no further dispute with the Chinese. Indeed, in a little while after, we were astonished to find that we were fighting against the Taepings, on behalf of our late enemies. In March, 1861, Mr. Bruce arrived at Pekin, to take up his residence as British plenipotentiary; and we have been on decent terms with China ever since.

And thus passed away the memorable year 1860. Whatever we may think of the legislation of that year, we must all concur in the opinion that it was no ordinary year in the financial history of the country. It was, as Mr. Gladstone subsequently remarked, “a year in which the House gave its sanction to that great instrument, the treaty of commerce with France. It was a year in which we received a remission of our hereditary burdens through the diminution of the charge on the national debt, such as we probably shall never receive again. It was a year in which the controversy with respect to protection, so long the leading cause of agitation in the country, and of political disorganisation in this House, may be said to have been at length officially wound up; for it closed without leaving on the statute-book of the United Kingdom one single properly protective duty of more than nominal amount. It was also a year of the highest taxation, and of the greatest expenditure, that has ever been known in this country, unless in the midst of a European war. And, finally, it was a year marked by a succession of seasons—the spring, the summer, the autumn, and the winter—the most unfavourable of all with which it has pleased Providence to visit us during the course of about half a century. The questions, I may further observe, which were decided in the House during the last session, were questions of no ordinary moment, from whatever point of view we may regard them. The issue which they raised was no trifling issue. In the beautiful tragedy of Schiller, Mary, Queen of Scots, is made to say of herself, ‘I have been much hated, but I have been also much beloved;’ and I think I may say, with equal truth, that the financial legislation of last year, while I do not mean to contend that it was not unacceptable to many, met, as a whole, with signal support from a great mass and power of public opinion in the country. Be that as it may, I feel bound to admit, that although the financial proposals of the government were, in the last session, fully, minutely, and even keenly canvassed, they were also fairly, and in no factious spirit, discussed within these walls.” This testimony is true. In our modern history, it is evident 1860 was no common year.

CHAPTER XVI.

POPULATION, EDUCATION, AND THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE England of Palmerston's old age was very different from that of his youth, as regards population. In 1861, the census had taken place, and many interesting facts gathered. The town or village of Birkenhead, at the census of 1801, numbered 101 persons. After the lapse of sixty years, so rapid has been the advance in this thriving, vigorous town, that we find the number of inhabitants to be no less than 51,649 at the last census of 1861. Manchester, with Salford, sixty years ago, numbered 24,867 inhabitants; by the last census (1861), the number rose to 441,171, having increased nearly seventeen times in population during the present century. Cheltenham, within the last sixty years (1801—1861), has increased nearly twelve times; Brighton, nine times; Merthyr-Tydvil and Bradford, seven times; Burnley and Preston, about six times; whilst Southampton and Ashton-under-Lyne have increased nearly sixfold their population.

The following cities or towns have quintupled their population during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century—namely, Liverpool and Blackburn; whilst Huddersfield, Northampton, and Rochdale, have very nearly added a fivefold addition.

The following cities or towns have quadrupled their population:—Dudley, Bolton, Stoke-upon-Trent, Birmingham, Sheffield, Swansea, Bury, Leicester, and Derby.

The following have added nearly a fourfold addition in the last sixty years (1801—1861)—namely, Leeds, Gateshead, Plymouth, Stockport, and Walsall.

The following cities or towns have trebled their population:—Wigan, Macclesfield, Ipswich, Oldham, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, South Shields, Dover, Carlisle, Halifax, Sunderland, London, and Maidstone.

The following have added nearly a threefold addition—namely, Portsmouth, Chatham, Worcester, Reading, Cambridge, Coventry, Nottingham, and Tyne-mouth.

The following cities or towns have doubled their population in sixty years (1801—1861)—namely, Bristol, Oxford, York, Warrington, Wakefield, Chester, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; whilst Exeter and Bath have nearly added a twofold as an addition to their population in the present century.

The number of persons residing in the British Islands on the 8th of April, 1861, was 29,058,888. The men in the army, navy, and merchant service, out of the country, either abroad or afloat, amounted to about 275,900. We may therefore set down the total population of the United Kingdom, including the Channel Islands and Isle of Man, this census year, at 29,334,788; their distribution being as follows:—

England and Wales	...	...	...	...	...	20,061,725
Scotland	...	...	...	...	...	3,061,329
Ireland	...	...	...	...	...	5,792,055
Islands in the British Seas	...	...	...	...	...	143,779
						<hr/>
At home	...	...	...	...	...	29,058,888
Out of the country—Army, about	...	...	...	...	...	137,000
“ “ “ Navy	...	...	...	...	...	42,900
“ “ “ Merchant seamen, about	...	...	...	...	...	96,000
						<hr/>
Total United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	29,334,788

As the population in 1801, when the first census was taken, was estimated at 16,095,000, we find, at the end of sixty years, more than $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions had been added to the resident inhabitants of the country.

But in this rate of progression there had been a falling off. During the years 1801 to 1831, the rate of increase was more than twice as fast as that shown by the returns of 1831 to 1861. The principal cause of this falling off is to be attributed to emigration. Since 1831, nearly 5,000,000 of emigrants had left the country; of these, no doubt, some returned, and many were foreigners: but the number is exclusive of emigrants who embarked in ships not coming under the notice of the government inspectors. The fecundity of marriages in this country is a subject which cannot be fully investigated upon the present imperfect data; but we have no reason to believe it is diminishing. The ratio of births to population exhibits no falling off. In France, it is well known, that while the rate of marriage has increased, the marriages are less prolific.

The females preponderate: yet it is a fact, that in Great Britain, of children born alive, 105 boys are born to 100 girls; and the proportion in France is the same. The males continue to preponderate until their seventeenth year, when the number of the two sexes are nearly equal. At all subsequent ages the females are in excess of the males; the change in the proportions being mainly due to a difference in degree of dangers to which they are exposed; to a lower rate of mortality amongst females, from diseases, as well as from violent causes, and to emigration. The disparity of the sexes has always been regarded as one of the least satisfactory conditions of our population; but in a country where more than 3,000,000 of adult women are withdrawn, more or less, from domestic duties to follow employments in the different manufactures and trades, the evil is not without some mitigation. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that, in Australia and other British colonies, the proportion of the sexes is unfortunately reversed to such an extent as to render a well-organised system of female emigration extremely desirable. In Scotland, the excess of females is still greater. The Scotch are an emigrating people; their love of adventure and independence distributes them over the face of the earth; and as the Scotchman goes forth alone, the resident population contains an undue proportion of females. As a matter of course, there are fewer marriages in Scotland; and the proportion of women bearing legitimate children, is much smaller in Scotland than in England. This circumstance partly explains why the Scottish people have not increased at an equal rate with the English. In the towns of Scotland, however, the proportion of marriages is much higher than in the naval parts, and the population is increasing accordingly.

The commercial legislation of later years is fully justified by the returns of the census. It brings to our view two classes of localities—those in which the population has increased, and those in which it has diminished. Of the 631 superintendent registrars' districts, no less than 248 had decreased. These were almost exclusively agricultural. But the districts comprising the great seats of manufacturing, mining, and commercial industry, maintained their rate of increase; and some of them made astonishing advances. For example, the group of districts having Manchester for a centre, has an augmented population to the extent of 274,000; Birmingham, with its immediate locality, increased 187,000; and the extension of mining operations on the Tyne, led to an increase in Newcastle and the adjoining district, of 158,000. Lancashire had increased 20 per cent.; Durham 30 per cent. Other instances of a great development of numbers are—Staffordshire, 23 per cent.; Surrey, 22; Kent, 19; Middlesex, 17; West Riding of Yorkshire, 14; Glamorganshire, 37. The enormous growth of the metropolis, which may now be said to extend far beyond the limits adopted in the Local Management Act, and by the registrar-general, will explain the high rates of increase in Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent. The inhabitants of London are now returned as amounting to 2,803,034; the addition, during the last decennium,

having been 440,798, or 19 per cent. But we may fairly credit the metropolis with a portion of the increase in West Ham, Croydon, Kingston, Richmond, Brentford, Edmonton, and other districts, which are largely inhabited by persons engaged in business in London, with those who minister to their wants.

London is one of the eleven divisions into which England and Wales have been divided for the purposes of statistical comparison. These divisions are on the same scale as the four provinces of Ireland, and their main features correspond with the earlier divisions of the country. Arranged in the order of their rates of increase since 1851, they stand thus—

	Increase per Cent.
London	19
Northern division (<i>Durham, Northumberland, &c.</i>) ...	19
North-west division (<i>Cheshire and Lancashire</i>) ...	18
West Midland (<i>Gloucester, Salop, Stafford, &c.</i>) ...	14
South-eastern division (<i>Surrey and Kent, extra metrop., Sussex</i>)	13
Yorkshire division	13
Welsh division	11
North Midland (<i>Leicester, Lincoln, Notts.</i>) ...	6
South Midland (<i>Middlesex, extra metrop., Herts.</i>) ...	5
Eastern division (<i>Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk</i>) ...	3
South-western (<i>Wilts., Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset</i>)	2

These figures point to the localities where the tide of population has ebbed, and to the direction in which it has flowed. A table exhibited, in parallel columns, the ascertained increase, and the natural increase, or excess of births over deaths in each of these eleven districts. A comparison of the numbers affords some idea of the extent of migration to the principal centres of trade, manufactures, and mining industry, chiefly from the inland districts. The absolute increase in London we have seen to be 440,708. The excess of registered births over deaths was only 253,989; and although this is an under-statement, on account of the unregistered births, a large proportion of the difference, 186,809, consists of immigrants. Nor can we be surprised at this further instalment of strangers when we recollect that more than half the inhabitants of London were born elsewhere. In the following divisions the actual increase exceeded the natural increase as follows:—North-western, 138,262; northern counties, 29,461; south-eastern, 21,468.

In the West Midland district, the difference between births and deaths is the same, within a few hundreds. All the remaining divisions presented indications of having been exposed to a drain of population, which, in some cases, has swept away nearly the whole of the natural increase; and, in several of the counties, large numbers besides. Thus, in the eastern division, consisting of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, the natural increase was 129,726; while the ascertained increase was only 28,220; to which number the district of West Ham contributed nearly 25,000. In the south-western division, consisting of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, the natural increase was 200,673; and as the actual increase was only 32,290, it is clear that persons representing the difference of 168,383, have left these counties to seek employment, or the means of improving their condition in other parts, at home or abroad. The localities thus discovered by the census to have been partly denuded of their population, are entitled to the credit of having bred the stalwart men whose labour has proved so useful elsewhere. The decrease so general throughout the agricultural districts, has been greatest in the counties of Cambridge, Rutland, Norfolk, Wilts, and Suffolk. Anglesey and Montgomery, in Wales, also sustained a loss. Their decrease may have resulted from the use of machinery, and from the substitution of the breeding of stock for tillage; still it is clear the main cause has been the fact, that in the manufacturing districts

labour was better paid, and the operative could lead a better life; and this fact had been remembered by the Liberal administration, of which Lord Palmerston, at this time, was the head. In times past it was otherwise. We tamely tolerated injustice; and what Disraeli calls the territorial system of government was the result. When Old Sarum was young—when Gattton's solitary mound had a stake in the country—when Manchester barely had a "local habitation and a name"—when to travel from Wales to the metropolis took more time than it does now to travel from the metropolis to Vienna—then the old system answered. It did not ruin the manufacturers, for there were none to ruin. It did not starve the millions, for there were no millions to starve. The serf repined not at his degradation, for the iron had entered into his soul; and, in his hopes and aspirations, he had almost ceased to be a man. But times altered; men increased and multiplied; great cities became the centres of civilisation and industry; science had gone forth to make life happier for the masses; and the change had extended even to the highest offices of the state. The truth is, under the old rural system—under the sway of the rosy-cheeked squires, as Carlyle called them—the country was rapidly going to the bad. The legislator was as ignorant as those for whom he legislated. Our readers may remember the terrible protest of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, in his *Yeast*, against the old state of things; of which, happily, now little trace remains. The houses and degradation of the peasantry were sketched with a masterly hand. What could have been sadder or truer than the picture of the widow watching where her husband was slain; and exclaiming—

“ ‘ I am long past wailing and whining—
I have wept too much in my life :
I've had twenty years of pining
As an English labourer's wife.

“ ‘ A labourer in Christian England,
Where they cant of a Saviour's name,
And yet waste men's lives like the vermin's
For a few more brace of game.

“ ‘ There's blood on your new foreign shrubs, squire ;
There's blood on your pointer's feet ;
There's blood on the game you sell, squire,
And there's blood on the game you eat !

“ ‘ You have sold the labouring man, squire,
Body and soul to shame,
To pay for your seat in the House, squire,
And to pay for the feed of your game.

“ ‘ You made him a poacher yourself, squire,
When you'd give neither work nor meat ;
And your barley-fed hares robbed the garden
At our starving children's feet.

“ ‘ When packed in one reeking chamber,
Man, maid, mother, and little ones lay ;
While the rain pattered in on the rotting bride-bed,
And the walls let in the day :

“ ‘ When we lay in the burning fever
On the mud of the cold clay floor,
Till you parted us all for three months, squire,
At the cursed workhouse-door :

“ ‘ We quarrelled like brutes, and who wonders ?
What self-respect could we keep,
Worse housed than your hacks and your pointers,
Worse fed than your hogs and your sheep ?

“ ‘ Our daughters, with base-born babies,
Have wandered away in their shame ;
If your misses had slept, squire, where they did,
Your misses might do the same.

“ ‘ Can your lady patch hearts that are breaking
With handfuls of coals and rice,
Or by dealing out flannel and sheeting
A little below cost price ?

“ ‘ You may tire of the gaol and the workhouse,
And take to allotments and schools,
But you’ve run up a debt that will never
Be repaid us by penny-club rules.

“ ‘ In the season of shame and sadness,
In the dark and dreary day,
When scrofula, gout, and madness
Are eating your race away ;

“ ‘ When to kennels and liveried varlets
You have cast your daughter’s bread,
And, worn out with liquor and harlots,
Your heir at your feet lies dead :

“ ‘ When your youngest, the mealy-mouthed rector,
Lets your soul rot asleep to the grave,
You will find in your God the protector
Of the freeman you fancied your slave.’ ”

Fortunately, the worst consequences of the system were modified by the harmless character of the abilities of the rustic squire. He hunted, and sported, and rode well, partly because he liked it, and partly because his father did so before him. He was a country magistrate ; and quite as often committed himself as the culprits who trembled before him. Often, to his great annoyance, he was compelled to represent his county in parliament, because no one else would undertake the bore. Of course, he distributed coals and blankets at Christmas ; and his estate was well set with man-traps and spring-guns. He was a zealous churchman, and hated alike the foreigner and the pope. Having vegetated his appointed threescore years and ten, he was gathered to his fathers ; and the county paper of the next Saturday devoted a paragraph to the record of his uneventful life. If there was more energy in the man—a love of distinction, that, in the lower walks of life, would have made him a useful member of society—it vented itself in a thousand silly ways ; in the stupid jokes and childish absurdities of that class of men of whom the Marquis of Waterford was a type. Out of such raw material good legislation was impossible. The government of such was marked by monstrous injustice and wanton extravagance in every age of its career. It placed us on the brink of ruin : it overwhelmed us with debt : it filled our towns with Chartists, and our colonists with the seeds of revolt. Over the decline of rural life, and the rise of towns, no lover of his race need pause to shed a tear.

The education of the people, also, at this time, was the subject of very serious consideration. In 1858, a commission was appointed by her majesty, in compliance with an address from the Commons’ house of parliament, “to inquire into the present state of popular education in England ; and to consider and report what measures (if any) are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.” The commissioners named were—the Duke of Newcastle, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, Rev. William Charles Lake, M.A., Rev. William Rogers, M.A., Professor Goldwin Smith, Nassau William Senior, Esq., and Edward Miall, Esq. The commissioners were instructed to make their report within two years from the date of their appointment, but this period was subsequently extended for another year. The report of the commissioners,

embodying the facts they had collected, and the recommendations which they suggested, was agreed upon, and signed by them, in March, 1861; and having been submitted to her majesty, was presented to both houses of parliament, and published for the information of the public.

The commissioners, in carrying out the object of their appointment, found it expedient to employ, with the sanction of government, ten assistant commissioners, to each of whom a specimen district was assigned, into the educational condition of which he was to examine most minutely. The commissioners' report was in six divisions. 1. The subjects connected with the education of the independent poor. 2. The education of paupers. 3. The education of vagrants and criminals. 4. Naval and military schools connected with the state. 5. Educational charities; and charities which may be made applicable to education. 6. Statistical returns, so as to illustrate the course of the report. The results may be abridged as follows:—National Society, expending £15,811; British and Foreign School Society, £15,947; Catholic Poor School Committee, £4,745; Wesleyan Education Committee, £4,441; Home and Colonial School Society, £8,776; Church Education Society, £2,761; Congregational Board of Education, £1,977; London Ragged School Union, £5,142; and the Voluntary School Association. There were likewise twenty-four diocesan Boards of Education connected with the church of England. Of these, the first, that of Durham, was established in 1811. These Boards had twenty training colleges under their superintendence.

Of training colleges, there were, in England and Wales, thirty-four. Two of them, Lichfield and Homerton, did not receive government aid. Of thirty under government inspection in 1858, thirteen were for male teachers, thirteen for female teachers, and four for both male and female teachers. The total amount of government grants to these schools, exclusive of building grants, was, to the end of 1858, £225,337 7s. 4d.; the total cost of building, enlarging, and improving the colleges, amounted to £334,984 3s. 9d., of which government contributed £101,641 6s. 6d.; the total income was, in 1858, £94,734 1s. 3d., of which £50,518 5s. 4d. was received from government. With the exception of female teachers for infant schools, the supply of teachers from these training institutions was found to be equal to the demand.

Of the infant schools founded by Robert Owen, and improved by Wilderspin, the commissioners report—"It appears to follow that infant schools form a most important part of the machinery required for a national system of education, inasmuch as they lay the foundation, in some degree, of knowledge, and, in a still greater degree, of habits which are essential to education; while, without them, a child may contract habits, and sustain injuries, which the best school afterwards will be unable to correct and remedy." Besides these public infant schools, there are found, in almost all parts of the country, private or dames' schools, which are frequently little more than nurseries, in which the nurse collects the children of many families into her own house, instead of attending upon the children of some one family. Here congregate the

"Infants of busy, humble wives, who pay
Some trifling price for freedom through the day."

The education given in such schools is generally woefully deficient, as might be expected in such cases, where the teachers are aged females, or unqualified persons, who have taken to teaching as a last resource. The children are collected together—it may be in one room, which is the only apartment of the schoolmistress. "Scholars may be often seen sitting round the sides of a four-post bed, on low forms, the sides of the bed forming a back to the seat; sometimes on the sides of the bed. The room is often so small that the children cannot stand in a semicircle round the teacher." Trained infant school mistresses are, as yet, few in number. The Home and Colonial School Society has, for some years, directed special attention to this department of training; and some of the recently in-

stituted normal schools are assisting to prepare a large number of properly qualified mistresses for infant schools: but more enlarged efforts in this direction are urgently needed; and the commissioners earnestly recommend that the committee of council devote its attention, and give its powerful aid, to the supply of this want.

Of 1,895 public schools in the ten specimen districts, 10·8 per cent. were infant schools; of the scholars, 31 per cent. were between three and seven years of age. In 1858, according to an estimate made by the commissioners, who applied to the schools in the whole country the ratios obtained from the ten specimen districts, it may be assumed that there were, in England and Wales, 58,975 week-day schools, affording instruction to 2,535,462 children; of which number about one-eighth may be reckoned as belonging to the middle and upper classes, and the remaining seven-eighths to the poorer classes. Of this army of two millions and a half, of which about a million may be reckoned as infants under seven years of age, 400,000 are drafted off annually into general society, to take their place in the busy scenes of life.

The Sunday-school system was established by Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, but little more than eighty years ago. The number in England and Wales, in 1833, was 16,828, containing 1,548,890 scholars. In 1858, the number was estimated at 33,872, with 2,411,554 scholars. This class of schools may or may not be very valuable. Their usefulness must, to a great degree, depend upon that of the teachers, who are chiefly voluntary, and, in many cases, young and inexperienced, and not thoroughly alive to the work. In Wales, the Sunday scholars comprise adults as well as children; men and women, advanced in life, are frequently found among the classes. In some parts of the South Wales district, more than half of the population attended the Sunday-schools in 1858, the general average being upwards of one-third; and of these half were above fifteen years of age. This statement will be better understood by comparing it with the fact that, in 1858, the number of Sunday scholars, in England, was about one-eleventh of the population. In Rochdale and Bradford, which may be taken as representatives of the large manufacturing towns of Leicestershire and Yorkshire, the Sunday scholars include a large proportion of adults. At Bradford, about one-fourth, and at Rochdale nearly one-third, of the female scholars were above fifteen years of age. In the Welsh Sunday-schools, the text-book is the Bible, which is read through, chapter by chapter, verse by verse; and questions and answers as to the meaning of the passage under consideration, are freely interchanged between the master or leader and the members of the class, or between the members themselves. At the close of the exercise, the teacher usually sums up the opinions which have been expressed, and gives his own views, with his reasons. The younger classes are chiefly occupied in learning to read, and in repeating psalms and verses of scripture which they have committed to memory. To the proficient in such exercises prizes are occasionally awarded.

In 1858, it was estimated that there were, in England and Wales, 2,036 evening schools. Not only to the mere labourer is evening instruction accessible and useful: the evening classes in King's College, London; the evening classes for young men in the city of London; the classes in connection with the London Mechanics' Institution and the Working Man's College, in which, in all, about 2,000 students enjoy the benefit of a superior education in the evening, are admirable examples of the adaptation of this class of school to the requirements of the age in which we live.

In March, 1860, the number of children in workhouse schools was 30,654. It is estimated by the commissioners, that at least 100,000 out-door pauper children receive no education whatever. Of this aggregate of 100,000 children, more than 8,000 are added annually to the adult population. The commissioners say, that the most of these are divided between the gaol and the workhouse: they form the hereditary pauper and criminal class. To some extent the cause of this

lamentable circumstance may be found in the kind of training which children in workhouses have been accustomed to receive. They have been allowed to associate freely with the adults, many of whom have spent years in crime, and the force of whose pernicious example operates more or less on all. Some of the assistant commissioners, however, give emphatic testimony to the efficacy of the instruction given in workhouse schools in their districts. Mr. Fraser, who reported in reference to one of the specimen agricultural districts, states that the instruction is not ambitious in its range, but thoroughly sound of its kind. Mr. Hedley, who had charge of the other specimen agricultural district, remarks that the boys in the workhouse schools are superior to the boys in the elementary day schools in their educational acquirements. This may arise from the enforced regular attendance, and the smallness of the number of boys generally under one teacher. Mr. Hedley adds, that one beneficial effect of industrial training in workhouse schools, is found in the improved health and spirits of the boys. A promising experiment has been made, of late years, which has already justified, to a great extent, the hopes of its promoters. In 1841, the poor-law commissioners established a system of district schools, six of which are in operation, and have been eminently successful. In these schools, the children from contiguous parishes, or unions, are collected together, and placed under competent instruction, industrial as well as intellectual, and under efficient superintendence; and it has been found, that whereas, from the ordinary workhouse schools, about 50 or 60 per cent. of the scholars have grown into paupers or criminals, from the scholars in district schools the pauper and criminal class have only received about 2 per cent. Besides these large district schools, in which, in March, 1860, there were 2,549 scholars, there are what are called separate schools. Of these, the number, in March, 1859, was nineteen, educating 4,381 scholars; making a total of 7,063 pauper children under an efficient course of education. An example of a separate school may be quoted in that of Stepney, which, in five years, educated and found situations for 229 boys, of whom 216 retained their situations, and were reported as doing well. The Poor-Law Board, in its annual report for 1860-'61, says—"Although some difficulties may occasionally arise in the management of separate establishments for children, their maintenance and education in schools removed from the associations of a workhouse are so manifestly advantageous, that it appears highly desirable to promote the formation of such schools in all practicable cases."

Relative to ragged, industrial, and reformatory schools, the commissioners report as follows:—"There are, in England and Wales, 192 week-day ragged schools, containing 20,909 children, of whom 10,308 are males, and 10,601 females. The average number of children in each school is 108·9. There are fourteen evening ragged schools, containing 707 scholars; 493 males, and 214 females. The London Ragged School Union was founded in 1854. Its total income, in 1859, was £5,142. Of the industrial schools there are eighteen certified under the acts of parliament referring to such institutions, which contain 1,193 inmates, of whom 574 are males, and 619 females; 171 of the whole number were received under sentence of magistrates. The income of the schools for 1860, was £20,599 19s. 9d. Of uncertified industrial schools there are thirty-six, with 2,822 children, of whom 1,647 are males, and 1,175 females; and a total income of £21,541 4s. 9d. for 1860. The total number of reformatories in England and Wales, certified under the Reformatory Act, was forty-seven in May, 1860, with 2,594 inmates on the 31st of December, 1859, and an aggregate expenditure of £74,361 1s. 9d. in 1858. About £2,000 a year is now received from the parents of juvenile criminals, for their support in reformatories." The commissioners speak highly of the efficiency of reform schools. "Upon the whole, none of the institutions connected with education appear to be in a more satisfactory condition than the reformatories. We have no recommendations to make respecting them; as, apart from the excellent manner in which they appear to be working, their establishment is still so recent, that the time for such alterations as may be required has not yet arrived."

In 1859, the total average number of soldiers whose names were on the books of regimental schools, was 11,195; but the average daily attendance was only 3,934. In the schools for the children of non-commissioned officers and privates, in 1858, the number of children under instruction was 11,062. In both kinds of schools small fees are charged. At the school for boys in Woolwich Arsenal, out of 1,300 boys from ten to eighteen years of age, employed in the arsenal, the average attendance at the school, in 1858, was 621. In the normal school for regimental schoolmasters, in the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, there are forty students in training. The number of trained schoolmasters at present in the army, is 244; and of trained schoolmistresses, 242. In the Royal Military Asylum, or Duke of York's School, there are about 500 boys under instruction. In ships of the navy, having a complement of not less than 300 men, schools are established; but they are not generally very efficient. Besides these, there are schools for apprentices and factory boys in the naval dockyards, which had under instruction 441 apprentices and 599 factory boys in 1859; schools on board ships in harbours; royal marine schools, for preparing boys for service in the navy; and Greenwich Hospital schools, in which 800 boys—sons of deceased and disabled seamen—receive education, and where nautical studies form a prominent feature.

From the report, we gather that, in all the specimen districts, and also throughout the kingdom, considerable improvement has taken place with regard to the relative number of children attending school. In the ten specimen districts, taken together, the number of scholars attending public and private week-day schools, in 1851, was 1 in 9·09 of the whole population; in 1858, the number was equal to 1 in 7·83 of the population. For England and Wales, in 1858, the proportion was estimated at 1 in 7·7. These figures may be usefully compared with the proportion of scholars to the population in France, which is 1 in 9; in Holland, 1 in 8·11; and in Prussia, under a system of compulsory education, where the proportion reaches 1 in 6·27.

From the returns obtained from the specimen districts, it would appear, that of every hundred children actually under instruction in public schools, 3, and in private schools, 5·4 are under three years of age; 19·8 in public, and 34·7 in private schools, are from three to six years of age; 47·6 in public, and 40·8 in private, are from six to ten years of age; 24·2 in private, and 14·5 in public schools, are from ten to thirteen years of age; and 5·4 in public, and 4·6 in private schools, are above thirteen years of age. It appears that six years is the average attendance at schools. The average daily attendance at public week-day schools, in the specimen districts, and probably throughout the whole country, is about 76 per cent. of the number of scholars on the books. Wales presents the lowest ratio, attendance being 71·9 per cent. The highest average is in the Lancashire and Yorkshire manufacturing districts, where it is 82·4 per cent.—an amount of attendance secured chiefly in consequence of the adoption of the half-time system. The ratio of attendance in private week-day schools is much higher, being 84·8 per cent. Sunday-schools show an average attendance of 74·2 per cent. Evening schools, 67·6 per cent. The Sunday-school attendance, as we may expect, is highest in Wales, being 80·9 per cent. It is lowest in Bradford and Rochdale, being 67·3 per cent.

“The following calculation,” says a writer in the *British Almanac* for 1862, from which we have quoted largely, “may be taken as a rough outline of the history of the course of education of the typical English schoolboy, deduced from the preceding statements:—He is at school for nearly six years, when he is between six and twelve years of age; he attends about seven hours daily, for about 150 days in the year, and changes his school every other year. This is exclusive of his Sunday attendance. He has thus about 900 days' schooling, at an average cost to his parents of about 4*d.* a week, or £2 10*s.* for the whole period.”

With regard to the quality of the instruction given, the same writer adds—“The various subjects of education are commonly taught, in the common day—

schools, in a very unpractical way. With respect to reading, it was found, in the specimen districts, that a larger proportion of scholars were being taught reading than any other subject in the week-day and Sunday-schools; in the evening schools, about an equal proportion were learning reading and writing. A considerable number acquire the mere art of reading with considerable ease; but there is a lamentable want of the faculty of understanding what is read. This it is often considered not within the teacher's province to care for. Writing and arithmetic are also, in many cases, taught in a very imperfect and mechanical manner." The scholars appear to be taught little to help them in their future career. Political economy is avoided. About 1 per cent. of the male scholars only are taught mechanics. Now, the greater number of these scholars become labourers; they will be constantly using machines and tools: but in consequence of their ignorance of the mechanical laws which govern matter, an immense amount of their labour will be uselessly expended.

The commissioners recommend certain alterations in the conditions on which grants are made to the schools of the independent poor, and also in the mode of providing the amount required for maintaining these schools. They recommend that the grants shall be regulated by the opinion formed by the inspector as to the discipline, efficiency, and general character of the school; and also on the proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, displayed by the scholars in the examinations before the inspector (plain work being added in the case of girls), and to be reckoned only in respect of such children as have attended school at least 140 days in the year preceding the day of examination. Other suggestions and recommendations are made by the commissioners, some of which have been, with modifications, embodied in the minutes of the committee of the Privy Council on education, establishing a revised code of regulations, adopted July the 21st, 1861, and appointed to come into full operation after the 31st of March, 1862. In this code, the object of the educational grants is stated to be, to promote the education of the children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour; and every school assisted from the grants must either be a school in connection with some recognised religious denomination, or a school in which, besides regular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the authorised version. By Article 40, the managers of day-schools may claim, per scholar, one penny for every attendance after the first hundred at the morning or afternoon meetings; and after the first twelve at the evening meetings of their school, within the year ending the last day of the month preceding that fixed for the inspector's annual visit. Attendance under half-time acts may be multiplied by two to make up the remainder. One-third part of the sum thus claimable is forfeited if the scholar fail to satisfy the inspector in reading; one-third if in writing; and one-third if in arithmetic respectively. Article 46 specifies certain conditions, which, if not satisfied, the school will not receive any grant. And Article 47 specifies certain defects in the efficiency of the school, or in its arrangements, which will entail a reduction of the grants. Hitherto the teacher received the amount of the government grant in addition to his salary from the managers; but by the new code, the money was to be given to the managers, who were to make their own arrangement with the teacher. The new code created considerable dissatisfaction. Its advocates argued that it presented a greater stimulus to the really meritorious and efficient teacher; that it tended to secure to the scholars the best efforts of their teachers in imparting the elements of a sound practical education, and thus to raise the standard of elementary instruction throughout the kingdom. The storm was fierce, and lasted long; and, in consequence of it, Mr. Lowe resigned his seat in connection with the educational department, notwithstanding the support he received from his Premier.

Another subject of passionate discussion, in connection with education at this time, was what is called the conscience clause. It is well known that, up to 1833, parliament made no grants whatever towards educating the poorer classes. The

clergy of the established church, stimulated by the rivalry of other sects, and the fear of losing their hold on the young, were early in the field. The National Society was incorporated, so long ago as 1811, expressly "for the education of the poor in the principles of the established church." Not till more than twenty years after—that is, in 1833—did parliament provide any means for that purpose. In 1839, under Lord Melbourne's ministry, the administration of these parliamentary grants was entrusted to a committee of her majesty's Privy Council. This committee, however, co-operated with the National Society in good faith and with apparent sincerity. Building grants were to be made, school sites were to be legally secured, and inspectors were to be appointed by the committee. But those inspectors were not to be appointed without the consent of the two archbishops; the general instructions relating to religious teaching were to be framed by the archbishops, and again communicated to them before receiving the final sanction of the committee. The reports of the inspectors were also to be transmitted in duplicate, and at the same time, to the archbishop of the province and to the committee, and a copy was likewise to be sent to the bishop of the diocese. Up to 1846, the committee of council on education and the National Society worked together harmoniously and successfully. In that year, however, certain "management clauses" were drawn up, and one or other was required henceforth in every trust-deed of schools in union with the National Society, and receiving building grants from the committee. In 1858, other and more serious innovations were made. For the first time dissenters were declared eligible as managers of church schools; and, moreover, the conscience clause was insisted upon in all parishes where, according to the views of the committee of council on education, there is no room for a second school. These innovations proved a very apple of discord. The National Society, after a long correspondence on the subject, repelled the introduction of the conscience clause into schools in union with it, and ceased to have any dealings with the committee of council.

The better to understand the real merits of this controversy, we may premise that this famous conscience clause has something of a Protean character about it; but the last form it assumed, in 1864, is as follows:—"The said committee shall be bound to make such orders as shall provide for admitting to the benefits of the school the children of parents not in communion with the church of England, as by law established; but such orders shall be confined to the exemption of such children, if their parents desire it, from attendance at the public worship, and from instruction in the doctrine or formularies of the said church, and shall not otherwise interfere with the religious teaching of the scholars, as fixed by these presents, and shall not authorise any other religious instruction to be given in the school." It may be said, perhaps, as Lord Harrowby stated in the *Times*, that the application of this clause is not insisted upon "in the cases which strike the eye and the heart with terror and compassion, where the masses of a squalid population are crowded together, and their children are thronging the streets, uncared for in body and soul." It is applied, indeed, only to places too small for a second school to be established—to such as contain a population of less than 500. This, at all events, is the theory, though the practice seems to vary; and it is asserted, on good authority, that no place containing less than 150 children, or 900 population, would be deemed large enough for two schools. But it appears that there are no fewer than 9,000 parishes having a population under 500. In every such instance, if a parliamentary grant were asked for, the conscience clause would be accounted a necessary accompaniment. Again, though one-sixth has been said to be the *minimum* of dissenters required for the interposition of the conscience clause, it has been alleged on the best authority, that "it was very much a matter of discretion with the vice-president of the committee of council on education, what minority he will consider sufficient to require consideration in building a national school."

Such is a brief sketch of the history of the conscience clause, and its applica-

tions. It seems but fair, in small parishes, that the children of dissenters should reap the benefits of state grants for educational purposes. As a matter of policy, one would have thought churchmen would have been only too glad to get such under their influence; else how is the church to become what it claims to be—the church of the people? At any rate, churchmen have not yet been brought to this way of thinking. They declaim on the arbitrary behests of the committee of council: they blame it strongly for introducing so exceptional a condition, and for not preceding that introduction with some notice and discussion. As to parliamentary privileges, they never appear to have caused a moment's hesitation. "Yet we would naturally suppose," they say, "that such a wholesale interference with its own system of education would require its sanction or consent. The one great objection, however, to the conscience clause is this, that it is legislation for the minority, and yet a yoke upon the necks of all. It has converted what should be the law into the exception, and exalted the exception above the general rule. Thus, the conscience clause is invariably insisted upon wherever only one national school is required; but all experience proves that it is not enforced in one case out of scores. It follows, therefore, that the committee of council go out of their way gratuitously and wantonly to offend the consciences of churchmen on the mere hypothesis that they may thus relieve the consciences of dissenters—an hypothesis proved to be improbable in the highest degree. For though the absolute exclusion of all distinctive religious teaching is not enjoined by the conscience clause, but only prohibited after objection tendered by the parents in the case of particular and individual children, it cannot be denied that this general limitation for particular and hypothetical cases in the matter of religious education, will sound very much like an infraction of their highest privileges in the ears of the parochial clergy, as well as an invasion upon their own liberties. The conscience clause, indeed, stands as a stumbling-block at the threshold. It proclaims its own terms and no surrender; and yet, in hundreds of cases, it would never be operative. Is this a wise policy? Is it either generous or charitable thus to stand at the door and refuse admittance, unless certain conditions have been agreed to which are certainly offensive, mostly a dead letter, and hardly ever necessary?" Such is the grievance associated with the conscience clause. On the other hand, the very fact of its being all but useless and inoperative diminishes its importance, and detracts from its offensiveness. In practice, therefore, the conscience clause is not formidable. Its dangers are proved to be more imaginary than real, in the estimation of churchmen themselves.

In connection with this subject of education, it may be mentioned, that on the 21st of May, a Sunday-school jubilee, at Halifax, took place, when upwards of 36,000 attended the meeting, in the Manufacturers' Piece Hall. Eighty-seven schools were represented; some from a distance of sixteen miles.

In London, in July, a public meeting was held, to found a free public library, under the Free Libraries Act. The proposal was rejected by a large majority.

In parliament, this session, the Earl of Shaftesbury called the attention of the House to that part of the report of the education commission which referred to ragged schools, the statements in which he protested against, as unfair, untrue, and ungenerous. The Duke of Newcastle defended the commissioners, and stated the chief reason which had brought them to the conclusion, that ragged schools in which industrial instruction was not given, were not proper subjects for public assistance—namely, that such assistance would be detrimental to the other schools of the country. He contended that the class of children at present in ragged schools, would be more advantageously placed either in ordinary schools, reformatories, industrial schools, or in pauper schools. On the motion of Sir S. Northcote, the House of Commons appointed a select committee, to inquire how the education of neglected children might be best assisted by any public funds.

We add a few particulars relative to ragged schools. With them is associated the name of John Pounds, of Portsmouth. In 1781, when he was fifteen years of

age, he met with an accident, which crippled him for life. His trade was that of a cobbler. He had adopted a nephew; and, thinking that he could instruct the youth better with a companion than alone, he obtained, as a second pupil, the son of a poor woman in the neighbourhood. Other children were sought by him; and he went on teaching and instructing till 1839, when he died, aged seventy-two; "regretted," says the writer of the article "Ragged Schools," in the *British Almanac* for 1861, "by many who had learned to appreciate his character; and especially by the young men and women to whom he had given the first start in life. In his latter years he had usually about forty children gathered around him; the aggregate number of those who had been under his care being not less than 500."

It was about the time that John Pounds died that efforts of a similar kind to his were put forth in some well-known localities in London, as well as in other parts of the kingdom. George Yard, Whitechapel, and Welclose Square, Ratcliffe Highway, may be mentioned as places where something of this kind was done in a desultory manner. Probably the city of Bristol was the first to possess a regularly organised ragged school of the modern type.

In the metropolis, it was a city missionary who commenced the ragged school system.

"Andrew Walker, a Scotch gardener, in the pursuit of his occupation, came to London; and, becoming acquainted with the condition of a district lying near to Westminster Abbey, commonly known as the Devil's Acre, he took the matter deeply to heart. He applied to the authorities of the City Mission; was accepted; and commenced his career as a missionary in Westminster about 1839. During the sixteen years of his labours there, he witnessed gradual improvement, and had many evidences that his arduous labours were not all in vain. It must be remembered that Mr. Walker was a pioneer, and his operations were conducted in the very worst and most dangerous of the enemy's ground. Men, women, and children were intimately acquainted with the various appliances of deception, vice, and crime. On Sunday evenings, in a house belonging to the dean and chapter, there was a school for thieves, and a mock judicial court, in which young pick-pockets were shown how best to conduct and defend themselves when brought before a real judge. There were public-houses where dancing parties were accustomed to be held, in which persons of both sexes danced in a state of nudity. Whole streets and entire squares were occupied by houses of ill-fame; and there were regular establishments, from which the professional beggars, who honoured the district with their presence, might hire, at the charge of 2s. a day, widows' weeds, naval and military uniforms, wooden legs and arms, bandages, and other implements of imposture; children, in any number, could be had from the agency office at 9d. per day, or, direct from their parents, at 6d. per day, to be exhibited for the purpose of engaging the sympathies and emptying the pockets of a benevolent public. It required a man of no ordinary nerve, and of no ordinary tact, to carry the war into such a district. Happily the personal appearance of the missionary pioneer was sufficiently imposing to inspire caution in any who might feel disposed, by physical force, to resist his advance into their domains; while his native kindness of heart, coupled with practical wisdom in the management of his schemes, accomplished at length, to a very large extent, the reformation he desired. He commenced his more active aggression by hiring a stable in New Pye Street, Westminster, in which, after some rough fittings had been placed, the work of instruction was commenced, and various means were employed to gain the attention both of parents and children. As he proceeded assistance came to him from numerous and unlooked-for quarters. Some of those well known in the locality as proficient in crime, underwent a change of life, and became helpers in school efforts. Lord Ashley (now the Earl of Shaftesbury) came very early to the aid of these useful exertions; and, by his personal interest in the work, his judicious advice, his pecuniary assistance, and his influence with others among the higher

classes, rendered invaluable service. * * * * Mr. Walker subsequently commenced a nursery in Clapham, in which he employed youths discharged from prison; and had some success in assisting these outcasts to gain a useful and honourable place in society." Among other city missionaries of like spirit, who set earnestly to work in this field in other parts of the metropolis, with corresponding success, may be named Mr. Jackson, Mr. Vanderkiste, and Mr. Langridge.

In the year 1844, there had been established in London sixteen schools, with 200 voluntary teachers, and 2,000 children. It was at this time that the Ragged School Union was formed—an institution which has been of much service in strengthening and directing local operations. Other towns followed the good example. Industrial and reformatory schools were established, in connection with ragged schools, in all parts of the country; and the useful institution of shoeblacks was one result. In London, in 1859, there were 319 thus earning an honest livelihood.

Practically, a great educational step for the adult population was passed this session: we refer to Mr. Gladstone's act for the establishment of post-office savings banks. Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, catching at a hint given by the practice of a bank in Australia, conceived the idea of making all the money-order offices contributory to the savings banks. He proposed to establish a central savings bank in London, to which depositors might send their money through the money-order office, in sums of not less than £1; and which should issue, in return or acknowledgment for the remittances, savings bank interest-notes to the amount remitted; that is, notes entitling the holder to receive the amount of his deposit, with the addition of interest, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year. The deposit might be remitted, in the form of a money-order, through the post-office, and the interest-note be received, by the same means, in one or two days. As it would be very undesirable that the interest-notes should come into circulation as a currency, the names of the owners would be written upon them, and they would be only payable to the owners, or their representatives, who might obtain the amount by complying with a simple form at the post-office. The views of Mr. Sikes were fully developed, both in a printed pamphlet, and in a paper read to the congress on social science, at Bradford. Upon the basis here laid down Mr. Gladstone legislated, and with great success. By means of post-office savings banks, persons are enabled to invest their minutest savings securely and profitably; and thus the labourer or artisan had an incentive to sobriety and industry such as he never had before.

But we must say something about the occupations of the people, as shown by the census of 1861. For this purpose the returns were classified as follows:—Professional, domestic, commercial, agricultural, indefinite, and non-productive. The professional was divided into three orders. The first, comprising persons engaged in the general or local government of the country, amounts to 87,350. The second, persons engaged in the defence of the country, reckons 131,194. The third, persons engaged in the learned professions, or occupied in literature, art, and science, is stated at 262,663. The total of the professional class is 411,957.

The domestic class forms the largest division of the population. It is divided into two orders—persons engaged in the domestic offices or duties of wives, mothers, mistresses of families, and children's relatives: to this class belong 10,058,938 persons. The second class, comprising persons engaged in entertaining and performing personal services for man, consists of 1,367,782. The commercial class comprises two orders. The first, that of persons who buy or sell, help, or lend money, houses, or goods of various kinds; the other, of persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, goods, and messages. The total number of both classes is 623,710.

The agricultural class is divided into two orders; the first amounting to 1,924,110 persons. This order is again subdivided into—1. Those working in fields and pastures, 1,883,652. 2. Working in woods, 8,926. 3. Those in gardens,

81,532. Under the second class are ranged persons engaged about animals; their number is 86,344.

The industrial class, 4,828,399, is thus divided—

Persons engaged in art and mechanical productions, in which matters of various kinds are employed in combination	953,289
Persons working and dealing in the textile fabrics, and in dress	2,231,617
Persons working and dealing in food and drinks ...	430,220
Persons working and dealing in animal substances ...	56,092
Persons working and dealing in vegetable substances ...	144,184
Persons working and dealing in minerals	1,012,997

The indefinite, or non-productive, class is thus divided—

General labourers	309,883
Other persons, of indefinite occupations	45,919
Persons of rank or property, not returned under any office or occupation	110,299
Persons living on income from voluntary sources and rates	72,724
Prisoners and others, of criminal class, of no specified occupation	3,366
Vagrants and gipsies	1,903
Persons of no stated rank, profession, or occupation ...	150,890

Mr. Charles Knight adds—"There are two other tables having relation to the occupations of the people, which are interesting. That of the foreigners in England shows how little their industry enters into competition with native exertions. The total foreigners, those of European states, amount to 73,434 persons, of whom 50,844 are males, and 22,590 females. Of the females, 13,790 belong to the domestic class, of which 3,432 are in attendance. Of male domestic servants, there are 4,433. In the professional class, we find, as teachers of music, and musicians, 2,025 males, 223 females; of teachers generally, 1,133 males, 2,147 females. There are 4,777 persons engaged in mercantile pursuits; 15,737 carriers on seas and rivers. Of the industrial class, those engaged on dress amount to 6,649; those on watches and philosophical instruments, are 1,297. In furniture, there are employed 1,071. Very different is the present time from that in which the Flemings were the principal weavers in England. All the foreign workers earning a living among us, in the factories for textile fabrics, wool, worsted, silk, cotton, flax, and mixed materials, amount only to 529.

"There are special tables appropriated to the blind, and the deaf and dumb. The total number of the blind is 19,352. Happy is it that they are not wholly deprived of the power of being useful to the community: 56 are clergymen, ministers, and church officers; 609 musicians, and teachers of music; 79 teachers. Belonging to the agricultural class, there are 1,460; to the industrial class, 4,000. We may see, in several items of these returns, how the sense of touch compensates, in some degree, for the loss of sight. There are 677 workers in dress, and 638 in cane, rush, and straw. Amongst the blind, there are 539 persons of rank or property not returned under any office or occupation; and 1,091 living on income from voluntary sources, and rates.

"The total of the deaf and dumb is 12,236. Of these, 5,104 belong to the domestic class; 932 to the agricultural; and 2,909 to the industrial. Of this class, 1,949 are working and dealing in the textile fabrics, and in dress." In documents such as these, as Mr. Knight has well remarked, "the inner life of a nation may be traced."

In parliament, some little attention was drawn to the condition of the labouring classes. On February 28th, the Earl of Derby, in presenting some petitions

respecting the demolition of labourers' dwellings, in consequence of the construction of great public works, especially railways in the metropolis, suggested whether it might not be desirable to appoint a committee to inquire into the effect of the extension of railways upon the moral and social condition of the metropolis. On March 11th, his lordship got the House to agree, "that it be an instruction to the committee on the metropolitan railways, to inquire into and report on the number of houses and of inhabitants which are to be removed by the works of the respective railways, and whether any provision has been made, or is required to be made, for diminishing the evils consequent." On April 12th, the sheriffs of the city of London appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, with a petition from the corporation of the city of London, praying, that in the case of the metropolitan railways which are seeking to have termini in London—in consequence of which many of the working classes would be driven from their present abodes—provision should be made for the conveyance of the working classes from the stations of such railways at cheap rates. Again, in August, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved an address to her majesty, for an inquiry into the employment of children and young persons in trades and manufactures not already regulated by law. The motion was agreed to, and discoveries were made of a character which imperatively demanded parliamentary interference.

The subject of providing decent house accommodation for the labouring classes, driven from their homes in such large numbers by recent London "improvements," has lately been much before the public. Regarding the evil of overcrowding, which at present obtains among the poor, Mr. Tucker, a Berkshire magistrate, tells us—"Two years ago, I read to the friends of the Faringdon Agricultural Library a paper on the condition of the agricultural labourer, in which I drew attention to the vast efforts that had been made for the advancement of agriculture in all its departments; and endeavoured to show that everything which science or art could devise, or money command, had been made tributary to this object, and that not merely in improved methods of cultivating the soil, and the introduction of new and improved implements and machinery, but also in the breeding, feeding, and housing of cattle in dry, clean, well-ventilated buildings: at the same time, I pointed to the fact, that while all these gigantic efforts were called forth in that direction, comparatively little had been done to improve the well-being of the labourer, and especially as regards cottage accommodation. These observations, I believe, are just as true now as they were two years since; and, feeling a deep interest in the question, I have employed competent persons to visit every town and village in the Faringdon Union, to obtain exact information as to the accommodation and number of inmates in every cottage in the Union. That information I hold in my hand; but, as it is too minute, circumstantial, and voluminous to lay before this meeting, I have made a digest of the leading features, which, with permission, I will read to you." This digest was published in the *Times*, and was a most sickening report. Other gentlemen followed. Mr. James Harvey, chairman of the West London Union, writes—"Some time since, the relieving officer, and one of the guardians of this Union, visited Plumtree Court, Holborn, which contains twenty-seven houses, without back-yards, and, with few exceptions, without back lights. These houses were occupied by 676 men, women, and children. In one room, 10 feet by 13, and 8 feet 6 high, there were thirteen persons living and sleeping—viz., two men, five women, and six children. In another house, 17 feet long and 16 feet wide, including the passage, with ground-floor, first-floor, and attic, there were sixty-nine persons living and sleeping, with only one convenience in the basement. On another occasion, when our relieving officer visited a house in this court, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, for the apprehension of a man who had deserted his wife, in attempting to go into one room, he was compelled to wait until the inmates had risen from the floor behind the door, so that the door could be opened. The people lay so thick on the floor that he had to be cautious in stepping between them. In

this room there was one child suffering from the measles, and another from the small-pox. On opening the door, the stench was so great that the police-officer who accompanied him was obliged to withdraw. From this court alone, the parish has had to pay extra fees to the medical officer for the confinement of an incredible number of young women, and 'widows,' of illegitimate children. The cases continually being brought before our board of once respectable women who have fallen under such conditions are truly heartrending, and form one of the greatest difficulties with which boards of guardians have to deal.

"A house in Holborn Buildings, 18 feet deep and 18 feet wide, including the passage, was visited last week, and was then occupied as follows:—Attic, seven women; first-floor front, five women; ditto back room, two married couples; ground-floor front, five men; ditto back room, four men: in all, twenty-five persons, paying 1s. 6d. each per week—equal to £97 10s. per annum. The house is rated to the poor at £15 per annum! A short time since, a respectable married woman, with an infant nine months old, who had been deserted by her husband, lodged in this house for five weeks, paying 1s. 6d. per week for half a bed with a perfect stranger. She was then obliged to come into the workhouse. The respectable poor, in their distress, are thrust into these dens of demoralisation, because there are not dwellings within the reach of their means.

"In Plough Court, Fetter Lane (a blind court), containing thirty-eight houses, at the taking of the census of 1851, nearly 2,000 people were living and sleeping, giving an average of forty persons to each house."

The cases cited here are not exceptional. They are such as exist in all our towns and villages, and indicate not so much the poverty as the improvidence of the poor. The truth must be told. More than anything else, it is requisite that the working classes be decently lodged, and not compelled to live in pestiferous dens, to escape which men and women are driven, in self-defence, to rush to the beer-shop, the gin-palace, or the public-house. The dwellings of the poor, in the back-streets and alleys of our towns, and often on the estates of rich, and even benevolent landlords, are as wretched as they are degrading. In France the operatives are considerably better lodged. In London, and in all our large towns, it is not uncommon for families, of all ages and sexes, to sleep in one room, without the slightest attempt to preserve decency. The evils resulting, appalling as they are, are still further enhanced by the state of the back-streets and alleys of our towns. The condition of these streets and alleys is as bad as it can be. They are built after no plan; they are narrow, and often closed at one end; they are very badly drained; the openings of what drains there are, are generally close to the windows or doors of the houses; there is often only one privy for three, four, and sometimes as many as ten houses; the streets and yards are used for the filthiest purposes, and the stench is often insupportable. Recently, the writer of this work had occasion to visit a town of this description a few miles out of London. We could scarcely believe, till we saw it, that human creatures could live in such degradation. The sight was appalling. The houses, with their cold brick floors, windows stuffed with rags, with dust and filth all around, were not fit for pigs. No gentleman would lodge in such places his horses or hounds; yet these hovels were crowded; and as we saw the wretchedness within and without, we thought how deep and dire must be the poverty of the surrounding neighbourhood. Women were there, all slovenly and filthy; and in these wretched sties—for they could scarce be called houses—were young children born and brought up. For what? It was needless to ask. The answer was too obvious. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." Such a childhood can but lead to a manhood vicious and degraded, and stained with crime. The people were not poor. Most of the men earned a guinea a week; many as much as thirty shillings. A great deal of money was paid away in the district, which was one of market-gardeners. Yet the labourers who received it all, lived in a state little, if any, better than that of savages. The inspector of police was with us. We asked

previous good character; and of 144,405 the characters were unknown. Each prisoner cost the country £26 5s. 6d. The actual cost to the state of each convict, after deducting the proceeds of his labour, was £19. At the Middlesex Industrial School, opened in 1859, and containing, in 1861, 265 inmates, the cost per head, per annum, was £24 0s. 10½d.

In the courts of common law, 97,568 writs of summons, and 512 writs of *capias* were issued; 2,069 causes entered for trial. In the County Courts, there were 782,384 complaints entered. In 1860, there were 2,820 insolvent petitions filed; and, in the Bankruptcy Courts, 1,326 petitions were presented; 848 by creditors, and 432 by traders themselves. Under the statute which provides for traders settling their affairs by private arrangement, without bankruptcy, there were 218 petitions.

In parliament attention had been called to the defective state of the bankruptcy law; and an attempt was made to remedy it. On February the 11th, on the motion of the Attorney-general, a bill was brought in, and read a first time, for that purpose. In April it was read a third time, and passed the Commons. In the Lords the measure was successful; but considerable opposition was made to it. In the Commons, on July the 18th, after a warm discussion, an amendment, by the Lords striking out from the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Bill the provision for a chief judge in bankruptcy, was rejected by 173 to 129. However, on the 31st, the Commons thought better of it; and it was agreed, on the motion of the Attorney-general, not to insist on their disagreement with the Lords. This act consisted of 232 clauses; and as it particularly affected the commercial and trading classes, was, perhaps, the most important passed in the session. It decreed that henceforth the Court of Bankruptcy will consist of the present commissioners; and to them is confided all needful powers of the superior courts of law and equity, and of the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors. The County Court judges are henceforth to exercise in the county all the powers of district commissioners. The London commissioners are, as vacancies occur, to be reduced to three. The Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors was abolished, and the jurisdiction of the County Courts for insolvency is discontinued. The existing Court of Appeal in Chancery was preserved, and appeals were to be made to it from the County Courts in bankruptcy, as well as from the Court of Bankruptcy proper. Questions of fact may, under the directions of the Court of Appeal, be tried in bankruptcies by juries; or issues may be sent to be tried by law. The principal feature of the act was, that non-traders are brought within the privileges and liabilities of bankruptcy, although the distinction between a trader and a non-trader was, for some certain purposes, preserved. But it is needless to enter more into the particulars of a bill which, in its working, has given great and wide-spread dissatisfaction, and which the commercial public, at the first fitting opportunity, have determined to get reformed.

In London a huge sanitary improvement is being carried out. It appeared, in 1860, considerable progress had been made with the main-drainage works. The northern high-level sewer was completed from Hampstead to the river Lea, a distance of nearly nine miles; and the remaining portion, from Lea to Barking Creek, a distance of about six miles, is in a fair way of completion. The works at the Lea are of a very difficult character, the sewers having to be carried by iron aqueducts, supported on columns, across no less than seven branches of the river, and over several lines of railway. The southern high-level sewer is much less advanced than the northern. The works there are of an extremely difficult character, especially at Deptford, where the subsoil, which had to be bored for the low-level sewer, proved to be a running sand, filled with an unprecedented volume of water. "Up to the present time," reports Mr. Bazalgette, the engineer, "nearly one million has been expended upon the works, purchase of the land, and incidentals; and there are now about 6,000 workmen actively engaged upon the works, in addition to those employed in brick-making and other trades in various parts of England, which will probably swell the number to about 10,000. It

will fairly be expected," he adds, "that the main intercepting scheme will be completed in about two years from this time." The original estimate for the intercepting scheme was £3,000,000; and Mr. Bazalgette was still of opinion that it would be completed for about that sum; but he warned us that another half million would be required for improving the tributary sewers, and covering all open streams, before the London drainage can be pronounced perfect.

Another great work begun, was that of the embankment of the Thames. The House of Commons passed a resolution continuing the ninepenny tax on coals, within the limits of the Metropolitan Police Act, for that express purpose. The committee appointed by the House to report on the plans submitted to them for inspection, recommended one which the chief commissioner embodied in a bill, which was carried through parliament. The coal-wharves and docks between Westminster and the Temple were to be removed, and a spacious roadway was to be formed, commencing "at Westminster, by an easy descent, opposite the clock-tower, and to be continued, one hundred feet in width, to the eastern boundary of the Temple Gardens, from which point the road would be reduced to seventy feet in width, and carried on a viaduct, supported by piers of masonry, rising to the level of Blackfriars Bridge—so constructed as to leave a breadth of water for the convenience of the city gas-works and the adjoining wharves, of about seventy or eighty feet. The commissioners, as the embankment would cease at Blackfriars, recommend that the thoroughfare should be continued eastward to the Mansion-house; for without such a street no relief would be given to the crowded thoroughfare of Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Cheapside. The main length of the embankment is about 7,000 feet; but it is completely divided by the bridges into sections, and each is to be treated as a separate design."—"On either side of Hungerford and Waterloo Bridges would be steam-boat landing-places, the dummies for which would be partly concealed within recesses, formed by projecting into the river, in front of the general line of embankment, massive granite piles, with moulded pedestals, rising high (about thirty feet) above the roadway, and hereafter to be enriched with groups of statuary and bas-reliefs. Half-way between Hungerford and Waterloo Bridges it is proposed to construct a flight of landing-steps, sixty feet wide, projecting into the river, and flanked at each end with massive piers rising to the level of a few feet above the roadway, which would add much to the effect of this central feature as viewed from the river." The other bridges and intermediate landing-places will be treated in a similar way. "The embankment wall itself has been enriched with mouldings of a simple character, down to the level of high-water-mark, the continuous line of moulding being broken by the introduction, at intervals, of massive blocks of granite, to carry ornamental lamps, and by occasional recesses for promenade seats."

Another undertaking, which, in its results, was found a wonderful convenience to Londoners, and people from the country visiting London, was the Metropolitan Railway, the works of which were constructed with unrivalled skill and rapidity. It was opened in 1863. Ultimately it was connected with the Great Northern Railway, and then with the London, Chatham, and Dover. Thus, from the latter place to the very north of England, there is uninterrupted railway communication—a matter of no slight importance when we remember the crowded state of the streets of London, the difficulty pedestrians have in crossing them, and the distressing accidents which daily occur in consequence.

In 1859, Mr. D. W. Harvey, commissioner of city police, caused to be prepared an account of twenty-four hours' traffic over London Bridge, from six in the morning on March 16th, to six in the morning on March 17th. The number of persons on foot was 107,074; and in vehicles, 60,836; or 167,910 altogether. The vehicles were 4,483 cabs, 4,286 omnibuses, 9,245 waggons and carts, 2,430 other vehicles; or 20,444 in all—7,000 persons and 850 vehicles per *hour* night and day! It is said of a stranger who came to London for the first time, and took

up his quarters in one of the most crowded streets of the city, that he remained standing at the door the whole of the first day of his London existence, because he waited until the crowd had gone. "A man," says a German writer, "who would do that, must rise and go to bed with the owl."

It is to be feared, that while parliament was looking after the morals of the poor, our law-makers forgot to look at home. The poor are looked after by the police; visited by the city missionary; their attendance at a place of worship is competed for by the clergy of various and rival sects; their wants and woes are worked up into newspaper articles; and they live, as it were, in houses of glass. It is true that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives; but it is not true in the sense in which it is generally affirmed. Who would have thought it possible that a pious baronet, taking the chair at a religious meeting in Exeter Hall, would prove a felon; that a great discounting house, eminent in the mercantile and philanthropic world, would sanction the circulation of forged dock-warrants; that the manager, about to engage in prayer at a meeting of directors, would turn out to be the manager of the greatest swindle in modern times. Society would never have believed that the charitable Redpath, or the dashing Robson, or the wealthy Roupell, M.P. for Lambeth, were forgers and cheats: and yet they were all that, and more; and our trading classes, becoming richer, and more sunk in flunkysm every day, certainly set their inferiors but an indifferent example. In a work published at this time, the writer says—"If I were to tell what most men know—what every one knows except those whose business is to know it, and seek to reform it—I should be charged with indelicacy (as if truth could be indelicate), and my book, perhaps, prosecuted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, if that abortion exists still. We are choked up with cant; almost everything we believe in is a lie. The prayer of Ajax should be ours—"Light! more light!"

One or two facts will suffice.

The Hon. Mrs. Norton, writing to the *Times*, in defence of her new novel, *Lost and Saved*, says—"It is complained that this is not a book for the very young. I did not write it for the very young; I should not give novels to the very young, any more than I should teach my daughter French out of *Gil Blas*, though that was a general fashion in the last generation. I myself read no novels, saw no plays, nor ever attended the opera till I was married. And to those who object to a story of the cruel vices of fashionable life, written with a moral purpose, and an effort at warning, I must say that this last amusement struck me then with a surprise which no after familiarity has ever obliterated. The opera is, unquestionably, the favourite amusement of the English aristocracy. Now, what are the plots of the principal operas?

"The plot of *Don Giovanni* is so well known that the name has passed into a by-word for profligacy. In *Norma*, two Druid priestesses are seduced. The elder priestess, with consummate hypocrisy, continues to head all sacred rites till jealous frenzy forces from her the fact that she is the mother of two children. These children she threatens to murder, but spares, and is herself executed; leaving it doubtful whether or not the younger priestess, and inconstant lover, are to 'live happy ever after,' or not.

"In the *Sonnambula*, a young lord puts up at the village inn, where two young women walk into his room at night; one from wantonness, the other because she is a somnambulist. The somnambulist, who was a bride on the point of marriage, is unable to convince her betrothed, by any amount of melodious argument, that she is innocent, till, during a repetition of her somnambulism, he is compelled to admit that 'seeing is believing,' and all ends happily.

"In the *Favorita*, a young monk falls in love with a lady while dipping their mutual fingers in holy water; forsakes his monastery; lives a life of pleasure; goes to the wars, and returns, covered with glory, to claim her hand. But he discovers she is mistress to a king, so renounces the tainted bride, and returns to his monastery, where the lady arriving, disguised as a male novice, he instantly reverts

to his earthly passion, and proposes to her to elope. He then finds that she has poisoned herself, and, appointing the next day for his own death, from a broken heart, the piece ends.

"In *Lucrezia Borgia*, a beautiful youth, of unknown parentage, falls in love, at first sight, with his own mother! Not knowing this fact, but learning that she is the infamous Lucrezia Borgia, he clambers up, and strikes out the first letter of her name with his dagger, leaving the word 'Orgia.' Seized while completing this insult, and dragged before her husband, a pretended pardon from the latter (who believes him to be Lucrezia's paramour), is followed by the presentation of a cup of poison. Lucrezia offers an antidote as soon as she can, and he is saved for the nonce. But, attempting to destroy a whole group of her insulters, with whom he is feasting, she poisons him over again. A few drops only of the antidote remain, which he magnanimously refuses to take, since there is not sufficient to share with his friends. He therefore dies; learning, at the last moment, that the fatal enchantress he had adored is his profligate mother.

"In *Rigoletto*, the buffoon, or jester, in another most profligate Court, has a beautiful daughter, who is seduced by the duke, his master, while he is encouraging the duke's vices, and ridiculing the misery of an aged nobleman, in whose family the like misfortune has occurred. Cursed solemnly by the old nobleman, he discovers that his daughter is ruined, and that he himself connived at her fall, thinking it was the abduction of some other woman. Finally, he hires an assassin to murder the lover, tie him up in a sack, and throw him into the river; but the daughter is unfortunately murdered, in mistake, by the hired bravo; so that when the father triumphantly drags out the sack with the body, he finds it to be the corpse of his own child.

"We have, besides these, an operatic version of Goethe's *Faust*; and the *Traviata*, a story of an 'unfortunate,' beloved by a young gentleman of good fortune, and held to be (Heaven knows why) a more improper opera than even *Lucrezia Borgia*."

Again, let us take the case of the Windham trial—that scandal which really shocked society. The property and name of the great Windham was inherited at this time by a young man who had received the usual training of the class to which he belonged. His uncle was General Windham, the hero of the Redan; his relatives were people of title; so that the lad had what may be considered as every advantage for his start in life. Some little time before he attained his majority, Mr. Windham was smitten, in the park, by the charms of a lady with an elegant equipage. She belonged to the class conventionally known by the title of "pretty horsebreakers," a phrase, the appropriateness of which we might well question, if we were so disposed, seeing that it indicates only an incident, and not an essential attribute of their career. Her Christian names were soft and pretty—"Agnes Anne;" her surname was more prosaic and business-like, although it was the same as that of one of our most accomplished and most poetical of Englishmen—Rogers. By a justifiable license, universally recognised on the stage, as well as in her own particular world, she changed this unromantic cognomen for the more aristocratic appellation of Willoughby; and we must so far pay tribute to her taste as to call her by that name. At the time Mr. Windham became fascinated, Agnes Anne Willoughby was under the protection of a gentleman who allowed her the sum of £2,000 a year—a sum, we may remark, which is about the highest allowed to the permanent servants of the crown in England. Mr. Windham paid his addresses, but Miss Willoughby did not receive them with favour. She intimated plainly her dislike of him, and her unwillingness to part with her protector, and his £2,000 a year. Nevertheless, Mr. Windham persevered. He offered her marriage, and a settlement of £800 in perpetuity; to be afterwards increased to £1,500, when Windham came in for the bulk of his property, which altogether amounts to some £15,000 a year. Although she all along appears to have expressed her dislike to the man and the match, these terms attracted her, and she agreed to

marry, stating as her reason, that it would enable her to educate and provide for her sisters—it is to be hoped in a way to prevent them following her own course of life. The settlements were made; the marriage took place a few days after Mr. Windham came of age, and every stipulation on his part fulfilled; but he appears to have begun making wholesale purchases of jewellery for her. In a few weeks, Agnes Anne Windham, as she now indisputably had become, was endowed with trinkets to the value of £14,000. With all the attractions of her new position, however, she does not seem to have relished it; for, before two months had elapsed, the bride had left her husband. Such a termination to such an alliance, we need scarcely say, was no more than might have been anticipated; and, under ordinary circumstances, the story would have ended here. Mrs. Windham would have retained her jointure, and, doubtless, devoted herself to the education of her young sisters; while Mr. Windham would have been left to ponder over the mutability of women. But the relations of the young gentleman took steps which reopened the whole arrangement, and which, apart from the interests of the parties involved, are of no small public consequence. Of these, the least important is that which came before Vice-Chancellor Page Wood, by which it was sought to punish an attorney who acted for Mr. and Mrs. Windham in the matter of the settlements. But, although this gentleman's conduct was open to question in some particulars, the Vice-Chancellor could not, as Mr. Windham's relatives asked, consider it a contempt of court. The more serious question had next to be decided. A commission of lunacy on the young gentleman who is the principal actor in these unhappy transactions was held; and it had to be argued whether the folly shown by him throughout the affair indicated a weakness of mind so great as to make him irresponsible for his actions, and incapable of managing his affairs. The decision was for Mr. Windham, as was anticipated. It was felt, if the court was asked to declare a man of unsound mind, only because of his infatuation for a woman worthless in her conduct, and below his station in every respect, the court would have enough to do; and many, we may be sure, were not sorry that it shrank from the Herculean task. As regards poor Windham, it would have been well had the court decided otherwise, and appointed others to take care of estates which he could not manage or retain. Stripped of all his property, abandoned by his wife and friends, he became the driver of a stage-coach, and died suddenly in an obscure public-house, after he had scarcely passed the period of youth.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AFFAIR OF THE TRENT, AND NATIONAL DEFENCES.

IN the autumn of 1861, there were grand doings in the ancient port of Dover. Lord Palmerston was to be installed as Lord Warden. The holiday shows witnessed there on that occasion were not only a splendid pageant, but also something more. The installation of the Lord Warden on Bredenstone Hill was not a mere "revival" without sense or meaning. Dover did not turn out to behold a hollow ceremony. The Cinque Ports, the two ancient towns, and their "limbs," did not send their foremost men and their gallant volunteers to take part in an idle form. The Dover pageant of a review, an installation, and a good old English banquet, was a reality. For, combined with the ancient forms, was the spirit and the body of the present time. Lord Palmerston appeared in the centre of the spectacle, not only as the great minister whom the nation as well as the queen delighteth to honour, but as the very embodiment of the England of 1861—

watchful and resolute, but friendly and generous towards all with whom she may have relations. Those who went to greet him perfectly understood that the Premier was not only the Warden of the Cinque Ports, but the Warden and the Warden of Great Britain. There was no one in the United Kingdom, or in Europe, who, in perusing his speech, doubted the power to which allusion was made when he said—"We accept with frankness the right hand of friendship wherever it is tendered to us. We do not distrust that proffered right hand because we see the left hand grasping the hilt of the sword. But when that left hand plainly does so grasp the hilt of the sword, it would be extreme folly in us to throw away our shield of defence."

At this time our relations with America were becoming delicate and difficult. A fugitive slave, named Anderson, had escaped to Canada; but not without, in self-defence, having been compelled to murder one of the Americans, whose disgraceful vocation it is to seek and recapture runaway slaves. Of course Anderson told no one what he had done. He settled quietly, worked hard, saved his money, and became the proprietor of a house. About the commencement of the year 1860, Anderson's secret was betrayed, and a justice of the peace, named Matthews, upon the information thus furnished, caused Anderson to be arrested; but no witness appearing, Anderson was released. Only three days after he was again arrested on the information of a wretch named Gunning, a professional slave-catcher: but, after some weeks' imprisonment, Anderson was again liberated. Gunning, however, did not despair, and returned from the United States with additional evidence. Anderson was again committed to gaol, and the Washington government claimed him. The Canadian Governor-general had the case brought before the Court of Queen's Bench of Canada, by *habeas corpus*. A majority of the judges determined that Anderson should be given up; but the judgment was reversed when referred to the Court of Law and Appeal. The excitement in Toronto was very great; and when the news reached London, equal excitement was produced in England. The Anti-Slavery Society memorialised the government. They did more: they applied to the Court of Queen's Bench, at Westminster, for a writ of *habeas corpus* to issue for the production of the person of Anderson in that court. The writ was granted; and when issued by the Court of Queen's Bench, was despatched to Canada by the first mail. By the same mail a letter was despatched from Lord John Russell; but, in the meantime, after eight months' confinement in a Canadian gaol, Anderson had been liberated, on the ground that the warrant was not issued in conformity with the statute: because, first, it did not contain a charge of murder, but merely of felonious homicide; whereas neither the treaty nor the statute either authorise a surrender, or a committal for the purpose of surrender, for any homicide not expressed to be murder. Secondly, that the warrant was not expressed to be the purpose of surrender, but only until the prisoner shall be discharged by due course of law, whereas the statute requires both. Upon the merits of the question itself no judgment was given. In a short time, Anderson, after he was set free, came to England; very naturally he felt, as long as he stayed in Canada, he might be again arraigned. He knew the perseverance and implacability of his enemies, and how ready to forward their designs were numerous base persons, both in Upper and Lower Canada. In England he was enthusiastically received, especially at Exeter Hall. A committee was formed to raise a fund on his behalf; and very successful and warm were the meetings at which Anderson attended. His true friends, however, felt that it was better for him to be removed from the excitement of London; and accordingly he was placed in a quiet village in Northamptonshire for twelve months, where he made considerable progress in his studies. At the end of that time he was removed to Liberia, to which he was offered a free passage by the African Mail Steam Company, and where, by the kindness of the Liberian consul-general, a tract of land had been allotted him.

In the House of Commons, February, 1861, in reply to questions respecting the Canada extradition case, Lord Palmerston stated that the Secretary of State

for the Colonies had written to the Governor-general of Canada, desiring that John Anderson should not be given up to the United States' authorities without directions from the home government; and he would not be given up until the question pending in the Court of Queen's Bench was settled. The terms of the treaty were clear, that before Anderson was given up, it must be established, by a court of competent jurisdiction, that he had committed what, by the English law, would be considered murder. If Anderson had not committed murder, he could not be claimed under the treaty.

In the last week of November, 1861, news reached England that Captain Wilks, of the American navy, had carried off four American citizens from the deck of an English vessel, in violation of international law. It appeared, that while on her way to England, the English mail-steamer *Trent* was stopped by the Federal steamer *San Jacinto*, and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the Confederate commissioners, taken from her. Commander Williams, the mail agent on board the British steamer, in a speech delivered at a dinner of the Royal Western Yacht Club, thus narrates the affair—"As to the manner in which the act on board the *Trent* was performed, he was, at the time Captain Moir came to him to say that a suspicious vessel was ahead, on the main-deck, reading. A very few minutes after the vessel was descried, they hoisted their ensign on board the *Trent*. It was not responded to. As they approached the *San Jacinto*, a shot was fired across the bows of the *Trent*. They proceeded slowly, and put her helm a-starboard, and approached. They were not half a cable's length from her. He would say she stopped—except that she had steerage way—when a shell was fired across her bows; and that was the way which it had been thought proper to style as 'unexceptionable.' With regard to the manner in which Lieutenant Fairfax and he parted—Mr. Fairfax came to him on the main-deck, hat in hand, and said in effect—'Sir, I have a painful duty to perform, and if, in the excitement of the moment, I have said aught that by possibility can be construed into a personal offence, or an insult towards you, I must humbly beg your pardon, sir, for I never meant it.' He replied—'Mr. Fairfax, I have had a painful scene to witness—a scene of degradation to my country's flag. I do not deny that my feelings have been greatly excited; but if by any gesture I have done aught to offend you, as a man, there is my hand, sir, and I crave your forgiveness.' Mr. Fairfax had said that his (Commander Williams's) manner was so violent he was compelled to request Captain Moir to remove him from the deck, and that there was no union existing between him and Captain Moir. He utterly denied that there ever occurred one single instance of a want of unity between Captain Moir and himself; and he was proud to have the opportunity of saying that he could bear testimony to the high character of Captain Moir. It was said by the American papers that Captain Wilks could not have received instructions from his government at Washington, for that he was on his return from the western coast of Africa, wending his way through the Bahama Channel to New York. But on the 16th or 17th of October, he (Commander Williams) saw the *San Jacinto* off St. Thomas. He went on his way to Mexico, going to Havannah, Vera Cruz, and Tampico. On his return to Havannah on the 6th of November, he found that the *San Jacinto* had been to Havannah from St. Thomas; that she had coaled there; and that two of her officers, passing themselves off as Southerners in their hearts, had lunched with Mr. Slidell and family, and extracted from them their intended movements. Miss Slidell branded one of the officers to his face with his infamy, having been her father's guest not ten days before. Mr. Fairfax had denied that the marines made a rush towards Miss Slidell at the charge with fixed bayonets, but he (Commander Williams) most positively affirmed that they did so. Miss Slidell did strike Mr. Fairfax, but she did not do it with the vulgarity of gesture which had been attributed to her. Miss Slidell was with her father in the cabin, with her arm encircling his neck, and she wanted to be taken to prison with him. Mr. Fairfax attempted to get into the cabin—he did not say forcibly, for he did not say a word against Mr. Fairfax, so far as his



manner was concerned—he attempted to get her away by inducements. In her agony, then, she did strike him in the face three times. With regard to the circumstances attending the marines rushing with the points of their bayonets at Miss Slidell, it was then that she screamed for her father, who broke the window of the cabin, through which he thrust himself; and as she screamed, he (Commander Williams) had just time to put his body between their bayonets and Miss Slidell.”

Before sitting down, he read a letter which he had received from his chief, Captain Patey, showing that he had the approbation of government for his part of the affair; which, after referring to the circumstances of the case, concluded as follows:—“I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to convey to you their lordships’ approval of your conduct whilst acting as naval agent on board the *Trent* on the occasion in question; and also of the judicious steps you subsequently took for making the matter known to Lord Lyons and Vice-Admiral Milne, and other British authorities.—CHARLES PATEY, Captain Superintendent.”

All England anticipated war with America. A proclamation appeared, prohibiting the exportation of munitions of war. Expedition after expedition was despatched across the Atlantic. In three weeks, from 10,000 to 11,000 troops were on their way across the Atlantic, and our naval force at that station was nearly doubled. The English public was certainly in a great rage. The deck of a British man-of-war was sacred, and that sanctity had been rudely violated. The people were ready to make any sacrifice to obtain reparation for the wrong.

A despatch, courteously worded, dated November 30th, 1861, was forwarded by the British cabinet to Washington, expressing the belief that Captain Wilks had acted without the authority of his government, and requiring the surrender of the captured envoys. It was calculated that an answer to this despatch could be received in about a month. It arrived, in fact, on the 9th of January. On the 3rd of December, three days after the date of the British despatch, the French government forwarded a communication, through their minister at Washington, expressing their disapproval of the act of Captain Wilks, accompanied with the courteous intimation that all the neutral powers were interested in the disavowal of the proceeding on the part of the United States’ government. This despatch was formally communicated to the British government on the 6th of December. On the 19th of December, Mr. Adams, the American minister, waited on our Foreign Minister, to say that “no instructions were given to Captain Wilks to authorise him to act in the manner he had done. Neither had the United States’ government committed itself with regard to any decision upon the character of that act. The government would wait for any representation the British government might make before coming to any positive decision.” On the 18th of December, the Austrian, and, on the 25th, the Prussian government, sent despatches to Washington, supporting the claim of the British government. The Russian ambassador, at London, wrote to his colleague at Washington, condemning the conduct of Captain Wilks; and this was confirmed by the Russian government. These proceedings of the three great powers were immediately made known to the British government, who must have felt that the chance of war was indeed small, especially considering the internal strife by which America was torn asunder and convulsed.

The American view of the transaction appears to have differed very considerably from our own. According to Ward Beecher, they thought nothing of the indignity offered to England in boarding a British steamer, and abducting two of the passengers. In his farewell speech at Manchester, the reverend gentleman said—“You will recollect that an American naval vessel, by accident—if there be such things as accidents—overhauled an English mail-steamer, and took from it two men who represented themselves as ambassadors from the so-called Confederate government to the Courts of England and France respectively. I remem-

ber very well, when the ship came from Europe, and the tidings spread across America as quick as lightning could flash, that, for a day or two, the universal feeling was—‘Here’s a stupendous joke.’ Everybody laughed. It struck the comical feeling of the nation, that these two men should have started off to represent the Confederates at St. James’s and in Paris, and, instead, found themselves in Fort Lafayette. And there was a feeling of immense good-nature, and even jollity. Then, after two or three days, some lawyer men began to inquire in the papers—‘What is the law on this subject? It may be a very good joke; but what says the law?’ We began to draw down our faces, and say—‘Sure enough there is an England, and she will have a word to say. What, then, is the law?’ Then began to be quoted what the English law was; our papers began to be filled with English precedents and English conduct; and there was a universal feeling that we had acted according to English precedents. That conviction is yet unchanged, and never will be changed, because it is according to fact. But I had the opportunity of knowing, from my position, both as preacher, lecturer, and editor, that the feeling of the people was, ‘We are going to do what is right now, whatever it is. If we are in the wrong, we shall concede this matter; but if we are in the right, we will not budge an inch, neither by bullying nor intimidation.’ At the moment the information came to our shores of these facts, Mr. Seward addressed a confidential communication to Mr. Adams, instructing him to read the same to Earl Russell; the purport of which was, that this had been done without the privity or assent of the government, who were prepared, on the statement of England’s wishes, to settle this matter amicably. Mr. Adams read that to Earl Russell, and it lay nine or ten days quiet. The letter being confidential, Mr. Adams scrupulously avoided speaking of it; but it leaked out, nevertheless, that there had been a communication from the American government to the English, and everybody was asking what was its nature. This communication having been read, I think, on the 19th of December, it would be about the 29th that your *Morning Post*, which is supposed to be a semi-official organ, declared that there had been a communication from the American government, but that it had nothing to do with the *Trent* affair. And whereas it was a communication on that, and nothing else. To this hour that paper has never explained nor retracted that malicious falsehood. From that point complication began—I believe that. But there was something before that. Even before that message came from Washington, and before the British government had heard what we had to say, orders had issued that British troops should repair to Canada, and the navy and dockyards were put on double labour. England has never shown want of promptness and spirit; but I believe you can find no other case in English history in which a misunderstanding between ships of two nations has been treated with similar precipitancy—not waiting to hear explanations, but preparing for war, or threatening war, before you could possibly have the real facts. As to what took place on the other side, I am alleged to have been all wrong when I said the American government showed instant disposition to make reparation, because, on the other hand, we heaped honours on Captain Wilks all through the nation. When we thought we were right, we did; but after we found out, by the declaration of our government, that we were wrong, point me to one instance in which even the slightest popular assembly undertook to traverse the decision of our government by showing attention to Captain Wilks.”

There is much force in these observations. We need not go so far as Mr. Beecher, and defend the conduct of Captain Wilks, as sanctioned by English precedent; but the conduct of Lord Palmerston and the British government was certainly more spirited than friendly. There was little danger of war with America. The Americans at that time had quite enough to do. Nor were our successes, when at war with the people of that country, such as to create any desire in this country again to engage in an American war. We had gathered few laurels in our American encounters; nay, Canada, with its vast and defenceless frontier, supplies

an additional motive for desiring peace with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. We could listen to, and treat with proper respect, the criticisms of a popular orator and leader such as Mr. Beecher; but when America sought to condemn us on the testimony of Mr. Edwin James, formerly M.P. for Marylebone, that was quite a different affair. Mr. James had been compelled to withdraw from England under peculiarly unpleasant circumstances. He had been a popular advocate: he had defended Anderson, and was at the height of his popularity, when it was found that he had suddenly left England, and gone to America, where he, like a renegade, declared the conduct of England in the *Trent* affair was altogether wrong. It appeared that this legal worthy had been guilty of involving Lord Worsley, son of the Earl of Yarborough, in liabilities to the extent of £30,000. He had victimised a respectable attorney, named Fryer, residing at Wimbourne. Mr. James had been counsel in a cause in which Mr. Fryer was attorney. The latter was so much struck by his zeal and ability, that he became his friend, then his creditor; and, finally, compassionating his embarrassed condition, conceived the idea of relieving him from his distresses by paying off all his debts, recouping himself by the receipts of his professional income. Under this arrangement, Mr. Fryer had paid, in two years, no less than £22,000. Then came the crash; and then, for the first time, Mr. Fryer and Lord Worsley became convinced of the claims of each other. The third charge made against Mr. James involved professional dishonesty. He was counsel for Mr. Scully, the plaintiff in the cause of *Scully v. Ingram*, the latter gentleman being the well-known proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*. In the course of the trial, Mr. James cross-examined the defendant in the style in which he was a great master. Poor Ingram was completely shaken, and terribly cut up. The result of the trial was a verdict for Mr. James's client, the plaintiff. A rule for a new trial was obtained. In the meanwhile Mr. Ingram said to a friend—"I must lend Mr. James some money." The friend did not see the necessity; upon which the victim replied—"I must—I am afraid I must; I must do anything he asks." Among the papers of Mr. Ingram, who was drowned in Lake Ontario, in the disaster of the *Lady Elgin*, was found a letter of Mr. James, in which he admitted a loan of £1,250, with the expression—"You shall not repent of your kindness to me." At the second trial, Mr. James, notwithstanding his success on the first occasion, compromised the case. Thus, bankrupt in character and purse, the popular demagogue of Marylebone sought to pander to the democracy of the New World, and to regain the position he had so long held in the Old. It does not appear, however, that his efforts were crowned with success.

Mr. Cobden said—"The difficulty in which we found ourselves when under the sudden necessity of providing warm clothing for our troops, brought the disposition of the French emperor to a singular test. Such is the severity of the winter in Canada, that sentries are often required to be relieved every half-hour to avoid being frozen; and there is frequently a fall of seven feet of snow during the season. For such a rigorous climate, a corresponding equipment of clothing was indispensable. Among other articles of necessity were long boots, in which we found ourselves deficient. The following little incident must be given in the words of Sir G. C. Lewis, the Secretary for War, delivered in the House of Commons on the 17th of February, 1862; and, as it is taken from the newspaper report of the speech, the expressions of feeling, as they were elicited from the House, are also retained:—"There was one article that was not used by any of our regiments, and which was not in store in this country—the article of long boots. The French government having been informed of our difficulty, undertook the supply of 1,500 pairs of boots, which came over in forty-eight hours from Paris (cheers), and at a cost for which they could have scarcely been obtained from our contractors. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to mention this as a proof of the friendly action of the French government (hear, hear.)"

The danger of war with America soon passed away. The act of the indiscreet

commander, Wilks, was disowned; and England and America, happily for themselves, and the world's welfare, remained at peace. The Quakers, as usual, had been alive and active. They had sent up a deputation to Lord Palmerston, trusting, that if the answer of the American government was unfriendly, the matter might be referred to arbitration—a principle which the British government, to its great honour, was the first to commend to the attention of the Paris conference of 1854, through the mouth of Lord Clarendon. Lord Palmerston was reminded that, on that occasion, the members of the conference did not hesitate to declare, in the name of their governments, the wish that states between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power.

"The principle thus formally consecrated by the sanction of all the great governments of Europe, has since received the spontaneous and cordial homage of eminent statesmen of this country, of various political parties. It was described by Mr. Gladstone, 'as a great triumph; a powerful engine on behalf of civilisation and humanity.'"

In conclusion, they said—"We would further remind your lordship, that Great Britain and the United States have already, in their relations with each other, solemnly recognised this principle, even in its most rigid form of application. In a treaty between the two governments, relative to fisheries, commerce, and navigation, ratified at Washington September 9th, 1854, there is a clause which provides that, in case of any differences arising between the contracting parties on any matter connected with the treaty, the question in dispute shall be referred first to commissioners; and, in the last resort, to an arbitrator or umpire, to be mutually chosen: 'the high contracting parties'—such are the terms of the treaty—'solemnly engaging to consider the decision of the commissioners conjointly, or of the arbitrator or umpire, as the case may be, as absolutely final and conclusive in each case decided upon by them or him respectively.'"

We had thus peace with France and with America; yet Lord Palmerston was still bent on spending millions and millions, to no purpose, in useless preparations for war.

In October, from highly influential quarters, the following memorandum had been forwarded to him:—

"The present peculiar and exceptional state of the English and French navies, the result of scientific progress in maritime armaments, offers an opportunity for a reciprocal arrangement between the two governments, of the highest interest to both countries.

"During the last century, and down almost to the present day, the relative naval strength of the two countries has been measured by the number of their line-of-battle ships. But, owing to the recent improvements in explosive shells, and other combustible missiles, and in the modes of projecting them, these large vessels have been pronounced, by competent judges, no longer suited for maritime warfare, and warning voices have even proclaimed that they will henceforth prove only a snare to those who employ them.

"This opinion has found utterance in several emphatic phrases.

"'Wooden ships of the line,' says one, 'will, in a future naval war, be nothing but human slaughter-houses.' 'They will be blown to lucifer-matches,' says another. A third authority tells us, that in case of a collision between two such vessels, at close quarters, the only words of command for which there will be time, will be, 'Fire, and lower your boats!' Whilst a fourth declares, that 'any government that should send such a vessel into action against an iron-plated ship would deserve to be impeached.'

"It hardly required such a weight of evidence to convince us, that to crowd nearly 1,000 men upon a huge wooden target, with thirty or forty tons of gun-powder at their feet, and expose them to a bombardment with detonating shells and other combustible projectiles, must be a very suicidal proceeding.

"The governments of the maritime states have shown that they share this opinion by abandoning the construction of line-of-battle ships.

"America, several years since, gave the preference to long, low vessels, possessing the utmost possible speed, and being capable of carrying the largest guns.

"France was the next to cease building ships of the line.

"The British government have come to the same decision; and they gave a pledge last session, with the approval of parliament, that they would not complete the vessels of this class which were unfinished on the stocks.

"It is under these circumstances that the two countries find themselves in possession of about one hundred wooden ships of the line with screw propellers. England has between sixty and seventy, and France between thirty and forty of these vessels, the greater part of them in commission; and their maintenance constitutes one of the principal items in the naval expenditure of the two countries.

"It will be admitted that if these vessels did not exist they would not now be constructed, and that when worn out they will not be renewed. It is equally indisputable, that they have been built by the two governments with a view to preserve a certain relative force towards each other.

"In proof that this rivalry has been confined exclusively to England and France, it may be stated, on the authority of the official representative of the Admiralty in the House of Commons, that Spain has only three, Russia nine, and Italy one, of this class of ships. America has only one.

"These circumstances suggest, as an obvious course to the two governments, that they should endeavour to come to an amicable agreement, by which the greater portion of these ships might be withdrawn, and so disposed of as to be rendered incapable of being again employed for warlike purposes. This might be effected by an arrangement which should preserve to each country precisely the same relative force after the reduction as before. For instance, assuming, merely for the sake of argument, England to possess sixty-five, and France thirty-five, then for every seven withdrawn by France, England should withdraw thirteen; and thus, to whatever extent the reduction was carried, provided this proportion were preserved, the two countries would still possess the same relative force. The first point on which an understanding should be come to, is as to the number of ships of the line actually possessed by each—a very simple question, inasmuch as it is not complicated with the comparison of vessels in different stages of construction. Then, the other main point is to agree upon a plan for making a fair selection, ship for ship, so that the withdrawals on both sides may be as nearly as possible of corresponding size or value. If the principle of a proportionate reduction be agreed to, far fewer difficulties will be found in carrying out the details than must have been encountered in arranging the plans of co-operation in the Crimean and Chinese wars, or in settling the details of the commercial treaty."

The memorandum argued, that just as the ships of the line had become obsolete, the new iron-plated vessels then building would, in turn, become the same; and that, in the meantime, France and England were wasting their wealth, and, by the financial pressure thus created, irritating the population of the two countries.

"The British tax-payers believe, on the authority of their leading statesmen, that the increased burden to which they are subjected is caused by the armaments on the other side of the Channel. The people of France are also taught to feel similarly aggrieved towards England. The feelings of mutual animosity, produced by this sacrifice of substantial interests, are not to be allayed by the exchange of occasional acts of friendship between the two governments. On the contrary, this inconsistent policy, in incessantly arming against each other at home, whilst uniting for common objects abroad, if it do not impair public confidence in their sincerity, tends at least to destroy all faith in an identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, by showing how little advantage the peoples derive from the friendship of their governments.

"But the greatest evil connected with these rival armaments is, that they destroy the strongest motives for peace. When two great neighbouring nations find themselves permanently subjected to a war expenditure, without the compensation of its usual excitements and honours, the danger to be apprehended is, that if an accident should occur to inflame their hostile passions—and we know how certain these accidents are at intervals to arise—their latent sense of suffering and injury may reconcile them to a rupture, as the only eventual escape from an otherwise perpetual war taxation in a time of peace.

"Circumstances appeal strongly to the two governments, at the present juncture, in favour of a measure of wise and safe economy. In consequence of the deplorable events in America, and the partial failure of the harvests of Europe, the commerce and manufactures of both countries are exposed to an ordeal of great suffering. Were the proposed naval reduction carried into effect, it would ameliorate the financial position of the governments, and afford the means for alleviating the fiscal burdens of the peoples. But the moral effect of such a measure would be still more important. It should be remembered, that although these large vessels have lost their value in the eyes of professional men, they preserve their traditional terrors for the world at large; and when they move about, in fleets, on neighbouring coasts, they excite apprehension in the public mind, and even check the spirit of commercial enterprise. Were such an amicable arrangement as has been suggested accomplished, it would be everywhere accepted as a pledge of peace, and, by inspiring confidence in the future, would help to reanimate the hopes of the great centres of trade and industry, not only in France and England, but throughout Europe.

"Will not the two governments, then, embrace this opportunity of giving effect to a policy, which, whilst involving no risk, or sacrifice of honour, or diminution of relative power, will tend to promote the present prosperity and future harmony of the two countries, and offer an example of wisdom and moderation worthy of this civilised age, and honourable to the fame of the two foremost nations of the earth?" It does not seem that the memorial had much weight with Lord Palmerston or his supporters in the House of Commons.

On the 3rd of June, 1862, Mr. Stansfeld proposed in the House a resolution, to the effect that "the national expenditure is capable of reduction without compromising the safety, the independence, or the legitimate influence of the country." This was a great field-night in the House. Several amendments had been put upon the paper—two or three more or less friendly to the government; and one—that of Mr. Walpole—was supposed to raise the direct issue of "no confidence." It was expected that the Tories and Radicals would join; that Lord Palmerston would be defeated; and that Lord Derby would come in. There was a crowded House; an unusually disordered preliminary debate; and great excitement in the House, and in the ladies' and the strangers' gallery. It turned out contrary to general expectation. There was no fight after all; and Mr. Walpole withdrew his amendment, apparently not a little to the chagrin of some of his own friends and supporters.

Mr. Cobden spoke before the close of the discussion. After a severe reply to Mr. Horsman, whom he accused of the most callous carelessness to the real welfare of the nation so long as the armaments were kept up in their inflated state, he undertook to deal with the plea that our expenditure was kept up on account of the necessity to protect ourselves against France. "Why should we not endeavour to produce peace and quiet in a cheaper way? We were in alliance with France. Why could not Lord Palmerston, or somebody else (he, Mr. Cobden, would undertake to do it), take the matter in hand, and talk over the question of the iron vessels? The consequences would be perfectly disastrous unless the government would address themselves to the task of retrenchment, and to the relations of the country with France." He continued—

"Look at what is going on beyond the Atlantic. Everybody has complained that America was very overbearing in her foreign policy. Very well; but bear in

mind America was never well armed. She had but fourteen or fifteen thousand soldiers: she never would have a fleet: she has not had a line-of-battle ship in commission for the last ten years—certainly not more than one. If, then, America played the bully without arms, what was it that impressed her will upon the rest of the world? Undoubtedly it was that you gave her credit for having vast resources behind her which were not unnecessarily displayed in a state of armed defiance. Well, what has been the result of the present deplorable war in America? You have seen that country manifesting a power such as I have no hesitation in saying no nation of the same population ever manifested in the same time. No country in Europe, possessing 20,000,000 of people, could put forth the might, could show the resources in men, money, and equipments that the Federal States of America have done during the last twelve months. Taking the whole country together, about 30,000,000 of people have kept nearly 1,000,000 men in arms; and they have, upon the whole, been equipped and supplied as no other army ever was before. Why was that? Simply because the Americans had not exhausted themselves previously by high taxation. They were a prosperous people. Their wages and profits were high, because their taxation was low; and as they were earning quite twice as much as the people of Europe earned when the war broke out, they had only to restrict themselves to one-half of their usual enjoyments, and they found means of carrying on the war. That, I think, is a doctrine that applies to us as well as to the Americans; and I deny that a nation increases its power, and is better prepared for carrying on war, because it always maintains a large war establishment in time of peace."

The nation and the Premier were deaf to all Mr. Cobden's reasonings. In one of his last speeches, the great free-trader undertook to show, that the alarmist government statements about the strength of the French navy were entirely fallacious and delusive. He continued—"In the whole of the past five years, I defy any one to show an instance in which the noble lord (Lord Palmerston) has advocated an increase of our naval armament in reference to any other country than France. We have heard from him the word 'invasion' a dozen times within the last few years. Now, for a Prime Minister to talk about this country being invaded by a friendly power, without one fact to justify the suspicion of it—on the contrary, when the navy of that government is less than at any former time—is to commit this country to an attitude towards that neighbouring power, that no minister ought to give it with the levity of indiscretion that has marked the noble lord's course on the subject."

It is only fair to Mr. Cobden's memory to quote the closing passage of this speech, in which he clearly showed that he was not an advocate for peace at any price.

"There is no question in this House as to defending the country against a foreign enemy. It would be a piece of supreme impertinence in me, or any other man, to lay claim to an exclusive interest or regard for the security of the country against a foreign enemy; and I hold the man to be a charlatan who sets up a claim to popularity because he holds the honour and safety of the country in higher estimation than I do. That is not the question here, where every man has an equal interest in the safety of his country. We may take different views, as we are entitled to do, as to the best modes of fortifying, and permanently defending the country. Some think we cannot do better than appeal for armaments and fortifications, in addition to our existing resources in time of peace, notwithstanding the weight of taxation under which the country is struggling; while others, like myself, may think with Sir Robert Peel, that you cannot defend every part of your coast and colonies; and that, in attempting to do so, you run a greater risk of danger to the country than you would incur by husbanding the resources which you are now expending upon armaments, so as to have them at call in time of emergency. That is my view. Let no one presume or dare to say that he has more regard for the safety of the country than I have. They may try to create

imaginary dangers, and to take credit for guarding against them. But give us a real danger; show us that our navy is not equal to our defence; that a neighbour is clandestinely and unduly trying to change the proportion which its force should bear to that of the mercantile people living in our island, and then I would willingly vote £100,000,000 of money to protect our country against attack. But in saying this I claim no merit; I do not set myself up as a great patriot; for there is nobody here but what would put his hand in his pocket, and spend his whole fortune, rather than have this island defiled by the foot of an enemy.

“Our wealth, commerce, and manufactures grow out of the unskilled labour of men working in metals. There is not one of those men, who, in case of our being assailed by a foreign power, would not, in three weeks or a fortnight, be available, with their hard hands and thoughtful brains, for the manufacture of instruments of war. That is not an industry that requires you, at every step, to multiply your armed men. What has given us our Armstrongs, our Fairbairns, our Whitworths? The industry of the country in which they are mainly occupied. It has been sometimes made a reproach against me and my friends, the free-traders, that we would leave the country defenceless. I say, if you have multiplied the means of defence; if you can build three times as many steamers in the same time as other countries; and if you have that threefold force of mechanics of which my honourable friend has spoken—to whom do you owe that but to the men who, by contending for the true principles of commerce, have created a demand for the labour of an increased number of artisans in this country? Go to Plymouth or Woolwich, and look at the names of the tools for making fire-arms, and shot and shell; they bear the names of men in Birmingham, in Manchester, and Leeds—men nearly all connected, for the last twenty years, with the extension of our commerce, which has thus contributed to the increase of the strength of the country by calling forth its genius and its skill. I resist the attempt which has been made to show that I am not a promoter of the strength, the power, and the greatness of this country; or that I, or any of those who act with me, have been indifferent to, or ignorant of what constitutes the real strength and greatness of the country.”

On the economical part of the question, Mr. Cobden had, to a certain extent, an ally in Mr. Gladstone. More than once, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he complained of the enormous and increasing expenditure of England and other countries in warlike matters. As regards ourselves, in his speech on the budget of April 3rd, 1862, he said—“Let me now present the subject to the committee more at large. Gathering together the transactions of the last three years, I will state the amount which, in those years, we have had to defray of what may fairly be called war expenditure. The account for China, up to March 31st, 1862, as I have just stated, is £7,034,000; but, in addition, we have had to pay, for a former war, £444,000; making a total, in round numbers, of £7,500,000. With respect to New Zealand, we have brought to charge at present £250,000; but that does not include any consideration of the question, how far the 5,000 or 6,000 men who have been in New Zealand, would have been kept on the establishment of the army if not wanted for service there. I ought likewise to state, that the sum I have named is only what we have both paid and brought to account up to March 31st, 1862; and I am bound to add, it does not cover the whole even of the direct charge for war expenditure in New Zealand. Again, the despatch of troops to British North America, in the past winter, disturbed the finance of the year; though it alike answered the necessity of the case, and the feeling of the country. It added to our charge the sum of £850,000. Hence, the total of the direct war charge we have incurred during the last three years, is £8,600,000, even when estimated upon a principle which, I think, undoubtedly places it below its real amount.”

In opening his budget in 1863, Mr. Gladstone again referred to our increasing expenditure as follows:—“The causes which have, during recent years, attracted an unusual degree of interest in the annual financial statement, are not

of such a nature that any well-advised lover of his country should desire their operation to be permanent. They may be summed up in the following words. The few years which have last past have been of unusual pressure upon the resources of the country, and have been, as times of unusual pressure must be, years likewise of unusual anxiety. During the course of the last session of parliament, that anxiety found its natural and most legitimate method of expression in a resolution of the House of Commons. In the resolution to which I refer, her majesty's government found it declared by the House (the proper organ of the sense of the country, especially upon such a subject), that while it was the desire of the House that—I am now not quoting the words, but referring to the spirit of the resolution—ample provision should be made for the honour and security of the country, and for the efficiency of the public service, it was likewise the fixed opinion of the House, that the burden of taxation was inconveniently heavy, and that efforts ought to be made in that respect to afford relief to the people. * * *

And as it is well the people should understand—what, at the time I refer to, her majesty's government, by the mouth of my noble friend the First Lord of the Treasury, fully acknowledged—that that resolution was not premature, but, on the contrary, was well founded, and was fully justified by the circumstances of the case; it is well they should understand how rapid, how peculiar—I will venture to say how exceptional—up to a certain point, had been the growth of the public expenditure; and how much it was to be desired—indeed, how needful it had become—in the interests of the nation, that the subject should attract a particular attention. Now I will advert first to the expenditure of the financial year 1859, the first year subsequent to the Russian war, the accounts of which were not extensively affected by war charges. The expenditure of that year very considerably exceeded the scale of our expenditure before the war. It amounted to £64,664,000; but in the very next year, 1859--'60, the expenditure increased to £69,502,000, showing an augmentation of £4,838,000. In the next year, 1860--'61, the amount again rose, and came to £72,842,000, showing an augmentation of, within two years, no less than £8,178,000. I will next refer to the average of the four years from 1859 to 1863; and I take these four years because they are the years to which the general description of large disbursements particularly apply. The average charge of these years was £71,195,000, if we include the amount paid out upon fortifications; and £70,678,000 if that item be excluded. This increase upon the aggregate public debt is even larger than it seems, because it occurred at a time when we had enjoyed a peculiar relief, amounting to more than two millions of money, from the charge of the national debt, owing to the lapse of the long annuities."

This increase the orator accounted for as follows:—"There were extensive and costly transformations of arms and vessels, which appeared to be required by the progress of military or naval science. There was a great advance of philanthropic views with regard to the condition of our seamen and soldiers. This advanced the improved state of public sentiment; led to a great and somewhat sudden expenditure; but to an expenditure grudged, I believe, by none—at least as to the principle on which it rested. There was, thirdly, a great extension of our military establishments, having reference, in no inconsiderable degree—as must always be the case, from the sympathy that prevails between nation and nation—to a like increase in military establishments abroad, and to the general circumstances of Europe. There was, further, a desire, warmly and very generally, even if not quite unanimously entertained by the public, that the fixed defences of the country should be strengthened and enlarged. And yet, again, there were direct war charges, which amounted to a very large sum of money. All these causes of increase in the public expenditure were definite in their character, and easily traceable in their effect. But I should not do full justice to the elucidation of the case, if I failed to add, that, together with these causes, another cause came into operation, which is less easy to follow and detect, but which is pretty certain to exercise a

powerful influence at periods when, from whatever reason, a vast and sudden increase of public expenditure may occur. I mean in this, that, together with the called-for increase of expenditure, there grows up what may be termed a spirit of expenditure—a desire or tendency prevailing in the country, which insensibly, and unconsciously perhaps, but really, affects the spirit of the people, the spirit of the public department, and, perhaps, even the spirit of those whose duty it is to submit the estimates to parliament, and who are most specially and directly responsible for the disbursements of the state. When this spirit of expenditure is in action, we must expect to find some relaxation of the old principles of prudence and rules for thrift, which direct and require that, whatever service is to be performed for the public, should be executed in the most efficient manner, and at the least practical cost."

These warning voices were uttered in vain. Our war expenditure goes on increasing. Any man who will consult the last Appropriation Act, will find that the charge for the army service during the year ending March 31st, 1865, was £14,340,000 sterling! The actual expenditure of the preceding year was rather more. Enormous as this sum is, we must remember it is exclusive of £11,000,000 paid for the navy, and of £13,000,000 expended in India, where we have 75,000 white soldiers, and troops of other kinds, running our account up to an enormous total. The nation is thus paying, it appears, hard upon £41,000,000, all things included, for its defence; and that is a peace estimate. To make matters worse, we find that we are paying from 25 to 60 per cent., and even more, above the charges of continental war-offices. Yet, in spite of this enormous expenditure, it appears, from a parliamentary return just issued, that we could, in case of invasion, muster no more than 40,000 or 50,000 regulars. It appears, for every regular soldier, prepared to repel invasion, we are paying £300 a year. It is ten years since the Crimean war exposed the utter maladministration and reckless waste of the War-Office; and this is how we have improved! After lavishing the gains of industry upon the department in Whitehall, our army is so unpopular that bounty cannot bribe the rustic into it, and the regiments are not strong enough to perform their ordinary duties at home, and to keep up the necessary reliefs in our foreign and colonial stations. Spending more than any great power upon our soldiers, we yet count but a handful of effectives to every thousand of theirs. As a military nation, we had become, but for our volunteers, a laughing-stock and a by-word. The newly-published report, going out of its way to stir up our terrors, kindly informs us, that upon the sea we are no longer paramount, or even powerful; and it demands "a large increased expenditure" to bring the defensive forces of England merely to the standard of safety.

In his great speech of July 23rd, 1860, Lord Palmerston unfolded the government plan of coast defence. After a few retrospective remarks, his lordship said—

"Sir, the recommendations of the commissioners, which have been confirmed after revision by a committee of military officers, called the Defence Committee, amount to a recommendation of a total outlay of £11,000,000, in which is included £1,500,000 for armaments and floating defences. I hold that it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of the country, that these recommendations should be carried into effect. Now there are two ways of doing this. You may either vote annually such a portion of the annual income as the country would like to spend on a matter of this kind, and, by so doing, defer, perhaps for eighteen or twenty years, the accomplishment of these defences; or you may like that course which it will be my duty to recommend, and endeavour to complete them at the earliest possible period, without, at the same time, laying upon the country a larger annual burden than would be incurred if you prosecuted these works more slowly. I mean, you may, by raising terminable annuities, to run for thirty years—a sum that will be sufficient, in the course of three or four years, to complete these works—get, within a short period, the security you require; and you will not lay upon the country a much heavier annual burden than that which would be incurred if you

were to wait until the slow process of annual votes brought you the money necessary to carry those works to a conclusion. If these works are necessary, they are so as soon as we can get them. They are necessary for time present; and it would be folly to postpone, for eighteen or twenty years, the completion of defences against dangers which I hope may not arise; but dangers which we may contemplate as possible, and which, if possible, may be possible in a short space of time."

In reply to Lord Fortesque, it was stated by Lord de Grey and Ripon, that the volunteer force was 130,000 strong. People asked why, if we had such a force of volunteers, we should be required to spend so much in national defences and fortifications?—which, it was argued, would be of no earthly use when completed. The peace party maintained that commerce, and not stone walls, was our best security. Lord Palmerston, however, thought differently.

As to the necessity, said the noble viscount—"It is in no unfriendly spirit that I am speaking. No one has any right to take offence at considerations and reflections which are purely founded upon the principles of self-defence. * * * We see in France an army of over 600,000 men, of whom above 400,000 are actually under arms; and the remainder are merely on furlough, and can be called into the ranks in a fortnight. That army is greater than France requires for the purpose of defence. No nation in the world would think, unprovoked, of attacking France. Nothing can be gained by it. No one would expect to dismember France; and no one would fare otherwise than ill who ventured upon an unprovoked attack on France; and therefore, for the defence of France, we may pronounce that vast army unnecessary. I do not mean to say that that army is raised for the deliberate purpose of aggression. I trust it is not: but the possession of power to aggress frequently gives the desire to do so. You cannot—you are not entitled to—rely upon the forbearance of a stronger neighbour. You are bound to make your defensive means proportionate to his means of aggression.

"But, sir, is it only on land that the arrangements of France are disproportionate to her necessities for defence? We know that the utmost exertions have been made, and still are making, to create a navy very equal to our own—a navy which cannot be required for purposes of defence, and which, therefore, we are justified in looking upon as a possible antagonist we may have to encounter—a navy which, under present arrangements, would give to our neighbours the means of transporting, within a very few hours, a large and formidable number of troops to our coast. But, further; while, on the one hand, the French navy has increased far beyond any amount that it has reached since the end of the last war, our navy has, on the other hand, from the changes which have taken place, from sailing ships to steam, necessarily diminished in numbers."

An invasion, argued his lordship, might be attempted, either with the hope of conquest, or with a view to get possession of the metropolis, or to destroy our dockyards. London it was impossible to fortify. It could only be defended by an army in the field. If our dockyards were destroyed, we lose our navy, and the command of the sea.

"But your army being limited in amount, and your military means limited, and your dockyards—points that require defence—the way to get the largest possible force to meet an enemy in the field, is to make arrangements for requiring the smallest amount of military force to defend these important positions—your dockyards and your arsenals. * * * There are those who say, why should you confine your defences to such places as Portsmouth, Plymouth, Devonport, Pembroke, and the like, and leave London undefended? My answer is, that ditches, and walls, and bastions are not a defence for a great, vast city like London. * * * Then we are told that we ought not to confine our arrangements to our dockyards, and such other points. That there are other places of great importance. Liverpool, for instance; a port of great wealth and importance: Bristol, Newcastle, and other seaports. My answer to those who make this objection is, that we have not neglected these outposts; but that the defence of these great

commercial towns need not be of the same kind and character as those required for your dockyards." Lord Palmerston then referred to what was being done by France, Belgium, Prussia, Italy, and Russia, in the way of fortifications; and concluded by moving—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards providing for the construction of works for the defence of the royal dockyards and arsenals, and of the ports of Dover and Portland, and for the creation of a central arsenal, a sum not exceeding £2,000,000 (the sum to be taken that year) be charged upon the consolidated fund."

In the adjourned debate, Lord Palmerston repeated—"We want to protect our dockyards and certain other important points from being taken by a *coup-de-main*.

* * * * In time of peace it would not be necessary to make any addition to your regular army as the result of the erection of these forts; while, in time of war, you might man them by placing behind them troops competent for their defence, although, perhaps, less perfect in training than your picked soldiers. I may add that, if you should not possess the works of this description necessary to defend your dockyards, you would be compelled, as is well stated by the commissioners, to keep up a larger number of men than would otherwise be required for the purpose of defending those very places which we now ask you to enable us to fortify."

These arguments found favour with the House. On a division, the amendment was rejected by 165 to 37; and the original question was put and agreed to.

The next great debate on the subject was on June 23rd, 1862. There had been a little skirmishing in 1861, when Sir Cornewall Lewis entered into a long account of what had been done at Portsmouth and Plymouth. With regard to Spithead, continued the honourable baronet—

"It will be in the recollection of the committee, that, soon after the action which took place between the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*, and which was suffered to have an important bearing on the construction of these forts, considerable difference of opinion was manifested on the subject; and the government, yielding to the wish of the House, suspended the works; and a considerable sum, I fear, will have to be paid the contractor as compensation for the suspension. A large portion of the working season of the year has now been lost. In the meantime, however, experiments have been in progress in Shoeburyness, which are believed to have a direct bearing on the question—how far these forts would be able, with heavy ordnance, to stop a vessel entering the roads?"

Viscount Palmerston, after referring to the remarks of previous speakers, said—

"Some honourable gentlemen deal very summarily with these matters. Some say—'Do not fortify your dockyards;' others—'Do not have so great a standing army;' and others, again, maintain that the fleet is too large. That is not the common opinion of the country on any of these points; but, if all these opinions were acted upon, the result would be, that the country would have neither fleet nor army, nor a dockyard; and that we should have to rely entirely on the good-will, kindness, and forbearance of our neighbours to protect us, in all possible contingencies, against any difficulties in which we might be involved. I do not think that is the feeling of the British nation. I think, on the contrary, that the British nation feels, and I am sure that this House feels, that a country like this ought to be on a footing of respectability, at all events, and with the means of defending itself against all enemies. I have been told this evening, that the grounds on which I proposed this vote on a former occasion—two years ago—were offensive to a neighbouring power. I deny entirely that assertion. I then based the vote, as I do now, entirely on grounds which are essential to a good understanding with all powers. With respect to France, which was the power mentioned, I should say that a footing of equality, in regard to self-defence, is the only possible foundation for a strong friendship and alliance—

" 'Paribus se legibus ambæ,
Invictæ gentes eterna et federa mittant.'

"So long as nations are equal, they are likely to be friends. We all know how quickly passions are excited, and how easily nations are led away. We know how impossible it is to reckon on the friendly feelings of any nation, even for a twelve-month. We have had an example of this in America; and, therefore, we should be acting culpably towards ourselves, and not fairly towards other countries, if, in the notion, or even in the conviction, that other countries would remain friendly to us, we should leave ourselves destitute of those means of defence which every nation is bound to provide for itself."

The second reading of the Fortification Bill was carried on the 30th of June. Lord Palmerston said—

"These works are of two descriptions; some are for the purpose of meeting attacks from the sea; others for the purpose of meeting attacks from the land. Now, some gentlemen say it is absurd and nonsensical to think of invasion. With all respect and deference to them, that opinion seems to me nonsensical and absurd. Why, really, can any man who respects his audience, gravely tell the people of England that invasion is impossible. Look at the history of this country. Few countries have been oftener threatened with invasion than this island. We were in great danger of invasion in the time of the late war with France; and I believe that nothing saved this country then but the battle of Trafalgar. It is said you cannot be invaded, because no enemy can land a large force within the given time. What did the French do about three years ago, when a large body of men was sent to Italy? Of course, honourable gentlemen recollect the rapidity with which that large force was despatched from Toulon and Marseilles; and was landed with the utmost facility, together with all their guns and ammunition. Then it was said it was all very well to land in a port, but that landing on the coast is a very difficult operation; and that when we landed in the Crimea, if there had been a few guns to resist us, the landing could not have been effected. If that is the case, then, I say, give us the guns to defend the places likely to be attacked; and do not disparage the forts, placed in a position to prevent the landing of an enemy. People talk of 100,000 men landing; but it is not necessary to land 100,000 men in one place to destroy the dockyards: for, supposing Portsmouth to be open, then if 20,000 men were landed there, 20,000 at Plymouth, 20,000 in Ireland, and 20,000 made diversions elsewhere, I should like to know whether, considering the small garrisons put in such places, unassisted by works, the dockyards would not be destroyed; and with them all our power at sea to defend the commerce and coasts of this country. * * * * It has been said that the application of steam-power on board of vessels has made the blockading of a foreign port more easy. On the contrary, it has rendered it infinitely more difficult and uncertain, because the ships of the blockading squadron must be perpetually returning to this country to replenish their coal. They carry coal for about ten days; and the force must, of course, be of such an amount as to make allowances for vessels coming here and going back again. On the other hand, the ships watching to break the blockade, being propelled by steam, are independent of the weather and of tides; and, seizing their opportunity, might come out in the evening, cross the Channel in the course of the night, and be upon our shores next morning. Steam, therefore, instead of giving facilities for blockade, only gives facilities for the blockaded force to come out and reach the place it intends to arrive at. * * * * Some honourable gentlemen maintain that field-works would be sufficient; and mention has been made of Sebastopol, and other places, in connection with this subject. Field-works are good things, undoubtedly, when there is a large force behind them; but field-works, as military men know, can be assaulted and run into; and there requires to be behind them a force nearly equal to that which attacks them. But when you have counterscarps and *glacis*, and the other arrangements of fortified places, you cannot take them at all, if well fortified; and therefore, if you want a small body of men, less disciplined than the attacking force, to maintain

themselves in any position, you must give them all the advantages which science supplies in the art of defence. With regard to Sebastopol, it should be recollected there was an immense army behind it, as large, or larger, than the attacking army; and each party took about three weeks to prepare. Now, if an attack were made on any of our ports—on Portsmouth or Plymouth—I do not think that the enemy would give us three weeks to prepare our defences. We must have them ready beforehand; and therefore it is in vain to say that field-works would stand in lieu of fortifications. You would not, in a case of emergency, have time to make them; and when made, they would not give the same advantage to a force less disciplined than the attacking army, as fortifications. My honourable friend, who spoke last (Sir Morton Peto), said that we ought to abandon our dockyards—that they are unnecessary—and that we ought to have nothing but iron ships; and that these are best constructed in private yards. I have heard the example of America often quoted as a model for imitation in this country; and it is but very recently that the government of America announced their intention of establishing great naval arsenals on the Mississippi and elsewhere, for the construction, in government arsenals, of iron ships. They distinctly stated that they did not wish to trust to private enterprise for the purpose. We do not follow that example in all respects; but as my noble friend (Lord C. Paget) has stated, building a ship is one thing, and keeping it in repair is another. You cannot send ships to private yards, from time to time, for repairs."

On July 7th, in committee on the bill, Lord Palmerston thus replied to Mr. Cobden's attacks:—

"I differ so entirely from the honourable member, that it is quite natural I should feel proud of being the object of the honourable member's attack. He says that I am actuated by an idea. Sir, I am actuated by an idea. My idea seems never to have entered the fertile brain of the honourable member. My idea is, that England ought to be defended—that her navy cannot exist without her dockyards; and that those dockyards must be placed in a safe position, against sudden attacks. The honourable member has told us that he is ready to spend £1,000,000 to maintain a good navy. Now we do not wish him to do any such thing. We ask for no more than the moderate sum recommended by the defence commissioners, to place our naval arsenals in a state of safety. I say that the honourable member for Rochdale is in a state of blindness and delusion, which renders him unfit to be listened to by the country as an adviser on matters of this sort. When the honourable member deals in matters that he understands, when he descants on questions of free trade and commerce, we generally listen to the honourable gentleman with the utmost deference and respect. He understands those subjects; he is imbued with sound principles; and his conclusions command our assent. But he goes beyond his *crepidam* on such matters as these. When he descants on our naval and military defences, he goes beyond the scope of his knowledge, and beyond the reach to which his understanding has extended; and he becomes a most dangerous adviser to this House and the country."

In 1863, the fight was renewed. The votes were—ayes, 132; noes, 61. Lord Palmerston's speech was spirited and successful. Mr. Cobden and his party were not, however, by any means vanquished. The last speech of that excellent man was delivered in July, 1864, when he moved a series of resolutions, deprecatory of the great extension of the government manufacturing establishments. He cited as an authority Burke, who, in a speech delivered in 1780, "laid down, in language which it is impossible to surpass, the reason why the government should not manufacture its own supplies, but should depend upon the competition of individual manufacturers." "He said," observes Mr. M'Gilchrist, who has ably epitomised the speech, "the negligence of the government and the Treasury had become so great, and the departments had taken upon themselves such an immense increase of manufacture, that they laughed at the idea of parliament superintending the details of the administration. Indeed, Mr. Cobden himself objected to parlia-

ment undertaking such functions. He thought the House could interfere, with great advantage, in prescribing the principles on which the executive government could be carried on: but beyond that, he held it to be utterly impossible for the legislature to interfere with advantage in the details of the administration of the country: and he said that, in the early years of his experience in parliament, when Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, he would have resented the appointment of the parliamentary committees of inquiry into the details of administration, as tantamount to votes of want of confidence. Sir Robert would have said, if such a committee had been proposed in his time, and when he held the reins of power, 'If you think the administration is not satisfactorily conducted by me, then you must find somebody else to undertake it.' To give some idea of the rapidity of the rate at which government had become manufacturers, Mr. Cobden reminded the House, that up to the close of the Crimean war, the British government had never cast a cannon, or made a shot or shell: and when it was determined to cast 63-pounders at Woolwich, the proprietors of the Low Moor works—who had previously supplied the government, and who not only took selected qualities of their own iron, which is the best, but used coal of a peculiar kind, fresh from the earth, to smelt it—would not sell pig-iron to the Woolwich establishment. The result was, that having got the machinery for casting guns, there was no iron fit to cast. They had to go into the market, and buy the ordinary kind of pig-iron; and, as a consequence, the guns were pronounced rotten, and never used. He then told the story of the government and Whitworth and Armstrong guns; and dwelt with great glee upon the *naïveté* with which the leading men at Woolwich came before the committee appointed by the House, and tried to show that they were producing the guns cheaper than at Elswick, Sir William Armstrong's factory; forgetting that the two were one and the same concern—Sir William's works being as much a government establishment as that at Woolwich; for they were both started by the government with the nation's capital."

As regards small-arms the same course had been pursued. "Till the close of the Crimean war the government did not manufacture a single rifle: they were furnished by private contractors, and spoken of in the highest terms by the Sebastopol committee of 1855; while the medical, commissariat, and other departments were unflinchingly condemned. But the government gets an idea into their heads that, at some moment of dire necessity, when they are in great need of rifles, there might be a strike among some class of the workmen who manufacture their various parts; the more so, as if only the maker of the lock struck, it would stop the manufacture and delivery of the whole rifle. This was quite true; and the natural remedy was, that they should give orders to capitalists, who would set up machinery for manufacturing the whole musket. But government could not be made to comprehend a thing so obvious as this, and erected an enormous manufactory for the construction of rifled small-arms at Enfield; and they actually sent to America to procure the necessary machinery. And now all had gone for nothing, for the superiority of the Lancaster and Whitworth to the Enfield rifles had been acknowledged."

In referring to the difficulty found in making the conductors of the government establishments understand the value of capital, Mr. Cobden observed—"You never could make the gentlemen at the head of the departments understand that they must pay interest for capital, rent for land, as well as allow for depreciation of plant and machinery. The manner in which the government officials chuckled over the supposed greater cheapness of their results compared with those of the private manufacturer, always reminded him of the story of the gipsies, who sold brooms. One said to the other, 'I can't conceive how you can afford to sell your brooms cheaper than I do, for I steal all my materials.' 'Oh,' says the other, 'but I steal my brooms ready-made.'"

In the same way, Mr. Cobden termed "Lord de Grey and Ripon" the most extensive tailor in the world, and once more propounded his oft-repeated views as

to the folly of large expenditure for ships in the present transitional state or naval architecture, and the science of gunnery. His closing words were—

"I know of nothing so calculated, some day, to produce a democratic revolution, as for the proud and combative people of this country to find themselves, in this vital matter of their defence, sacrificed through the mismanagement and neglect of the class to whom, with such liberality, they have confided the care and future destinies of the country. You have brought this upon yourselves by undertaking to be producers and manufacturers. I advise you, in future, to place yourselves entirely in dependence upon the private manufacturing resources of the country. If you want gunpowder, artillery, small-arms, or the hulls of ships of war, let it be known that you depend upon the private enterprise of the country, and you will get them. At all events, you will absolve yourselves from the responsibility of attempting to do things which you are not competent to do; and you will be entitled to say to the British people—'Our fortunes, as a government and a nation, are industriously united; and we will rise or fall, flourish or fade, together, according to the energy, enterprise, and ability of the great body of the manufacturing and industrious community.'"

Mr. Cobden was not alone in his attacks on government. Sir Morton Peto, Mr. Bernal Osborne, and others, repeatedly censured the government plans. On March 12th, 1863, a motion of Mr. Lindsay's against building wooden ships to be cased with iron armour-plates, was rejected, after a long discussion, by 164 to 81. As far back as 1861, he had moved three resolutions on the subject of the construction of ships of war, deprecating any further expenditure on the building or repair of wooden ships; but with little success. In the same year, Sir Frederick Smith had moved—"That it is expedient that such reforms should be made in the control and management of the naval yards as will tend to promote greater efficiency, and, consequently, to insure greater economy in these establishments." But the motion had been withdrawn. The real truth is, the class of officers in parliament, belonging to the army and navy, swamp the independent members, and render economical reform almost impossible. Backed by government, they are irresistible. In vain an independent member opposes: his arguments are borne down by weight of numbers, who have a direct interest in large expenditure. A spendthrift, while his money lasts, is always popular; and the same rule holds good with regard to governments. Independently of that, a large expenditure means a large amount of the kind of influence without which, in old reform times, it was argued, by the Duke of Wellington, that it would be impossible to carry on the government of the country: and then argued the immense majority of the public—"Let us be secure, at whatever cost." The nation knew little of the matter. All it wanted was, that what was necessary should be done; and, as the naval and military men had quite made up their minds that millions were to be spent in the erection of forts; in the invention and improvement of projectiles; in the construction of iron-clads; and, as Lord Palmerston was of the same opinion, the money, however enormous the amount, was readily voted.

One other voice was also raised on behalf of peace, and an economical army and navy expenditure. In spite of the opinion of what was termed "society"—of the gossip of the clubs—of the interested pressure of officers inside the House or out—*Punch*, at this time, ridiculed the efforts we were making on all sides to increase an immense extravagance—an extravagance of which alone a wealthy people could be guilty. In an article headed, "A Probable Chronology," we read—"1860. Mr. Armstrong, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, invents rifled ordnance that will knock any ship to pieces. He is knighted, and the Admiralty is benighted. 1861. The Admiralty recovers, and invents iron ships that resist any known cannon-balls. 1862. Sir William Armstrong invents a gun that smashes the iron ships into black smithereens. The Admiralty collapses. 1863. The Admiralty re-expands, and invents platina ships fastened with diamond cement, and Sir William Armstrong's balls fly to pieces like *bon-bons*. Mr. Gladstone doubles the income-tax.

1864. Sir William Armstrong invents brazen thunderbolts (supposed to be the original Jupiter's), and, in a pleasing experiment, sends the greater part of the British fleet to the bottom of the sea. 1865. The Admiralty invents torpedo vessels, which sail under water, and below any range of guns. Sir William Armstrong tears his hair, and swears in the Newcastle dialect. 1866. Sir William Armstrong invents a vertical gun that discharges Greek fire straight down, and a second time he destroys the greater part of the British fleet. The Lords of the Admiralty are about to hang themselves, when a thought strikes them, and they don't. Mr. Gladstone again doubles the income-tax. 1867. Dr. Cumming, who has for some weeks been having in his coals by the sack only, suddenly proclaims the Millennium. As there is now to be peace everywhere, the Admiralty does not invent anything, but waits to see. In order to test Dr. Cumming's veracity, and to find out whether lions will lie down with kids, the Zoological Society (against the advice of their excellent secretary, Mr. Selater) let loose their biggest lion while a charity-school is in the gardens. As the lion, instead of lying down with a kid, only lies down to digest him, the Admiralty thinks there is some mistake somewhere, and determines to invent a new fleet. Mr. Gladstone once more doubles the income-tax. 1868. The Admiralty invents a stone fleet, with cork keels, and defies Sir William Armstrong. 1869. Sir William Armstrong invents the Hannibal, or alp-shell, which contains the strongest vinegar, and melts the stone ships. Having, for the third time, destroyed the British fleet, he is raised to the peerage as Lord Bomb. 1870. The Admiralty invents an aërial fleet, which sails in the clouds, out of shot-range, and the First Lord takes a double sight at Sir William Armstrong. Mr. Gladstone a fourth time doubles the income-tax. 1871. Lord Bomb invents a balloon battering-train, and, in an experimental discharge, brings down all the British fleet into the German Ocean. 1872. The Admiralty, in desperation, invents a subterranean fleet, which is to be conveyed by tunnels to all the colonies; but Mr. Gladstone blandly suggests, that, as everybody now pays twice his income in taxes, the people may object to further imposts unless some proof of economy is given. Government, therefore, stop the pensions of 100 superannuated clerks, discharge some extra night-porters at the Treasury, and bring in estimates for the subterranean fleet. 1873. Lord Bomb invents his typhæons, or earthquake shells, and suffocates the British fleet in the Tasmania Tunnel. Mr. Gladstone a fifth time doubles the income-tax. 1874. The Emperor of the French proclaims the Millennium, which, of course, immediately occurs; no more war ships are wanted, and the collectors remit the quarter's income-tax not yet due. Lord Bomb invents his volcano fireworks in honour of the occasion, and, by some accident, burns up the public."

Ridicule was not thrown away. While we had entered on a career of commerce and free trade—a career impossible except on the maintenance of perfect peace—it did seem most extraordinary and inconsistent to be preparing, at the same time, for wars evidently to be more bloody and destructive than any that had been waged and won by England in days gone by.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE AMERICAN WAR, AND LANCASHIRE DISTRESS.

IN England, it began to be felt, in 1860, that the American republic was divided into two parties—those who kept slaves, and those who held slavery to be at variance with the laws of God and man. The abolitionists were strong in the north of America, the slave-owners in the south.

The first collision between the opposing parties was occasioned by the fight for territories. Years ago, it had been decided by the representatives of the nation, in Congress assembled, that the spirit of the Federal constitution solemnly, as they phrased it, and for ever, prohibited the existence of slavery "in all that territory which lies north of 36° 30'." This compromise was afterwards repealed; and it was left for each state to decide whether it would be slave or free.

In 1856 there was a great battle about Kansas. Was it to be admitted to the Union; and if so, as a free or slave state? The opposing parties planted themselves in it as quickly as they could. Ultimately it entered the Union under an anti-slavery constitution; and the Southern planters prepared for vengeance. Up to this time all the power of the North had been in their hands. Mr. Alexander N. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy before disruption, admitted that the South had always possessed the control of the government; that it had a majority of presidents chosen from among themselves. The South had had sixty years of presidents, and the North only twenty-four: of the Supreme Court, eighteen judges were South, and eleven sprung from the North. Presidents of the senate had been twenty from the South, against eleven from the North; and Speakers of the House, twenty-three to twelve; Attorney-generals, fourteen for the South, against five for the North; and Foreign Ministers, eighty-six to fifty-four. Though three-fourths of the business requiring diplomatic agencies abroad were from the free states, the higher officers of the army and navy were, by a vast majority, men of the South; while the soldiers and sailors were Northerns. More than two-thirds of the clerks, auditors, comptrollers, filling the executive department for the last fifty years, had been nominees of the South, though only one-third of the white population of the country belonged to the South; and more than three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the government, have uniformly been raised from the North. These are admissions made by Mr. Stephens himself, who further asked—"What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim, founded on justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you, to-day, name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain?"

According to Mr. Beecher, it was in 1848 the first endeavour was made in the Northern States to form a platform that should carry rebuke to the slave-holding ideas of the South. "Before this, however, I can say, that under God, the South itself had, unintentionally, done more than we to carry on this work of emancipation. First, they began to declare, after the days of Mr. Calhoun, that they accepted slavery no longer as a misfortune, but as a divine blessing. Mr. Calhoun advanced the doctrine, which is now the marrow of secession—that it was the duty of the general government, not merely to protect the local states from interference, but to make slavery equally national with liberty. In effect, the government was to see to it, that slavery received equivalents for every loss and disadvantage which, by the law of nature, it must sustain in a race against free institutions. The South having the control of government, knew, from the inherent weakness of their system, that, if it were confined, it was like *huge herds* feeding on small pastures, that soon gnaw the grass to the roots, and must have other pasture, or die. And then came, one after another, from the South, assertions of rights never before dreamed of. From them came the Mexican war for territory; from them came the annexation of Texas, and its entrance as a slave state; from them came that organised rowdiness in Congress, that browbeats every Northern man who had not sworn fealty to slavery—that filled all the Courts of Europe with ministers holding slave doctrines—that gave the majority of seats on the bench to slave-owning judges—and that gave, in fact, all our chief offices of trust, either to slave-owners, or to men who licked the feet of slave-owners. Then came that ever-memorable period, when, for the very purpose of humbling the North, and making it drink the bitter cup of humiliation, and showing to its people that the South

was their natural lord, was passed the Fugitive Slave Bill. * * * But whom the devil entices he cheats. Our promised peace with the South, which was the thirty pieces of silver paid to us, turned into fire, and burnt the hands that took it. For how long was it, after this promised peace, that the Missouri compromise was abolished, in solemn disregard of a solemn compact? The first triumph of the North was the fact that Kansas became a free state. By this time a new conscience had been formed in the North, and a vast majority of all the Northern men stood fair and square on the subject of slavery. The result was, in time, the election of Abraham Lincoln. Did the South submit? No offence had been committed—none threatened; but the allegation was, that the election of a man known to be pledged against the extension of slavery, was not compatible with the safety of slavery as it then existed. On those grounds they took steps for secession."

We must pause here. At a turning-point in the life of a nation, or an individual, much depends upon a man. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of that grand and great republic teaches many lessons. It illustrates, in a peculiar way, the free character of American institutions. He was a self-made man, and rose to be, for a time, a king amongst his class. Not a working-man in this country—not a mechanic or peasant in this land of ours, but can gather up a moral from his splendid success. True, none can hope to be elected to a similar position here; but in the Old World, as in the New, the law is, that the strong man—the man who can rule himself, the man of resolute endeavour—must rise. The rule is exemplified on a larger scale in America than here, simply because a new country abounds more with opportunities than an old one. Emerson tells us of "the sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who, in turn, tries all the professions—who teams it, peddles it, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always, like a cat, falls on his feet." The new president belonged to this class. Six weeks' schooling seems all he ever had; a terrible uphill game had he to play. In starting, the chances were frightfully against him. Just as he was getting on, his partner, in an unfortunate speculation, plunged him into debt, and he had again to begin the world. Yet he never lost heart, and we see him gradually climbing up till he was placed in the topmost chair of state. In England, we should look long at such a man before we made him even an M.P.; but in America they manage things differently. As to whether he was qualified to rule the destinies of the republic, he soon let all the world perceive that he was equal to the work: and here we must confess that the practical effect of such success in America must—better than reams of letterpress, or millions of homilies—teach Americans to be men in the highest acceptance of the term. It is impossible to estimate the amount of stimulus to endeavour and industry, and self-denial, and upright conduct, which such a career as that of Abraham Lincoln must give to the youth and manhood, even when lowest in the social scale, of the United States. There is virtue in a land where such plain, unpretending, unassuming men as Abraham Lincoln can be lifted on the shoulders of the people into power. The following sketch of Lincoln's early days appeared in the *New York Tribune* :—

"A full and truthful biography of Abraham Lincoln would make a book of the deepest interest. He furnishes, in his history and individual character, a noble specimen of true moral courage and manhood—the best sample among us of the gigantic growth of intellect and character under the fostering influences of American institutions and society, when not dwarfed by idleness, dissipation, or dishonesty. Every labouring man in the country, toiling under the weight of poverty with a view to better days, and every student struggling for knowledge and advancement, under whatever difficulty, has stock in Old Abe, and may be justly proud of him as one of his class, who has demonstrated the distinguished success that may crown any honourable ambition properly cultivated.

"Forty-four years ago Mr. Lincoln's father emigrated from Kentucky to

Spencer County, Indiana, where he purchased a small farm. Ten years or so after, the project of a public school in the neighbourhood was started, and, meeting with encouragement, a log school-house was built, at which Abe, then about sixteen years old, and who had never attended school before, was installed. Exactly six weeks after the school commenced, an execution against his father—the result of endorsing a note for a friend—swept away the little farm, and the student was compelled to leave school to join his parent, who, greatly disheartened by his misfortune, had determined to emigrate to Illinois with his family.

“In due time the Lincoln family reached Coles’ County, where it was decided to seek their fortunes. By dint of hard labour at low wages, enough money was saved, in the course of two years, to purchase and pay for eighty acres of government land. The son assisted his father for some time in the cultivation of his farm; but, becoming imbued with the spirit of enterprise, he eventually started out to find his fortunes; and, coming to Macoon County, after considerable difficulty in obtaining work, came across a Mr. Hawks, with whom he closed a contract to cut and split 3,000 rails. While at work at this job he found more time than heretofore to improve his mind; and it is stated of him, that when noon arrived, he would mount a log, swallow his dinner in eight or ten minutes, and then spend fifty minutes in close study before commencing his afternoon’s work. While engaged upon this job, our hero made the acquaintance of a man who proposed that they should build a flat boat; that he would stock it with grains and provisions; and that Abe should command the said flat boat on an expedition down the Sangamon river to the Illinois, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and down this river to New Orleans, when the flat boat and cargo should be disposed of. The enterprise looked promising; the flat boat was built and loaded; Captain Lincoln proceeded on his voyage, and, in due time, arrived in New York; disposed of boat and cargo, and shipped for home as a deck-hand on board one of the Mississippi river steam-boats.

“The first flat-boat expedition proved so successful that two others were projected; and, by the time they were completed, Lincoln had saved several hundred dollars. With this money he opened a small store, at a settlement known as New Salem; and, with the usual foolishness of new beginners in business, he took in a partner. ‘I reckon now,’ said Lincoln, alluding to the enterprise on a future occasion, with one of those proverbially comical expressions of countenance—‘I reckon now that *that* was the store;’ and I judge, from his ludicrous description of its miscellaneous contents, that it might have been. However, the new business went along badly, and did not prove profitable. The partner insisted that they must add some whiskey to their stock in trade if they would save themselves; but to this proposition Lincoln stoutly objected; but the partner as stoutly insisting, Lincoln finally sold out to him. About this time the Black Hawk war was the subject of excitement. A new militia company was to be formed, and there was a strife as to who should be the captain. There was a tall pompous fellow in the neighbourhood, glorying in the military title of ‘Major,’ who was very anxious for the new office, and who felt confident of obtaining it. When the day of election arrived there proved to be from a dozen to fifteen candidates for the captaincy. The plan of election adopted was novel. A space was cleared, and it was agreed that each candidate should march across this space, with his friends following him in single file; and the man who had the largest procession of friends should be declared the captain. While the processions were forming, some of the ‘boys’ caught Lincoln by the arm, and declared that he should be a candidate. He protested that he knew nothing about military matters; but a stout fellow pushed him forward while his supporters formed behind. Great was the astonishment and mortification of the major when he discovered that Lincoln’s procession outnumbered his own by two men; and Lincoln was therefore declared to be captain.

“Upon Lincoln’s return from the war, he discovered that his old partner had been his own best customer in the whiskey traffic, and that he had ‘decamped’

without paying the debts of the trading concern, amounting to 1,100 dols., and without leaving anything to pay them with. 'Here, then, I was,' said Mr. Lincoln once to a friend, '1,100 dols. in debt, or 1,100 dols. worse off than at any time in my life before; for I had not a single dollar to pay this indebtedness with. What to do I was at a loss to know. I thought the matter over for many days, and was greatly distressed. To go to work at the customary wages of a 'hired hand,' and earn 1,100 dols.—it seemed as if I could not do it. But I determined at last to try. I never in my life knew a man who, resolved to do his duty, did not have some means opened up to him—no matter how impossible, seemingly, was the accomplishment of that duty at the start.' And so it proved in this case with honest Abe. Stumbling, accidentally, upon a book on surveying, he at once made himself master of the science, and commenced the business of surveying as a profession, having in the meantime removed to Springfield. Here he made friends very fast, and soon became exceedingly popular; so much so, that he was selected as a Whig candidate for the legislature, and was triumphantly elected, holding the office for four years, during which time he became noted as a shrewd and intelligent debater. He saved money enough during these four years to pay off all his 1,100 dollars' indebtedness, even to the last shilling. During his legislative term he commenced studying law by the advice of Judge Logan and John D. Stewart, of Springfield, who had discovered in him the evidences of an acute and remarkable intellect. He was admitted to the bar a few months after, got married, and at once pushed forward to the front rank in his profession.

"Such is Mr. Lincoln's early history, given in meagre but truthful outline. I need only add that, in his personal habits, Mr. Lincoln has always been strictly abstemious, using neither tobacco nor spirituous liquor of any kind. No man, moreover, ever yet accused him of an ungenerous or a dishonourable act or thought. Said I not truly that he furnishes the best sample to be met with of the gigantic growth of intellect and character, under the fostering influences of American institutions and society, when not dwarfed by idleness, dissipation, or dishonesty?"

The personal appearance of Mr. Lincoln was thus described in the *Chicago Press and Tribune*:—"Mr. Lincoln stands six feet four inches high in his stockings. His frame is not muscular, but gaunt and wiry; his arms are long, but not unreasonably so for a person of his height; his lower limbs are not disproportionate to his body. In walking, his gait, though firm, is never brisk. He steps slowly and deliberately, almost always with his head inclined forwards, and his hands clasped behind his back. In matters of dress he is by no means precise. Always clean, he is never fashionable; he is careless, but not slovenly. In manner he is remarkably cordial, and, at the same time, simple. His politeness is always sincere, but never elaborate and oppressive. A warm shake of the hand, and a warmer smile of recognition, are his methods of greeting his friends. At rest, his features, though those of a man of mark, are not such as belong to a handsome man; but when his fine dark gray eyes are lighted up by any emotion, and his features begin their play, he would be chosen from among a crowd as one who had in him not only the kindly sentiments which women love, but the heavier metal of which full-grown men and presidents are made. His hair is black, and, though thin, is wiry. His head sits well on his shoulders, but beyond that it defies description. It nearer resembles that of Clay than Webster; but it is unlike either. It is very large, and, phrenologically, well proportioned, betokening power in all its developments. A slightly Roman nose, a wide-cut mouth, and a large complexion, with the appearance of having been weather-beaten, complete the description."

Secession had commenced long before Abraham Lincoln was placed in the presidential chair. South Carolina led the way. On the 20th of December, 1860, a convention, held at Charleston, declared the union of the American states dissolved. She was followed by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee. North Carolina was the last to withdraw

from the North, which she did on May 20th, 1861. The aggregate area of these eleven states was 767,893 square miles, which is more than eight times the area of Great Britain. According to the census of 1860, the free population of these eleven states was 5,581,649; the slave population, 3,520,116: total, 9,101,765.

The first shot was fired on the 9th of January. A vessel sent with troops and stores to reinforce Fort Sumter, at the entrance of Charleston harbour, as she was passing Morris Island, was fired upon, when she stopped her course, and retired.

On the 9th of February, a convention of the seven states which had then seceded (held at Montgomery, in Alabama), elected Mr. Jefferson Davis to be provisional president of the Confederate States; and, on the 18th, he was inaugurated.

On the 4th of March, the South lost their friend in Mr. Buchanan, who had been, as president, entirely subservient to them; and Mr. Abraham Lincoln assumed office. Naturally, he was reluctant to proceed to extremities. He made, on this occasion, the following statement:—"I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and similar declarations, and have never revoked them. And more than this, they placed on the platform, and as a law to themselves and me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read—'Resolved, that the maintenance, inviolate, of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state, to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory—no matter under what pretext—as the gravest of crimes.'" But the South had no faith in the declarations of Mr. Lincoln or of the republicans, and refused all terms of accommodation. The issue was to be decided on the battle-field.

One of the first proceedings of Mr. Lincoln's government, was to endeavour to reinforce, and supply with provisions, the garrison at Charleston. For this purpose, a number of transports, under convoy of two ships of war, proceeded from New York; but the fleet was dispersed by a storm. Meantime, Major Anderson, who commanded the forces of the United States at Charleston, had evacuated Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, and had removed the small garrisons to Fort Sumter. On the 11th of April, General Beauregard, who commanded the Confederate troops and forts at Charleston, sent a summons to Major Anderson to surrender. General Beauregard met with a refusal; and on the 12th commenced the bombardment of Sumter by the other forts and batteries. The assailed fort replied vigorously for some time; but the bombardment having continued about forty hours, the garrison surrendered. Major Anderson was courteously treated; and, on the following day, was started for New York. Only two or three men were killed, and a few wounded. The North was indignant, and immediately declared war. The militia, to the number of 75,000, were called out; the ports of the South were placed under blockade; the navy yard at Norfolk dismantled; and ships were destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Confederates. On the 3rd of May, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling out 42,000 volunteers; and directing that the regular army should be increased by 23,000 soldiers, and the navy by 18,000 seamen.

Equally determined was the South: 8,000,000 of dollars were raised as a loan, and 100,000 volunteers authorised to be accepted by the Confederate States' government for a twelvemonth's service. These efforts would have been in vain had it not been for the treason of one man. Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, when Secretary of War, under Mr. Buchanan's administration, had, by a single order, effected the transfer of 115,000 improved muskets and rifles, from the Springfield armoury and Watervliet arsenal, to different fortresses in the South.

Neither North nor South anticipated the terrible nature of the struggle on which they had entered. The New York papers derided the rebellion. The *Tribune* declared—"The nations of Europe may rest assured that Jefferson Davis and Co. will be emerging from the battlements at Washington, at least by the 4th of July. We spit upon a later and longer deferred justice."

The first serious contest of the war was to occur in the low country of Virginia. On the 10th of June the battle of Bethel was fought.

In July, the head-quarters of the Federals, commanded by General M'Dowell, were at Centreville, about twenty miles S.W. of Washington, and about eight miles from the Confederate forces at Manassas. At about six o'clock on the morning of the 21st of July, the first battle of importance between the two main armies was commenced, in the vicinity of a stream called Bull Run. During the forenoon the attacking party seemed to have the advantage, and pushed on bravely till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when General Beauregard, having unmasked certain concealed batteries, and General Johnston having come up with reinforcements, the Federal troops began to break and run. The retreat soon became a rout, and finally a panic; the flying army leaving behind them nearly all their artillery, a large portion of their small-arms, and most of their ammunition, baggage, and stores. The loss of the Federals was announced, officially, to have been 462 men and nineteen officers killed; and 947 men and sixty-four officers wounded. The loss of the Confederates was said to have been only sixty killed and wounded. The Confederate army was stated to have numbered 15,000 men, and the Federal army 18,000. At the end of October, General Scott, on account of his age and infirmity, resigned the command-in-chief of the army of the United States, and General M'Clellan was appointed to succeed him. By the end of the year, President Lincoln reported that the army consisted, altogether, of 660,971; and on the 31st of December, cash payments were suspended by the United States.

General M'Clellan had been lifted into an immense popularity by his successes in North-western Virginia. For weeks he had been the object of a sensation. His name was displayed in New York on placards, on banners, and in newspaper headings, with the phrase—"M'Clellan—two victories in one day." The newspapers gave him the title of the "Young Napoleon." He was only thirty-five years of age, small in stature, with black hair and moustache, and a remarkably military precision of manner. He was a pupil of West Point, and had been one of the American military commission to the Crimea. When appointed major-general of volunteers, by Governor Dennison, of Ohio, he had retired from the army, and was superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi railway. After his taking the command of the army of the Potomac (as it was termed), he busied himself incessantly in superintending the drilling of his troops. Having at length brought his army into proper condition, the general advanced from Washington, and, on the 10th of March, proceeded to attack the Confederates at Manassas; but he was too late. General Beauregard had retreated, with all his stores. Instead of following him, General M'Clellan organised a new plan of operations for the reduction of Virginia, and capture of Richmond. Leaving about 30,000 men behind to cover Washington, and having assembled about 80,000 men, well equipped, and with a formidable battering-train, between the York River and James River, under the protection of the guns of Fort Monroe, he himself, with about 30,000 more, proceeded to join them. His intention was to advance gradually towards Richmond; and, when sufficiently near, a number of gun-boats were to force their way up the James River, and co-operate with the army in assaulting the city.

Already one of the most novel events of the war had occurred. In March, the *Merrimac*, one of the ships which had been sunk in Norfolk harbour, but which had been raised, repaired, plated with iron, and fitted with two iron beaks at the stern, attacked the Federal ships in Hampden Roads, at the mouth of the James River. She was mounted with ten large guns; and, after firing two, ran into the

Cumberland sloop of war, striking her with the sharp bows, and making a large hole at the water-mark. The *Cumberland* immediately began to sink, when the *Merrimac* backed a little, and ran into her a second time, making another large hole: the *Cumberland* then heeled over, and finally sank, with about 130 men. The *Merrimac* next attacked the *Congress*, a 50-gun frigate, which, in less than an hour, hoisted the white flag. In the evening, the *Monitor* fortunately arrived from New York. This vessel was the first specimen of those iron-clad floating batteries, of which several others have been since constructed. It had a turret, which was, in fact, a revolving bomb-proof fort, carrying two 11-inch guns. On the morning of the 9th, the *Merrimac* again came out, and attacked the *Minnesota*, a Federal steamer carrying forty guns, which would probably have been destroyed had not the *Monitor* appeared on the scene. The action between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* lasted a considerable time; and the result was, that the former, considerably injured, was compelled to retreat into Norfolk harbour. The Federal successes by sea were greater than by land. On April 10th, island No. 10 and New Orleans were captured. In May the navy yard in Norfolk was won, and the formidable *Merrimac* was blown up.

The disasters on the Mississippi frontier constrained the South to adopt the policy of concentrating its forces in the interior of Virginia, under the deservedly popular General Lee. Here battle after battle was fought. On June 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and July 1st, the battles of the Chickahominy occurred. The two most famous battles of the series were fought on the 27th and 30th. The loss of the Federals was estimated at 20,000 killed and wounded; that of the Confederates also must have been very large, as the Federals had the superiority in artillery. In August the second battle of Manassas was fought. Soon after, a portion of General Lee's army crossed the Potomac, into Maryland and Pennsylvania. General Jackson, having invested Harper's Ferry, paroled more than 8,000 prisoners, and obtained 10,000 small-arms, forty cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores. He then joined General Lee, and the battle of Antietam was fought, with indecisive results, yet with a total loss to the Federals of 14,700 men.

On the 22nd of September, President Lincoln issued his celebrated emancipation proclamation, to the effect that, on and after the 1st of January, 1863, all slaves, within any state or part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the Federal government, shall henceforth be for ever free.

On the 7th of November, General M'Clellan was relieved from the command of the army of the Potomac; and General Burnside was appointed his successor. General M'Clellan was much blamed for not having pursued the Confederates into Virginia after the battle of Antietam. The battle of Fredericksburg was won by General Lee, with a loss of 1,800 killed and wounded; while that of the Federals was estimated at 14,000.

In 1863, the fighting was fiercer than ever. At the battle of Chancellorsville, fought on May 2nd, the Confederates lost their greatest hero, General Stonewall Jackson.

General Jackson, at the siege of Vera Cruz, commanded a battery, and attracted attention by the coolness and judgment with which he worked his guns. For his conduct at Cerro Gordo he was made a captain. He was in all Scott's battles *en route* for the city of Mexico; and he behaved so well, that he was brevetted major for his services. To his merits as a commander, he added the virtues of an active, humble, consistent Christian. He was vulgarly sneered at as a fatalist; his habits of soliloquy were derided as superstitious conversations with a familiar spirit; but the confidence he had in his destiny was regarded by his admirers as a mark of genius. The following description of him is given by one who knew him:—"He is as calm in the midst of a hurricane of bullets, as he was in the pew of his church at Lexington, where he was professor of the Institute. He appears to be a man of almost superhuman endurance. Neither heat nor cold

make the slightest impression on him. He cares nothing for good quarters and dainty fare. Wrapped in his blanket, he throws himself down on the ground, anywhere, and sleeps as soundly as though he were in a palace. He lives as the soldiers live, and bears all the fatigues and all the suffering they do. He never seems to sleep, and lets nothing pass without his personal scrutiny. He can neither be caught napping, nor whipped when he is wide awake. The rapidity of his marches is something portentous. He is heard of by the enemy at one point; and before they can make up their minds to follow him he is off to another. His men have little baggage, and he moves nearly as he can without encumbrance. He keeps so constantly in motion, that he never has a sick list, and no need of hospitals." His biographer, Professor Dabney, gives anecdotes illustrating Jackson's nobleness of character, efficiency as a general, and unflinching determination to do his duty. Jackson had studied, practically and theoretically, the art of war. He was no carpet knight, but a real soldier; no brawling politician of the tavern or the market-place, but a real patriot. He was of the South, and he cast in his lot with the South; and was a leader of whom any cause might have been proud. His knowledge of strategy was great; and he had the rare knack of securing the confidence of his men, who, under his leadership, were ready to go anywhere. He was as tender of them as if they were his children. On one occasion, after he had been in an action, he would not leave till the last of the wounded had been removed; and it was not till the last picket was posted, that the general sought a few hours' repose. When his faithful servant, knowing that he had eaten nothing since the morning, came with food, he said—"I want none; nothing but sleep;" and, in a few minutes, was slumbering like an infant. Yet this tender man was stern, as a soldier should be. A part of the men of the 27th regiment, in the Stonewall Brigade, who had volunteered for twelve months, found their year had expired, and, laying down their arms, refused to serve another day. Their colonel referred to Jackson for instructions. His reply was—"What is this but mutiny? Why does Colonel Grigsby refer to me to know what to do with a mutiny? He should shoot them where they stand;" and Jackson gave orders accordingly: hearing which, the insubordinate companies very wisely returned to duty. In the same firm spirit he ordered the officers under him. Riding up to a colonel on one occasion, previous to an engagement, he said—"I expect the enemy to bring artillery to this hill, and they must not do it. Do you understand me, sir? *They must not do it.* Keep a good look-out, and your men well in hand; and, if they attempt to come, charge them with the bayonet, and seize their guns. *Clamp them*, sir, on the spot:" and, as he gave the order with clenched fist and strident voice, Jackson made men's ears tingle.

Yet, all the while, General Stonewall Jackson was ever anxious about the religious welfare of those around him. Whenever there was an opportunity, divine service was performed; and Jackson was always a worshipper. For him death had no terror. On one occasion, he said to a brother officer—"Nothing easily can mar my happiness. I know that heaven is in store for me, and I should rejoice at the prospect of going there to-morrow. Understand me, I am not sick, I am not sad: God has greatly blessed me; and I have as much to love here as any man, and life is very bright to me; but still I am ready to leave it any day without trepidation or regret, for that heaven which I know awaits me, through the mercy of my heavenly father. And I would not agree to the slightest diminution of one shade of my glory there, for—(here he paused, as though to consider what terrestrial measure he might best select to express the largeness of his joys)—No! not all the fame which I have acquired, or shall ever win in this world." Such was the man who illustrated and adorned the cause of the South. He never had a day's holiday. No wonder that he prayed daily, and earnestly, for peace, blessed peace: and his prayer was answered; but it was the peace not of this world, but of a better world than ours, that he found, as, shattered and weak with loss of blood, he breathed his last just as, victory had again crowned

his efforts with success. A peculiarly melancholy feature in the case was, that he was shot by the deadly fire of his own troops, who mistook him and his friends for the Federals. His right hand was penetrated by a ball; his left fore-arm lacerated by another; and the same limb broken a little below the shoulder by a third, which not only crushed the bone, but severed the main artery. His horse also dashed, panic-struck, beneath the boughs of a tree, which inflicted severe blows, lacerated his face, and almost dragged him from his saddle. The general was taken to the rear; amputation was immediately resorted to, and, for a little while, it seemed as if the life, of such value to the Confederacy, would be saved. It was, however, otherwise decreed; and he died, and was buried, amidst a nation's tears. The poet tells us—

“How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest!”

And thus died Stonewall Jackson.

We have not yet told how Jackson acquired his *sobriquet*. At the battle of Bull Run, as the fragments of the Confederates left, and fell back before the Federals, the reserve, under General Jackson, was ordered to advance. At right angles to the stream there ran an elevated ridge, the Confederate side of which was covered with a thicket of pines, affording admirable shelter for sharpshooters. Here Jackson took his stand, and for four hours resisted the most determined efforts of his foe. Unable, by the most desperate efforts, to drive him before them, the Federals assailed the division on his right, and gradually drove the Confederates away. In this critical position, a commanding officer galloped up to Jackson. “General, they are beating us back.” “Then,” he replied adroitly, “we will give them the bayonet.” Reinspired by the hero's firmness, the officer rode back to his half-beaten soldiers, and exclaimed—“There is Jackson! standing like a stone wall!—rally behind the Virginians.” From that hour, which turned the tide of victory against the North, Stonewall Jackson became a household word through the South. His way of fighting was the theme of eulogies in the pulpit and the press.

“We see him now—the old slouched hat
Cocked o'er his eye askew;
The shrewd dry smile; the speech so pat,
So calm, so blunt, so true.
The ‘Blue-Light Elder’ knows us well.
Says he, ‘That's Banks—he's fond of shell:
Lord, save his soul! We'll give him'—well,
That's ‘Stonewall Jackson's way.’

“Silence! ground arms! kneel all! caps off!
Old Blue Light's going to pray;
Strangle the fool that dares to scoff.
Attention! Its his way.
Appealing from his native sod,
In *formâ pauperis*, to God—
‘Lay bare Thine arm; stretch forth Thy rod.
Amen.’ That's ‘Stonewall's way.’

* * * * *

“Ah! maiden, wait, and watch, and yearn
For news of Stonewall's band;
Ah! widow, read with eyes that burn
That ring upon thy hand.
Ah! wife, pray on, sew on, hope on,
Thy life shall not be all forlorn.
The foe had better ne'er been born
That gets in ‘Stonewall's way.’”

General Robert Jefferson Jackson (commonly called Stonewall Jackson) died in hospital, a few miles south of Fredericksburg, on the 9th of May.

General Hooker dashed on, as he fondly dreamed, to Richmond; but he fared no better than others. He was driven back by General Lee; but, soon after, the Confederates lost the powerful fortress of Vicksburg. By water the Federals had a great advantage. The naval squadron of the Mississippi was under the command of Admiral Porter, who had at his disposal more than one hundred armed vessels, including iron-clads. Admiral Farragut having ran past the batteries of Port Hudson with part of his Gulf squadron, co-operated with Admiral Porter; and General Grant attacked Vicksburg by land. The fortress, with its garrison, surrendered, unconditionally, on the 4th of July. The prisoners paroled were more than 30,000; the artillery about 200 pieces; the small-arms about 70,000; together with a large quantity of ammunition.

The battle of Gettysburg must also be noticed. On the morning of the 1st of July, the hostile armies came into collision four miles west from Gettysburg. After a struggle of some hours the Federal troops were driven back through the town, with heavy loss of men, and several pieces of artillery. They retired to a range of hills. The attack was not pressed in the afternoon, and the preparations for another attack were not completed till the afternoon of the 2nd of July. The Federals held a high and commanding ridge, along which they had massed a large number of guns. General Ewell occupied the left of the Confederate line, General Hill the centre, and General Longstreet the right. Advantageous positions were captured on the right and left, and the contest ceased when it became dark. On the 3rd, dispositions were made for the attempt to drive the Federals from the heights, which they had strengthened by earthworks. The battle recommenced on the afternoon of the 3rd, and raged with great violence till sunset. The Confederates failed in their attempts, and were obliged to fall back on their original positions, with severe loss. The strength of the position held by the Federals, deficiency of ammunition for the artillery, and other considerations, determined the Confederates not to hazard another attack. They remained at Gettysburg during the 4th, and, at night, began to retire. The weather was very wet and stormy during the retreat, and the river had risen above its usual height. By the 13th, however, the waters had fallen a little, and were found to be fordable, though still deep; the pontoon bridge, which had been partly broken, was repaired; and, by one o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, the whole of the Confederate army, with all its trains of stores and batteries, had recrossed the Potomac. No serious interruption had been made by the Federals. Their loss was supposed to have been about 15,000; and that of the Confederates was, perhaps, not much less.

In New York city, where the rowdy element is strong, and where the friends of the South were numerous, the commencement of the conscription produced a series of riots, which continued from the 13th of July till the 16th, and were not entirely suppressed till the 17th, when more than 30,000 soldiers of the regular army, besides militia, had been assembled in and around the city. The destruction of property, caused by incendiary fires, was valued at more than £80,000. The number of persons killed was about seventy-six, inclusive of some twenty negroes, murdered by the mob. About 600 persons were wounded, or otherwise injured. On both sides Herculean efforts were made. In accordance with the acts passed by the Confederate Congress, in April and September, 1862, President Davis, on the 21st of July, issued a proclamation, calling out for military service for three years, if the war should continue so long, the whole of the able-bodied population of the Confederate states, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

Charleston was besieged, on a gigantic scale, by the Federals. All July and August they were hard at work. In Tennessee the Confederates gained a victory by the defeat of General Rosencrans. General Bragg, having been reinforced with two divisions of Longstreet's corps, from the army of General Lee, on the 19th of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, attacked the army of General Rosencrans. Falling, at first, upon the left wing, under General Thomas, the

Confederates caused the reserves of the centre and right to be sent to his support. They then suddenly attacked the centre, drove it back, and separated the two wings. There was much confusion and rout, and the Confederates captured many guns; but the Federals were partly rallied, and held their ground. On the 20th, the attack was renewed, and the centre and right were defeated, and compelled to retreat. The left wing, under General Thomas, having secured a strong position, resisted, with resolute bravery, till dusk, when it fell back, and, during the night, joined the rest of the defeated army at Chattanooga. General Bragg reported that he had captured 7,000 prisoners, thirty-six pieces of artillery, and 15,000 small-arms. The Federal loss, in killed and wounded, must have been very large. This was the battle of Chicamauga, so called from the name of a stream near which it was fought. For nearly three months after, by none of the armies in the field was anything of importance achieved. In the north, however, for the cause of free government, better times were drawing nigh.

Up to this time the North had laboured under a serious disadvantage. It had no general equal to the work required of him. In the person of Ulysses Grant, he at length appeared upon the scene.

Sprung from a family of Scotch extraction, Ulysses Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, on the 29th of April, 1829. He was trained at the military academy, West Point, and took an active part in the Mexican war. At its termination he married, and helped in his father's business, a leather and saddlery store, in St. Louis. In October he was appointed commander of all the Federal armies in the south-west. The Federals, defeated and demoralised, cowered in Chattanooga; while their victorious enemies, intrenched on the mountain ranges that dominate the town, held them in a state of siege. Joined by Sherman, after a tedious and difficult march, he inflicted a heavy blow on the Confederates on the 25th of November. Jefferson Davis had visited Bragg's lines, and pronounced them impregnable. Grant knew better. With an army of 85,000 strong, he led an attack, which the Confederates at first thought was nothing but a review, so safe did they deem their position. For a time the battle was doubtful, till Hooker's advance becomes a glorious success. The Confederates stoutly withstand; but the fear of being cut off and captured, ultimately compels them to fall back. As a result of this victory, Grant captured 6,000 prisoners, forty pieces of artillery, and 7,000 small-arms; besides killing or wounding 5,000 of the enemy's forces. "After a long and severe battle," wrote Jefferson Davis, "in which great carnage was inflicted on the enemy, some of our troops inexplicably abandoned positions of great strength; and, by a disorderly retreat, compelled the commander to withdraw his whole army to a position some twenty or thirty miles in the rear." This was the thin edge of the wedge. Sherman then went in pursuit of Longstreet, in Eastern Tennessee, when the latter retreated.

The critical year (1863) of the war ended better for the Federals than it commenced. During the first six months the Confederates were everywhere successful. At the close of the year, the whole aspect of affairs was changed. During its last six months, the Northerners had won two great battles—Gettysburg and Look-out Mountain. They had captured six important towns: Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the greatest Confederate strongholds in the south-west; Chattanooga, the base of Federal operations against Georgia; Knoxville, the capital of Eastern Tennessee; Little Rock, the chief town of Arkansas; and Jackson, the state capital of Mississippi. They had pushed back the Southern forces, excepting Lee's army, into the Gulf states, and established themselves firmly in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee; and, as a consequence, had opened up the three great rivers that have given their names to the three last states. Of prisoners taken during the war, the Confederates could only number 15,000, to 40,000 captured by their foes. The value of vessels (1,000 in all) seized up to January 1st, 1864, while attempting to run the blockade, was nearly three millions; and, to crown all, their greatest hero was dead. In the beginning of the year, affairs at first were

unfavourable to the North: at the same time, all was gaiety and amusement in New York; whilst misery and depression prevailed in the South. While gold was 160 in New York, it was at a 1,000 premium in Richmond. The North thrived with the war, and was in no hurry to have it brought to a close. "Wages," says Mr. Stacke, "had risen in an extraordinary manner; and every one seemed to be doing a roaring trade. Railways, mines, and companies of every description, that languished before secession, seemed to spring into new life and prosperity, owing to the influence on speculation exercised by the war. Whole cities were embellished; and one (Chicago) actually raised some feet by the wealth amassed during the war. Never was there such gaiety in New York: never had there been so many places of amusement opened: never had the theatres been so well attended, nor luxury and wealth so generally displayed. Notwithstanding the enormous customs' duties, the most expensive articles of European manufacture were in large demand." The shoddy class was the name given for the new men, who, enriched by a lavish government expenditure, sought to astonish the vulgar by their ostentatious display of wealth.

On the 12th of March, Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. At this time the North reposed unbounded confidence in the "Western Tanner," as he was called. His many victories were the warrant of their faith. Equal confidence, on the Confederate side, was reposed in Lee. He had never been defeated on Virginian soil; and, even in his invasions of the North, had always retired after inflicting more damage on the enemy than he had received himself. Since he had taken command of the army of Virginia, in 1862, he had beaten, in succession, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker; and had brought Meade to a full stop at Mine Run, where, at the end of 1863, the latter attempted to make his way to Richmond. Disaster after disaster had come upon the South; but Lee still defied the whole power of the North to pass over the sixty miles that intervened between Richmond and the Rappahannock. With his inferior number he had almost always beaten the Unionists. In the course of a year and a-half, he had crushed five Federal advances on Richmond, which had cost the Federals 30,000 dead, and nearly 200,000 wounded. And now the great general of the North was pitted against the general of the South. Grant's designs were not confined to one army. He determined to prevent the concentration of the Confederates by a simultaneous advance east and west. The point to be attacked in the eastern campaign was Richmond; of the western, Georgia. As regards the management of the campaign in Georgia, he left that wholly to William Tecumseh Sherman, the greatest military strategist since the death of Napoleon the Great. Grant, in person, directed the Virginian campaign. Meade's army was to out-manceuvre Lee, and, if possible, cut him off from his supplies. A force, under Sigel, was to pass down the Shenandoah, and break the line that runs from Richmond to the west; and an expedition, under Butler and Gilmore, was to sail up the James River, and attack the doomed city from the south. The Federals had 150,000; their enemies, including the garrison of Richmond, had 100,000. The latter had no chance against the former. In the first week in May the battle began. After a week's hard fighting, in which the loss of life had been great, and the success of the Federals small, Grant telegraphed to Washington—"I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all the summer." Grant changed his plan of attack; but fortune was equally hard to find. For every mile the Federals had moved, they had lost 1,000 men, and yet appeared no nearer success. The confidence felt in the North began to abate. Still Grant held on his way, and, in time, he succeeded. The battle of the Five Forks, in March, 1865, was the last effort of the Confederates. Lee now saw, that to retire on Richmond would allow Sheridan to cut off his line of retreat; and, consequently, ordered the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg on the following day. It was Sunday, and Jefferson Davis was at church, when the word came that Richmond was to be abandoned. It was a sad hour for him, and for all, when it was felt that the city,

which had, for forty-five months, defied the efforts of a most powerful army and people, was to be abandoned—a city for which such tens of thousands had perished on the battle-field. It was hard to leave such a city to its fate; but there was no alternative. The fate of Lee's army is soon told. On its way westward it was surrounded; and, on the 9th of April, after some letters had passed between Grant and Lee, the latter surrendered at Appomatox Court-house, the arms being taken, and parole exacted. The Confederates, to the number of 26,000, were allowed to return home. Before they dispersed, Grant, on Lee's suggestion, supplied them all with rations. Poor fellows! they had little to boast of in that way.

When the news of the fate of Richmond reached the North, great was the joy. The streets of the town re-echoed with peals of applause—women cheering and waving handkerchiefs from the windows to the exulting crowds below. A week after came the intelligence of the entire surrender of Lee's army. If possible, the excitement became greater; all was joy. Victory had at length declared itself for the North—for the cause of freedom and humanity. The great republic was saved; the Union was preserved. In days of darkness, when disaster after disaster came down upon the North, there were found those who took their stand upon principle; who believed they were fighting for great ends: and now they were justified; and for once, in this world of ours, right had become might. The friends of the slave, who, at one time, were hunted from the cities of the Union—who were never safe from attack—who lived in danger of their lives—had seen the slave-power crushed, and their beloved country's reproach wiped away.

In the midst of this universal rejoicing, all the world was astonished and saddened by learning that, on the 14th of April, Abraham Lincoln, who had been a second time re-elected president of the republic, had been suddenly and foully assassinated. The president was, at the time, in a private box at Ford's Theatre, Washington. In the letter which conveyed to Mr. Adams the mournful intelligence, it was stated that—

“The president, about eight o'clock, accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre. Another lady and gentleman were with them in the box. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, the assassin entered the box, the door of which was unguarded; hastily approached the president from behind, and discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of the head, and penetrated nearly through. The assassin then leaped from his box upon the stage, brandishing a large knife, or dagger, and exclaiming “*Sic semper tyrannis*,” escaped in the rear of the theatre. Immediately upon the discharge the president fell to the door insensible, and continued in that state until twenty minutes past seven, when he breathed his last!”

When the news of this melancholy event reached Europe, it created widespread indignation and deep regret. The intelligence was received in London on a Wednesday, when there was only a day sitting of parliament, and but sixty members present. They all signed the following address, which was presented the same evening to Mr. Adams:—“We, the undersigned members of the British House of Commons, have learned with the deepest horror and regret that the president of the United States has been deprived of life by an act of violence; and we desire to express our sympathy in this sad event with the American minister now in London, as well as to declare our hope and confidence in the future of that great country, which, we trust, will continue to be associated with enlightened freedom and peaceful relations with this and every other country.”

Subsequently the leaders of the great parties in the House expressed their horror of the crime which had been committed. The scene on 'Change at Liverpool will not soon be forgotten. The excitement has rarely, if ever, been exceeded. Late in the day, a requisition to the mayor was drawn up, requesting him to call a public meeting to express the sorrow and indignation of the people. Hundreds signed with avidity, and the mayor issued a proclamation for a meeting at

St. George's Hall, on the afternoon of the 27th, to be adjourned to the evening of the same day, so that the working classes might also have an opportunity of attending. Flags on the Town Hall and other buildings, and on the shipping at Liverpool, were displayed at half-mast. Meetings of the Americans resident in London, also the Union and Emancipation Society, and public gatherings at Manchester, Birmingham, &c., were likewise held to express their sentiments. The *Liverpool Post* of the 27th was printed with mourning columns. The *Times* said—"Nothing in political history can be remembered that has ever drawn forth a more unanimous feeling than this news. Personally President Lincoln enjoyed the kind regards of every one in England. The extent to which his influence was estimated in upholding amicable relations between England and the United States, has been shown by the fall, of unusual severity, in all classes of securities." It further remarked—"The news will be received throughout Europe with sorrow as sincere and profound as it awoke even in the United States themselves. Lincoln's perfect honesty speedily became apparent, and Englishmen learned to respect him." It also said—"Unjust as we believe it to be, the Confederate cause will not escape the dishonour cast upon it by these wanton murders." The *Daily News* said—"Lincoln has not fallen in the flush of triumph, for no thought of triumph was in that honest and humble heart; but his task was accomplished, and the battle of his life was won; and, in all time to come, among those who think manhood is more than rank, Abraham Lincoln will be held in reverence." The article further says—"We will not, without overwhelming proof, let the horrible conspiracy, or the phrases of its actors, lead us to lay it to the charge of abettors in the South." The *Star* paid a warm tribute to Lincoln, and eulogised his steadfast policy of peace, in spite of all provocation, towards England. It also expressed confidence that the North, even in its hour of just indignation, would still bear itself with that magnanimous clemency which thus far had illumined its triumph. The *Daily Telegraph* said—"From vulgar corruption, from factious hatred, from meanness, jealousy, and uncharitableness, this ruler was nobly free. At last came what seemed to be the fruition of his labours—the reward of his patience and courage. He entered Richmond as a conqueror, but he launched no decree of proscription, for the fight appeared to be over; and it was not in the man's large heart to bear malice towards a beaten foe. He spoke very kindly of Lee (says Stanton); and, on the same night that he pleaded for peace and for mercy, a villain killed him. Not for Lincoln himself can the end be considered unhappy." Much uneasiness was evinced in regard to the assumption of the presidency by Johnson, on account of the unavoidable deductions drawn from his conduct at the inauguration, and the tenor of his speeches.

In the House of Lords, May 1st, Earl Russell moved an address to the queen, expressive of the sorrow and indignation with which their lordships had heard of the assassination of President Lincoln; and he informed the House that the queen had written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, "from a widow to a widow," offering her condolence. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Derby, and agreed to unanimously. In the Commons, a similar address was moved by Sir George Grey, and seconded by Mr. Disraeli.

Punch altered his tone, and joined in the general tribute of regret and admiration. In his cartoon on the subject was the representation of a funeral bier. At the head of it Columbia sits weeping; and, at the foot, a slave, with his manacles stricken off, is buried in grief. Britannia stands in the centre, and offers a funeral wreath, to be deposited by the side of one laid on the bier by Columbia. The whole picture is touching and suggestive. It is accompanied by the following graceful lines:—

"You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil went to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face."

- " His gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as *débonnaire*,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.
- " You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain,—
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.
- " Beside this corpse, that bears for winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril jester, is there room for you ?
- " Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.
- " My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose,
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows.
- " How humble and yet hopeful he could be !
How in good fortune and in ill the same !
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.
- " He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command.
- " Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work His will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.
- " So he went forth to battle on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting might—
- " The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron-bark, that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,
- " The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train :
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stock be of right girth and grain.
- " So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it : four long-suffering years
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses changed to cheers,
- " The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood ;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,
- " A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest.

"The words of mercy were upon his lips,
 Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
 When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
 To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

"The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
 Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
 Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,
 Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

"And deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before
 By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
 If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
 But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

"Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
 Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven;
 And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
 With much to praise, little to be forgiven!"

On the same day that John Wilkes Booth shot President Lincoln, a savage attempt was made to assassinate Secretary Seward, the most acute diplomatist and experienced statesman of the North. Mr. Seward was lying ill in his bedroom, suffering from the effects of a serious accident, when a tall, powerful man, named Payne, applied at the house for admission, saying he had come with a prescription from the doctor. Being stopped by the secretary's son, Mr. Frederick Seward, on the stairs, he snapped a pistol at the young man's head, which, fortunately, did not go off. Quickly the ruffian struck his opponent to the ground with the end of the pistol, and burst into the secretary's chamber, where Miss Seward was in attendance on her father. Reckless of witnesses, the man rushed to the bed, and, with a knife, slashed at the face of Mr. Seward, who, fortunately, had strength enough to fling himself out of the bed, on the far side, before a mortal wound had been inflicted. The would-be assassin then turned away, and quickly escaped. There is reason to believe that a few desperate men, of whom Booth and Payne were the chief, had resolved to murder most of the eminent Federals, commencing with the president. It is certain that General Grant, who was expected to have been at the theatre, but who had gone to Washington on private business, had a very narrow escape.

Immediately after the death of Lincoln, the vice-president, Andrew Johnson (in accordance with the regulations of the constitution), assumed the dignity of chief magistrate. The English papers, on his accession, vilified him in the most extraordinary and uncalled-for manner. His task was one from which the boldest might have shrunk. Called from the lowest strata of society, Andrew Johnson has to solve the question as to the reconstruction of the Union, and the emancipation of the slave. At present he seems to act as if he thought more of the whites than the negroes of the South. He objects to extend the franchise to the latter: the abolitionists, on the other hand, assert that the object of the war is lost if perfect equality be not established. According to them, the blacks, who have fought for the Union, deserve a vote as much as the whites who fought against it. They argue, that if the negroes be not admitted to vote, there is danger of the Southern representatives working to bring about a repudiation of the national debt; and that if Congress does not take steps now to secure the negroes the rights and privileges of free men, legislation on this matter will be impossible when the South has got a powerful voice in the councils of the nation.

Such is a brief outline of the American war, in which Lord Palmerston managed to maintain a neutrality, acceptable, apparently, neither to Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone, or the aristocracy in general. The upper classes in this country, and the *Times*, had an undeniable leaning to the South. The Confederates were gentlemen; the best blood of England ran in their veins: the men of the North were a mean

Yankee lot, sympathy with whom was out of the question. Such was the general feeling in "good society." There were many who knew better, but they were poor men; the industrious classes had little or no political power. "Recognise the South," was the cry more than once raised in the British parliament. It was understood that the French emperor was quite ready to join us in such recognition. Happily, the ministry, of which Lord Palmerston was the head, were preserved from such an act of folly.

Yet, more than once we nearly came into collision with the Federal power. There was the affair of the *Trent*—we have already referred to that. Then there was the case of the *Alabama*, which sailed away from Liverpool under false pretences; and without even going into a Confederate port, claimed to be a Confederate man-of-war, and, in that capacity, did immense damage to the mercantile shipping of the North. At Terceira, to which she sailed, she took on board provisions and arms from English vessels; and Captain Semmes, late of the Confederate cruiser *Sumter*, assumed the command. At length, in June, 1864, he steamed into the harbour of Cherbourg, outside which the Federal frigate, the *Kearsarge*, shortly afterwards appeared. There he challenged its commander, Captain Winslow, to fight a duel. The challenge was accepted; and the *Alabama*, on the 19th of June, steamed out of the harbour; Captain Semmes having wisely left all valuables behind, and, like a good Catholic, heard mass. The two ships began manœuvring to bring their guns to bear upon each other most effectively; and the firing soon became very rapid. The *Alabama* strove to approach her antagonist, probably with a view to boarding; but the *Kearsarge* preferred a judicious distance, and delivered her shots with a precision that soon began to tell on her adversary's sides. Before an hour had passed, the *Alabama*'s boilers were pierced, and her rudder carried off. Owing to the skilful arrangement of chain-cables covering the sides of the *Kearsarge*, the *Alabama*'s shots produced but little effect. It was clear it was all up with the *Alabama*, which, however, continued firing till she sank. Captain Semmes jumped into the sea, was picked up by an English yacht, and landed in England. During his career, he had captured and burned nearly 100 vessels of the American merchant service; and his defeat caused intense rejoicings in the North. Unfortunately, the evil done by the *Alabama* has survived her destruction. America claims compensation from us for the mischief done by the *Alabama*. No decision, however, has been come to. Earl Russell refused to submit the case to arbitration. Yet, apparently, such was the fairest course. If England is to blame, by all means let her pay.

Let us pause in our chronicle, to do justice to the brave soldiers of a defeated cause. In so far as the Southern Confederacy realised the right of a people to choose their own form of government, their cause was one which all could sympathise with; but then our sympathies were forbidden, as it was clear to all—as, indeed, it was officially declared—that slavery was the corner-stone of the new republic: still we must admire the courage and dash of the soldiers of the South. It was a splendid army, that of Virginia; and even the victors cannot refuse it its meed of praise. It will be long before the memory of its heroism and valour passes away. Ofttimes there is a glory for the vanquished, as lasting and as genuine as that which attends the conqueror's steps. A German officer, Herr Von Bocke, has helped us to realise this in the most vivid manner. In his *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, justice is claimed for, and done to, the soldiers with whom he cast in his lot. In his lively columns we get a glimpse of the true state of affairs in Dixie Land, as it was termed in the familiar phraseology of the time. Herr Von Bocke is a giant, with physical strength in proportion to his size, rejoicing in the possession of a Damascus blade almost as wonderful as King Arthur's "brand Excalibur," whose appearance makes the enemy to flee, and whose daring horsemanship always rescues him when danger is near. The hardships of a soldier's life affect him not. Clothed in rags, deprived

of sleep, condemned to short commons, stretched on the bare earth beneath an inclement sky, his bosom burns with martial fire. His chief, the dashing cavalry officer, General Stuart, seems to have been cast in a similar mould. He describes the general as "a stoutly built man, rather above the middle height, of a most frank and winning expression—the lower part of his face covered with a thick brown beard, which flowed over his breast." His dark eye was quick and piercing; his whole body seemed instinct with vitality. He was "the model of a dashing cavalry leader." Our author's comrades were gallant and joyous Virginians, "whose easy and graceful seat betrayed the constant habit of horseback exercise; and they were mounted mostly on blooded animals, some of which the most ambitious guardsman, or the most particular swell in London, would have been glad to show off in Hyde Park." Nor is the camp life he describes an uninviting one. It has its pleasures as well as its hardships, its joys as well as its sorrows. To the living, there was the flush of victory; to the dying, the solace of having fallen in their country's cause. "Tell my friends," said a lad, whose life-blood was ebbing fast away on the field of battle—"tell my friends," said he, "though the Yankees have killed me they have not conquered me." And then, over the camp fires, what genial stories were told, what jolly songs sung. In all the fun the general was the first to lead the way. Nor did the brave forget the fair. Every now and then there was a ball, and Venus outshone Mars. More than once, balls of another description interfered with the amusements of the evening; and then the gay laughing girl, in silk and satin, was suddenly transformed into the nurse, till she fainted away in the midst of the agony which, lovingly, she had sought to ease. Such is a soldier's life; such are the lights and shades of his career.

Herr Von Boreke joined the Confederates in the spring of 1862, and was first under fire at the battle of Seven Pines, where he had the opportunity of closely observing General Longstreet—"a stout man, of middle height, and most agreeable countenance; a long brown beard gave something leonine to his appearance; an engaging simplicity was his prevailing characteristic." After the battle, Jefferson Davis appears—"a tall, thin man, with sharply-defined features, an air of easy command, and frank, unaffected, gentlemanlike manners." More than one characteristic glimpse is given of Stonewall Jackson. Our author is sent to him for orders. In answer to the question, "Where shall I find General Jackson?" his commander replied, "Where the fight is hottest." On another occasion, in the midst of a fearful cannonade, with shells bursting all round him, he discovers the general sitting comfortably on a caisson, quietly writing his despatches. To our author's expostulations he replies—"My dear major, I am very much obliged to you for the orders you have given. Hill will take care of the enemy in our rear. I know what they are; there cannot be more than two brigades of them; and as for my position here, I believe we have been together in hotter places before." The great hero then calmly resumed his writing, cannon-shot ploughing up the ground all round him, and covering his MS. with dust. On another occasion the major slept in the general's tent. "Wearied out by the exertion of the previous day, I was still deeply wrapt in slumber, when I felt the pressure of a light touch on my shoulder, and a mild voice said to me, 'Major, it is time to rise and start.' Before I was yet fully awake, my caller placed a basin of water and a towel on a camp stool near my head, and continued—'Now, major, wash quickly; a cup of coffee is waiting for you; your horse is saddled, and you must be off at once.' To my utter surprise I discovered that my attentive servitor was the great Stonewall himself." Major Boreke staid with the Confederates till 1864. He had helped to drive back McClellan, Burnside, and Hooker; and had received a wound, which at first was considered mortal. With his health impaired, it was thought he could serve the cause by a voyage to England. Accordingly he ran the blockade, arriving in England, after a circuitous route by the West India Islands, in the month of February, 1865. "There," he writes,

"I was saved the grief of being an eye-witness of the rapid collapse of the Confederacy, and the downfall of a just and noble cause."

But the American war touched us in another and a still more vital part. England's mission, in modern times, was thought to be, to make calico for all the world; and all our cotton chiefly came from America. The South said, "Cotton is king. England cannot do without cotton; and she must interfere in our behalf." Never did a people act more grandly than the cotton-spinners of Lancashire. Let the war last, they said, so that the cause of freedom win. Not a voice came from the starving operatives of the north on behalf of the Confederacy.

The reader's attention is invited to Lancashire in 1860. A writer in the *British Quarterly* says—"Let us visit the quays of Liverpool, the warehouses of Manchester, and the mill-rooms of the busy towns thickly studding her extensive coal-fields. In the first place, the cotton manufacture in Lancashire, and parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire, has attracted around it a population of some 3,000,000 inhabitants. The 2,650 factories which are found in this region, employ 440,000 of this multitude within their immediate precincts; and, amongst them, wages amounting to £11,500,000 a year are distributed. A power, equal to that of 300,000 horses, of which 18,500 are water-power, drives the machinery, guided and governed by quick eyes and lissom fingers. The 30,387,467 spindles, making from 4,000 to 6,000 revolutions a minute, and 350,000 power-looms, are incessantly at work full time, to produce totals, in yarn and cloth, that mark 1860 as the *annus mirabilis* of King Cotton. These spindles are fed with 1,051,623,380 lbs. of cotton; 9½ ounces of cotton wool per week for each; and the fluffy food arrives—

"From America	...	...	...	...	1,115,890,608 lbs.
" East Indies	...	...	...	...	204,141,168 "
" West Indies	...	...	...	...	1,050,784 "
" Brazils	...	...	...	...	17,286,864 "
" Other countries	...	...	...	...	52,569,328 "
Total	...	...	...	...	1,390,938,752

"The power-looms thus coming into play, produce, for the household requirements of this kingdom, 180,000,000 lbs. weight of cotton fabrics, valued at £23,000,000; and for exportation, 2,776,218,427 yards of cotton cloth, besides 197,343,655 lbs. of cotton twist and yarn, and a comparatively small quantity of hosiery, &c., valued at £1,755,163. The invested capital of £65,000,000, produces goods, this single year, which equal in value £76,012,380, or nearly £6,000,000 more than the gross revenue of the kingdom for the same period. In December Liverpool is full to repletion. The stock of raw cotton remaining over for 1861, is 250,286,605 lbs. The spindles are consuming as much as they can; and this is the surplus—that is clear enough. But how is it with the demand? Hitherto the appetite for cotton goods has been insatiable. The markets of the East have extended their great jaws, and cried for more. Grey shirtings have been active; mule-yarns and water-twists have ruled high. But already words of warning have been heard. India, it is true, has this year taken, of the entire export, one-third, valued at £17,000,000; and, behold! her warehouses are full. China is also over-fed: but an express train is stopped with difficulty; it often shoots past the intended platform. In Lancashire there is no stopping the career of this terrific prosperity: the mania for gain is upon all classes. Liverpool, anxious to distribute her bales, says, 'Go on;' and Manchester, dazzled with the wealth that flows in upon her, neglects the warning, and presses forward. For some years preceding, fabulous fortunes had been amassed in so short a time, that there was a general rush to the cotton manufacture. Cotton was everything; and every man, no matter what his business, who had realised, or could bring together a little

capital, made haste to turn it into spindles and looms. The unsightly masses of stone and brickwork, which call upon the mill-streams to reflect their ugliness, and to receive their refuse, carry, many of them, in such nicknames as Punch, Noggin, Lather-box, and Physic—playfully applied by the workpeople—the indications of their occupiers' previous calling."

Mr. Arnold says, there never was, probably, such a weight of cotton and cotton manufactures in England as at the time of the battle of Bull Run. The increasing probability of hostilities in America, had induced shippers, early in the year, to bring forward the crop of 1860 with unusual haste; and, before the end of 1861, the imports from America, for the five months of the year, amounted to 694,650,000 lbs. To this must be added the surplus raw stock of 1860, amounting to 250,286,605 lbs.; and the increased imports from India, amounting to 120,453,500 lbs. Production continued at nearly the same rate as it had done in 1860. The exports of the yarn and goods, for the first nine months of the year 1861, amounted to 537,969,000 lbs., less only by 16,250,000 lbs. than the exports for the same period of the previous year. But the total production of yarn and goods, from January to September, 1861, was 779,279,000 lbs.; of which, therefore, 241,801,000 lbs. were retained at home. The average home consumption for this period would be 135,000,000 lbs.; so that, in the first nine months of 1861, at least 100,000,000 lbs. of yarn and goods were added to the stocks remaining in the country. The weight of raw cotton, and of manufactured, at this time in the hands, or at the disposal, of the British cotton trade, cannot have fallen far short of 1,000,000,000 lbs. This was in their possession when first they welcomed a rising market. They had recklessly pushed production beyond requirement. With all the assistance of low wages, light taxation, and perfect domestic peace, manufacturers had made their spindles revolve faster, their shuttles move more quickly, than they had ever done before. They had done this in fear and trembling; they had been encouraged by the excitement which burned at the prospect of such increasing markets; they had aroused a competition, which recognised no duty paramount to that of obtaining the largest share of profits; and, at the moment in which they might have expected judgment and execution in the shape of a large depreciation of the value of their commodities—almost in the very hour when the reaction, to which they had given no heed, was upon them, the scene shifted: the war in America assumed an aspect of determined continuance; and the blockade of the Southern ports was declared effective. The price of cotton rose rapidly; and immediately profits became great.

The first signs of distress in the manufacturing districts appeared in October, when many factories began to run short time. But the American war, to which this distress was then generally referred, had as yet far less to do with it than the overstocked condition of the markets. Every one who can pretend to the slightest knowledge of the cotton trade, knows that short time must have, under any circumstances, prevailed very extensively during the winter of 1861, and the whole of 1862. Before it became evident that war would ensue in America, many of the great spokesmen of the cotton trade had predicted this necessity. Had there been no war in America, hard times must have come upon all in the winter of 1861. As it was, this event brought relief to all the holders of goods, wealth to the speculators in cotton, and a comfortless autumn, with a hopeless winter prospect, to the operatives. The manufacturers and cotton-holders began making enormous profits. In two years Mr. Arnold estimated it at £36,000,000.

"But October, 1861, brought very different prospects to the needy manufacturers, to the small shopkeepers, and to the operative classes generally. Short time means short wages, and much compulsory idleness; less food, and less pleasuring to the operative. It means, to the manufacturer without capital, a serious reduction of income, with no corresponding abatement in his expenditure on account of the fabric and machinery of his mill. It means very short profits, long credits, and, perhaps, many bad debts to the little working-class shopkeeper.

"At this time comparatively few mills had stopped altogether, but soon many would do so; and the prospects of labour in the manufacturing districts were never more gloomy. It was known that the distress which was now felt was the consequence of a glut rather than of a famine. The impending cotton dearth had, no doubt, its influence; but there was, as yet, no scarcity of cotton in Lancashire. The results of the short time of 1861 are written in the savings banks' return for that year, where it is seen that the amount withdrawn, in England alone, exceeds that paid in by £834,792, showing a larger surplus of abstraction than any since the year 1848, of revolutionary memory.

"In the latter months of this year, though the cotton famine was not evident in the warehouses of Manchester and Liverpool, it began to show signs of its approach in the streets and roads of the manufacturing towns. Groups of idlers, no longer listeners for the factory bell, were to be seen at every street corner. In busy times the operative class is only to be met with out-of-doors at regular intervals during the day—the clatter of their clogs or shoes on the pavement in the early morning, at mid-day, and in the evening; but now it was heard at all times—not with the quick step of full time, but with the dropping patter, so remindful of their blameless inactivity."

The cotton famine, it was believed on all sides, would not last long. Even among the operatives, few were willing to look upon the dark side of the prospect. The friends of the North believed that the South would tire of its folly; and, in the South, a similar feeling was entertained as regards the North. Still people in some quarters began to look forward with alarm. The Chamber of Commerce of Manchester evinced its fears with reference to the failure, by summoning a meeting to agitate the question of the cotton supply; and India, too long neglected, received some encouragement to increase her production of cotton. In a letter, dated 11th of November, and addressed, by the President of the Poor-Law Board, to the Board of Guardians throughout the district, they were informed, that "the Board viewed, with some apprehension, the effects which may ensue from the stagnation of the cotton trade; and that the Board were then considering the manner in which any unusual amount of distress may be effectually provided for. They were reminded that the machinery of the law was to be tempered with judicious management, and were promised that every assistance and facility should be given to them in the discharge of their arduous and increasing duties." By the end of the year it became evident extraordinary measures must be taken to meet the fast-accumulating destitution.

Wigan was among the first of the Lancashire towns, according to Mr. Arnold, to produce a definite organisation. At a meeting, held in the Moot Hall, on the 3rd of January, it was resolved that a committee should be formed, and measures adopted to alleviate the distress. It was stated that the operatives of Wigan were now losing £3,000 per week in wages; and £1,000 was raised in local subscriptions on the day of the meeting. By the 10th, the Wigan committee had collected £2,000, and divided their town into districts, each having its separate sub-committee. The mode of relief adopted, was that of giving cheques, of a certain value, upon provision-dealers, to be expended in such articles as the applicants chose. At Blackburn the distress now began to be great. A sub-committee devoted itself to the distribution of soup, and the Board of Guardians largely augmented the staff of relieving officers. The number of paupers in Blackburn was now increasing at the rate of 150 per week. Preston was next added to the list; and the numbers relieved in this borough, during the third week in January, were three times as numerous as those on the guardians' books in the same week of the preceding year. The guardians were perplexed how to act, between the necessity of granting relief and their unwillingness to class these unfortunate persons as paupers. Oldham, Bury, Rochdale—in fact, all towns in the district, more or less, began to suffer. The Poor-Law Board felt it their duty to refuse permission to suspend their order as to the relief of able-bodied men, which required that their

relief should be given half in money, half in kind, and that they should be set to work under the direction of the Board of Guardians. This order did not prohibit the bestowal of relief in cases of sudden or urgent necessity; nor did it compel the pauperisation, in the workhouse, of those to be relieved. It did not necessitate that their houses should be stripped of furniture, nor that they should be naked and homeless before they were fit subjects of relief. Had it not been for the general establishment, at this time, of local relief committees, the guardians would have failed to grapple with the surrounding distress. Early in February, Rochdale and other places followed the example of Wigan and Blackburn, as they, in their turn, may be supposed to have modelled their system on that of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society, which had established a special fund for the relief of the operatives, and had already distributed food and clothing to nearly 6,000 persons. In the middle of February, a very decided stand was made in the Ashton and other Unions, against what was termed the labour test. The guardians were at their wits' ends to devise work, such as should meet the case of operatives whose soft fingers had never been accustomed to stone-breaking and oakum-picking. As the spring advanced the distress deepened, and all classes were seriously concerned; yet there was no word about the recognition of the South, or of hostility to the North. The *Manchester Examiner*, about this time, wrote—"Let this be said in favour of the political morality of Lancashire—that at a period of great and increasing gloom, when factious councillors and mischievous politicians told us that war was our only escape from ruin, and urged upon us an act of intervention, which would be carried out with the consent and applause of the whole country, we refused to buy prosperity at the cost of a public wrong, and were willing to suffer, rather than connive at the violation of a great principle." There can be no doubt that the operatives, thus quietly submitting to starvation, were strongly favourable to the Northern policy, firm in their hatred to slavery, and faith in democracy. By the majority of this class it was believed intervention would have brought relief; yet they opposed it to the very last. We must admire the nobility of the attitude they assumed. They believed they were martyrs for a principle, and were content to be such. But now a demand for help was made to the nation; and England, sympathising with Lancashire, anxious that nothing should occur to menace the strict neutrality which she desired to observe towards America, lent a ready ear to the tales of distress from the cotton districts.

London, as usual, was early in the field. Owing to the exertions of Mr. W. (now Alderman) Cotton, the Mansion-house committee was formed. On the 16th of May, the Lord Mayor informed the public, that a meeting had been held of the gentlemen who had interested themselves in the establishment of this fund, and that it was resolved to send £1,500 to the distressed districts. This was the first instalment of the relief given by what was known as the Lancashire and Cheshire Operative Relief Fund. Its committee has always been essentially executive; and its limitation to five or six members, gave great directness and simplicity to its action. Early in June, the Mansion-house committee—passed, by acclamation, from a provisional to an established committee—nominated a committee, and proceeded to organise that system of grants which continued as long as the occasion for them lasted. The labours of this committee were not interrupted by the retirement of Mr. Cubitt from his two years' tenancy of the Mansion-house. He was succeeded in the duties of chairman by Lord Mayor Rose.

If Manchester was later in the field, there were many reasons why this should be the case. In the first place, there was the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society already in existence. In the next place, the distress in Manchester was not very severe; and many thought that the crisis might be passed over without calling for any special measure of relief. At length it was evident to the men of Manchester that it was time to do something. Accordingly a conference was held in that city, and a central relief committee appointed. On the 20th of June, the central relief committee was formally established by resolution, and

consisted of the mayors and ex-mayors of the principal cotton districts, together with a number of gentlemen chiefly known in connection with the commercial interests of Manchester. Before the end of the month, the committee was in full working order; and had passed the following resolution, copies of which were sent to the lord-lieutenants of counties, the mayors of cities and boroughs, and other officials throughout the kingdom—"That the existing distress of the workpeople connected with the cotton trade in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and the well-founded expectations of its increasing in intensity as the winter approaches, warrant the committee in communicating to the various counties, cities, and towns of the country, that it is prepared to receive any sums that may be subscribed for the object in view, and will give its best attention to the proper and judicious distribution thereof."

In May the government sent Mr. Farnall into the distressed districts, as special commissioner, and directed him "to make inquiry into the operations of the poor-laws, and the orders of the Poor-Law Board at the present time, on the condition and habits of those workpeople who, from a great diminution in the demand for labour in the cotton districts of the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, have suddenly and unavoidably fallen into temporary distress." "He was," says Mr. Arnold, "requested to embrace every opportunity of personally communicating with all authorities and special organisations administering relief and succour to the poor; he was to interpret and define the true spirit and breadth of the poor-law; to create and sustain harmony; to promote liberal and judicious action; to examine into the manner in which the poor were relieved; to find out what labour was required of them, and to suggest the most suitable forms of employment. Finally, he was desired, by Mr. Villiers, to keep a daily journal of his proceedings, and to give a weekly report of the progress of his labours."

In the meanwhile the distress went on increasing; for it was long before the operative could bring himself to the degradation of asking parochial relief. On the faces of many of the claimants there was seen the blush of shame. A correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner* thus describes the scene usually to be witnessed at the board-room:—

"A clean old decrepit man presented himself. 'What brought you here, Joseph?' said the chairman. 'Why, aw've nought to do, nor nought to tak to.' 'What's your daughter Ellen doing, Joseph?' 'Hoos dawt o' wark.' 'And what's your wife doing?' 'Hoos bin bed-fast aboon five year.' The old man was relieved at once; but, as he walked away, he looked hard at his ticket, as if it was not exactly the kind of thing; and, turning round, he said—'Couldn't yo let me be a sweeper of the streets istid, Mr. Eccles.' A clean old woman came up, with a snow-white nightcap on her head. 'Well, Mary, what do you want?' 'Aw could like yo to gi mo a bit o' summat, Mr. Eccles, for aw need it.' 'Well, but you have some lodgers, haven't you, Mary?' 'Yegh, aw've three.' 'Well, what do they pay you?' 'They pay'n mo nought; they'n no wark; an one cannot turn 'em eawt.' This was all quite true. 'Well, but you live with your son, don't you?' continued the chairman. 'Naw,' replied the old woman, 'he lives wi' me, and he's eawt of wark too. An could like yo to do a bit o' summat for us; we're hard put to it.' 'Don't you think she'd better be in the workhouse?' said one of the guardians. 'Oh, no,' replied another, 'don't send the old woman there: let her keep her own little place together if she can.' Another old woman presented herself, with a threadbare shawl drawn closely round her grey head. 'Well, Ann,' said the chairman, 'there's nobody but yourself and your John, is there?' 'Naw.' 'What age are you?' 'Awm seventy.' 'Seventy?' 'Aye aw am.' 'Well, and what age is your John?' 'He's gooin' i' seventy-four.' 'Where is he, Ann?' 'Well, aw laft him deawn i' th' street yon gettin a load o' coals in.' There was a murmur of approbation round the Board, and the old woman was sent away relieved, and thankful. There were many of all ages, clean in person and bashful in manner, with their poor clothing put into the tidiest possible trim: others were dirty and

sluttish, and noisy of speech; as in the case of one woman who, after receiving her ticket for relief, partly in money, and partly in kind, whipped a pair of worn clogs from under her shawl, and cried out, 'Aw mun ha some clogs awfore aw go too; look at those; they're a shame to be sin.' Clogs were freely given; and, in several cases, they were all that was asked for. In three or four instances the applicants said, after receiving other relief, 'Aw wish yo'd gi' me a pair o' clogs, Mr. Eccles. Awd had to borrow these to come in.' One woman pleaded hard for two pairs, saying, 'Yon chylt's quite bar-feeut; and he's wet-chod (wet-shod), an as ill as he can be.' 'Who's wet-chod?' asked the chairman. 'My husban is,' replied the woman, 'an he cannot ston it just neaw. Ye mun let *him* have a pair if you con.' 'Give her two pair of clogs,' said the chairman. Another woman took her clog off, and held it up, saying, 'Look at that! We're o' walkin o' th' floor an smoor it wi cowds.' One decent-looking old lady, with a starved face, applied. The chairman said, 'Why, what's your son doing now? Has he caught no rabbits lately?' 'Naw, aw dunnot know as he does. Aw got nought, an its *me* as wants summat, Mr. Eccles,' replied the old woman, in a tremulous tone, with the water rising in her eyes. 'Well, come, we must not punish the old woman for her son,' said one of the guardians. Various forms of the feebleness of age appeared before the Board that day. 'What's your son John getting?' The old woman put her hand up to her ear, and answered, 'Awm very deaf; what sayn yo?' It turned out that her son was taken ill: and they were relieved. In the course of inquiries, I found that the working-people of Blackburn, as elsewhere in Lancashire, nickname their workshops as well as themselves. The chairman asked a girl where she worked last? and the girl replied, 'At the Puff and Dart.' 'And what made you leave there?' 'Whau they were woven up.' One poor fellow, a widower, said he had 'watched a bit at Bang, the nation, till he was taken ill, and then they stripped his place' (that is, they had given his work to somebody else). Another, when asked where he had been working, replied, 'At Se'n-acre Bruck (Seven-acre Brook), where th' wild monkey were cotched.' It seems that an orang-outang, which once escaped from some travelling menagerie, was retaken at this place."

But we have as yet failed to give an adequate impression. Dark, and deep, and dire was the suffering of that hour. A newspaper correspondent writes—

"He pointed to some of the cases in his books. The first was that of an old man, an overlooker of a cotton-mill. His family was thirteen in number. Three of the children were under ten years of age; seven of the rest were factory operatives; but the whole family had been out of work for several months. When in full work, the joint earnings of the family amounted to £4 a week; but, after struggling on in the hope of better times, and exhausting the savings of past labour, they had been brought down to the receipt of charity at last, and, for sixteen weeks gone by, the whole thirteen had lived upon 6s. a week from the relief fund. They had no other resource. I went to see them at their own home afterwards, and it certainly was a pattern of cleanliness, with the little household goods there still. To see that house a stranger would never dream that the family were living on an average income of less than sixpence per head per week. But I know how hard some decent folk will struggle with the bitterest poverty before they give into it. The old man came in whilst I was there. He sat down in one corner quietly, tinkering away at something he had in his hand. His old corduroy trousers were well patched, and just new-washed. He had very little to say to us, except that 'he would like to get summat to do, for he were tired o' walkin abeaut.' Another case was that of a poor widow woman with five young children. This family had been driven from house to house by increasing necessity, till they had sunk at last into a dingy little hovel, up a dark court, in one of the poorest parts of the town, where they huddled together about a fireless grate, to keep one another warm. They had nothing left of the wreck of their home but two rickety chairs, and a little deal table, reared against the wall, because one of the legs was gone. In this miserable hovel, which I saw afterwards, her husband died of sheer

starvation, as was pronounced by the jury on the inquest. The dark damp hovel where they had crept to was scarcely four yards square; and the poor woman pointed to one corner of the floor, saying, 'He deed i' that corner.' He died there with nothing to lay upon but the ground, and nothing to cover him in that fireless hovel. His wife and children crept about him there to watch him die, and to keep him as warm as they could. When the relief committee first found them out, the entire clothing of the family of seven persons weighed eight pounds, and sold for fivepence as rags."

As the distress increased, further exertions to relieve it were made. A meeting at Lord Ellesmere's was held, and the Cotton Districts Relief Fund was formed, with the Earl of Derby for chairman; Colonel Wilson Patten for treasurer; and, for secretary, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. This committee naturally attracted the support of the wealthy classes of the metropolis, and money flowed fast into its coffers. By the 8th of August its funds amounted to £40,000. Ultimately the central executive committee was formed. The three relief funds, collected, respectively, at Manchester, Bridgewater House, and Liverpool, were placed at its disposal. It was resolved that the central executive committee should meet every Monday at Manchester; and it was arranged that notice should then be received of the grants which had been made during the previous week, from the funds of the Mansion-house committee, who now seemed determined, in spite of several overtures for amalgamation, to remain a separate and independent organisation. The complete system of local relief committees was then organised; and the result was, no corner of the district was unvisited, and no deserving person was left unrelieved. The Lancashire lasses excited much sympathy: their danger was peculiar and great; they could not dig; they were ashamed to beg; and it was a happy thought which led to their employment in sewing-schools, wherein they acquired facility in another and more domestically useful description of cotton work than that to which they had been accustomed in the factories; and, what was of equal value, they were submitted to order and discipline, and learnt not a few lessons, the benefits of which will endure as long as life. To the Manchester Board of Guardians must be given the credit of this step. It also has the distinction of having been the first to recommend that educational exercises should be accepted as the labour required in return for relief. Subsequently, male adult schools were established. Mr. Redgrave, one of the factory inspectors, thus speaks of them:—

"At the male adult schools I have occasionally thought there was an appearance of weariness; but this is not surprising. The employment of females, in sewing and knitting, was a proper and congenial occupation for them; and though the attendance of classes might have been somewhat irksome, yet, upon the whole, they were all doing something which had a practical result. In some schools they made shirts for the militia; in some they made all kinds of clothing, for distribution by the relief committee, and, in others, for sale; but in the male adult schools, it was not found possible to set the men at work upon an occupation which would be equally congenial to them. Wherever it was possible, the men were taught trades, as shoemaking and mending, carpentering, mat-making, &c.; but the number was comparatively small; and the great bulk of the operatives attended school merely as a condition of relief. The life of a labourer is monotonous. He rises at a given hour; goes to work—to the same work—every day; does to-day as he did yesterday: but that which makes his life a cheerful one is, that he receives the value of his labour. In these schools, it was impossible not to feel that the time spent there was, compared with their former labour, unproductive; and I was, therefore, the more impressed with the attention of the men in these classes, and the anxiety of so many to improve themselves, especially in arithmetic. It sometimes caused a shade of melancholy to see an old grey-headed man leaning over his desk, and poring through a sum in reduction or practice; but this was relieved by being told, by a frank-spoken spinner, in his own hearty manner, while

showing the sketches of geography, and what he was reading, 'They could not give us work, and so God put it into their hearts to give us the next best to it.' These men cannot return to their homes without feeling that instruction is one means of adding to happiness, and to the purpose of life. They frequently expressed their conviction that they had lost much from not having had more instruction in their younger days; and the desire for their children to attend school, and to improve them, has certainly been shown favourably."

Before parliament was prorogued, Mr. Villiers brought in his Rate in Aid Bill—a judicious step. He had to select between national grants, the bestowal of special borrowing powers upon each parish, and the rate in aid. He wisely preferred the latter.

In bringing his measure before the House of Commons, Mr. Villiers did not conceal his apprehension that the distress would seriously increase; but, at the same time, he was unwilling to admit that the ordinary sources of relief were, as yet, inadequate. He was careful also to show that his proposal was not entirely new, but that it aimed at giving vitality to the existing law. When first laid on the table of the House, the bill proposed that the rate or aid should come into operation in any parish in which the expenditure for the relief of the poor exceeded by two-thirds that of previous years. At first, it was proposed, that in case of a Union becoming insolvent, the parishes of the county should be liable to a rate for its assistance. The power of putting the act into operation was to remain with the Poor-Law Board, who were to be invested with authority to recommend the issuing of an order in council, directing the levy of the rate in aid. The bill was received with much favour in the district. In the House of Commons, a somewhat different feeling was manifested by the Lancashire members. Mr. Cobden urged that the government should allow the guardians a power of contracting loans, to be lent to the distressed operatives, who, he stated, would gladly repay every farthing upon the return of good times. In committee, Mr. Villiers introduced amendments fixing the amount of rates, upon payment of which, the parish might call for a rate in aid upon the Union, and the Union upon the county—at five shillings in both cases; and substituting a special order of the Poor-Law Board for the proposed order in council. Upon Mr. Potter's suggestion, Derbyshire was included. While the House was in committee on the bill, Mr. Cobden reproved Lord Palmerston for his want of appreciation of the mill-owners' sympathy with their unfortunate hands. He stated roundly, that ninety-nine of every hundred of the manufacturers were working at a loss. This, adds Mr. Arnold, may have been correct in the present tense, and within the technical definition of the term manufacturer; but he would be very reckless of truth who should now assert that these ninety and nine were actual losers by their industry. Besides, there was a class of cotton-spinners whose goods were, even then, in very active and profitable demand. If we are to believe Mr. Arnold, Lord Palmerston had a truer perception of the character of the Lancashire mill-owners than Mr. Cobden. Mr. Arnold writes—"Manchester and Liverpool men made their millions, and subscribed their thousands. The inference from their conduct is—not that any other community would have been more liberal, but rather that the commercial spirit does not encourage generosity to overgrow the other sentiments of human nature. Such behaviour will not, however, have been without its moral, if it should dispel that most absurd illusion, that liberality is the corollary of affluence."

But to return to the Union Relief Aid Bill, which was further modified in committee. It was suggested that it would be much more easy to pay the extra burdens of these hard times upon the return of prosperity; and that therefore a power of raising loans would be preferable to that of calling for a rate in aid. It was further contended, that as the excess of rates above the average amount would be incident upon the occupier without imposing any charge upon the property owner, by deferring the time of payment, the burden would be borne with more proportionate equality. These suggestions were both plausible and just. When it

was seen to be the desire of the legislature to grant this borrowing power, no objection was raised on the part of the government. Their endeavour, in framing the measure, had been to adhere, as closely as possible, to the principle of the existing law. As an alternative for the rate in aid, it was conceded that the Board of Guardians, with the sanction of the Poor-Law Board, might raise loans, to be secured upon the common fund of the Union. Three shillings in the pound was subsequently fixed, in lieu of five shillings, as the amount of rates which a parish must bear before calling for the rate in aid. Finally, a clause was inserted, giving the chairman and vice-chairman of a Union power to appoint a guardian to represent the Union in the extraordinary administration of relief under this act—a privilege which, it may be said, was never made use of. In the House of Lords, the Union Relief Aid Bill received some discussion, but no amendment. Opposition lords reproached it for coming so late in the session; and expected that Lancashire would have borne rates of ten shillings in the pound before appealing to the legislature for assistance. They assumed that the present annual charge for poor-rates in Lancashire was two shillings in the pound; which, though true if the total amount collected had been charged upon the assessment of the county, was by no means true of certain townships and parishes. In support of the measure, it was shown that its introduction at the commencement of the session, would have had the effect of lessening the national sympathy for the distressed population of the cotton districts, and of diminishing the local ability of self-help. It was also shown that the poor-rate of Preston was, at this date, seven times greater than it had been in the previous year; and a Lancashire peer gave it as his opinion, that a five-shilling rate would be, in fact, a fifteen-shilling rate upon those who could pay the demand of the overseers. Three days after the bill became law, and in the royal speech at the end of the parliamentary session, there was a flattering recognition of the manner in which Lancashire was bearing her trials. It must be remarked that the queen's sympathy was not confined alone to words. In July, as Duchess of Lancashire, she had subscribed £2,000 to the relief fund.

The distress darkened and deepened. The condition of the operatives of Blackburn, who had goods pledged to the amount of £30,000 in the pawnbrokers' shops, is thus described by the *Times*' correspondent:—

"With all it was the same tale: savings spent; credit exhausted; the pawnshop or the auction-room; and, last of all, the terrible alternative—starvation or relief. One small street I found entirely occupied by the workpeople employed at one mill which had been stopped more than a twelvemonth ago. Every family had passed through the last winter without wages, and were now at the end of their resources, dependent entirely on relief of some kind. Most of them had been receiving it for weeks past; but in hardly a single cottage was there to be seen more than a couple of chairs and a table, and round the walls a few gay pictures, for which the weaver seems to have as great a passion as the collier. Some of them were lying four and five in a bed; others on a bundle of straw; and all had run considerably in debt. At one corner of the street was kept a little provision and drapery store, by an old woman, who had fed and clothed the street for some fifteen years past. To deal elsewhere would have been a breach of custom and tradition which no respectable inhabitant had ever been known to commit. I am afraid to say how deeply the street has got into this benevolent woman's debt. Her heart had bled for her customers; she could not bear to see them want what she could supply; and, little by little, she had allowed their scores to run on until the sum total must be something considerable. Nearly all owed to being £4 or £5 back in their shop, as the phrase is; some to £7; and a few even to £10: and one could but admire the perfect confidence of their creditor, that when good times returned, every farthing of it would speedily be wiped off. In this way the tender-hearted shopkeeper had helped many a family through the hard time, and supplied them with articles which do not enter into public relief. 'If it had not been for her,' said a poor woman, 'where should I have got a bit of soap to wash my

children.' Such instances I am told are not uncommon; and, indeed, nothing is more creditable to the workpeople than the manner in which they have sympathised with each other's distress, and assisted each other wherever there was the power. The hands yet fully employed have subscribed very liberally to the relief fund; and I have heard of cases where a man on full time would yield up his looms for a couple of days or so to a less fortunate friend, to give him a chance of earning a few shillings. Even the poorest, who have nothing else to offer, will give the shelter of their roof to those who could not afford to pay for lodgings; and there are many young girls who have been living rent-free for months in this way—a week with one family, and a week with another. In one house, of the lowest class, I saw, lying on chairs, a little child, not more than two months old, whose mother, a lodger in the house, had died just after its birth. The mistress of the house—an old woman, who got her living by hawking hearthstone about, with not the best character in the world, and who had just had her dole of meal stopped because she had been caught giving it to her donkey—sooner than send the little thing to the workhouse, had taken on herself the responsibility of bringing it up. The street which I have mentioned was fortunate in one respect—all the houses belonged to their employer; and none of the inhabitants had been called on to pay rent for a twelvemonth. There are many landlords here who are losing heavily; and when they happen to be poor men, who have scraped and saved, and acquired cottage property through building societies, they are very much to be pitied. One of the hardest cases I have seen was that of a poor widow, with two young children, whose husband had left her with three cottages. They ought to have brought her in 9s. a week; but, for some months, she had scarcely got more than 3s. She had just been served with a summons for 18s., poor-rates for them, which, of course, she was just as able to pay as the national debt. She had her own rent to pay; and, of course, was shut out from all relief by the rules both of the guardians and the relief committee."

As the winter approached, the whole country was aroused. The bishops issued pastorals to their clergy on the subject. Cardinal Wiseman had done the same. Nor were the various classes of dissenters behindhand. The army and navy had contributed their cash, and the colonies had sent freely of their abundance. The thanks of the committee were wafted to Buenos Ayres, for a donation of £415, and to Bangalore for half that amount. Egypt had her acknowledgments for value received; and many cities and towns of the United Kingdom. Belfast and Newcastle, Dublin and Tunbridge Wells, with many others, partook of the same reward. Oxford had opened her mythical chest; Birmingham had sent her monies; wealthy firms had made large donations: one had forwarded 3,000 needles, and another 2,000 tons of coals. In rural districts the cry of relief for Lancashire had been raised, and not in vain. At this time there were 208,621 persons in receipt of parochial relief; and, besides this large number of paupers, there were 143,870 persons relieved by the local committees. In November, destitution advanced at the rate of 3,000 persons a day. In one week in December, when the maximum of distress was recorded, the numbers reached a total of 496,816 persons supported by parochial or charitable funds. In January, 1863, things began to mend. There was a satisfactory increase in the numbers employed, and a corresponding diminution of the responsibilities of the relief committees.

In February, the speech from the throne contained an allusion to the cotton manufacturing districts. Her majesty expressed heartfelt grief at the severity of the distress, and acknowledged the noble fortitude and exemplary resignation with which it had been borne. She referred to the abundant generosity with which all classes of her subjects, in all parts of the empire, had contributed to relieve the wants of their fellow-countrymen; and spoke of the liberality with which her colonial subjects had given their aid, as proving that, although their dwelling-places were far away, their hearts were still warm with unabated affection for the land of their fathers. The royal speech also made well-deserved mention

of the relief committees, as having superintended, with constant and laborious attention, the distribution of the funds entrusted to their charge.

Lord Derby, on the motion for the address, spoke at length with regard to the condition and prospects of Lancashire. He said that the cutting off of the material of a manufacture which had risen to such an unparalleled height, was, however, expected to produce worse miseries than those which had overwhelmed the manufacturing districts: and with graceful depreciation of his own exertions, he referred, in terms of eulogy, to those men of business, who, "engaged in transactions on which it was necessary for them to bestow constant attention, gave hours and days, and weeks and months, of their time gratuitously, and without the slightest recompense, except the consciousness of the good they were doing, to the alleviation of the distress around them." He pointed out the hardship, while acknowledging the necessity, of making no distinction, in the distribution of relief, between those who had been earning 30s. and 40s. a week as wages, and those who had only earned 7s. or 8s.; and the natural consequence, that while the distress had been severely felt by the higher classes of workmen, by the lowest it had been scarcely felt at all. He foretold the increasing difficulties of the small capitalists; and predicted that two or three years must elapse before the cotton trade would enjoy ordinary prosperity. In the Commons, Mr. Villiers introduced and carried a bill for the continuance of the Union Relief Aid Act. In the course of the debate which followed, it was mentioned that as many as 4,000 persons in Oldham had, in one fortnight, changed their position from rate-payers to rate-receivers.

About this time there was a little rioting in the suffering districts. When the American ship, *George Griswold*, arrived, laden with contributions, the occasion was chosen for the purpose of making a demonstration. In celebration of the Prince of Wales's marriage, a meeting was convened in Stevenson's Square, Manchester; the chaplain of the *George Griswold* was to attend, and there was to be a distribution of 15,000 loaves. They were to follow the bread in procession to Kersal Moor; and a prominent part of the pageant was to consist of two boats drawn on luries; one from the relief ship, flying the stars and stripes, manned with sailors; the other a black and suspicious-looking craft, with a crew of men in the stage-dress of pirates. A row ensued; loaves were thrown about—were trodden upon—were appropriated in armfuls by the least respectable, and, probably, the least necessitous portion of the crowd. At Staleybridge, where there were many Irish, more lawless proceedings took place; the stores were broken into and plundered; the Riot Act was read; the hussars cleared the streets, and many rioters were imprisoned. An effort was made to extend the disorder to Ashton-under-Lyne, where shop-breaking and stone-throwing were also perpetrated. Dunkinfield and Hyde were visited by crowds of marauders; but after a good deal of contention, and swearing, and fighting, the rioters gradually dispersed, and the rioting ceased. At Stockport, an attempt was made to foment disorder by a similar class to that which had been guilty of rioting in the Staleybridge district. A considerable number of men had been employed by the Stockport Board of Guardians, in making roads, and other out-door work. The suggestion of a paltry grievance was sufficient to cause a partial strike, and to collect a crowd. A few broken windows, however, was the worst result. The men in the relief schools at Stockport flatly refused to join the rioters, as did the better class of out-door labourers; and this, together with the resolute attitude of the authorities, quickly succeeded in quelling the disturbance. At Wigan the same agitation prevailed. A procession, numbering 440 recipients of relief, marched to the workhouse, where the Board of Guardians were assembled, to lay before them a bill of complaint. "Their hours of work, from seven to five, were considered too long; the guardians were not sufficiently liberal; and they had been called savages by a local paper." Ultimately, all the grievances were satisfactorily explained, and work was speedily resumed. At Preston, also, there was a tendency to riot, which, however, was soon suppressed.

Mr. Ferrand, the somewhat notorious M.P. for Devonport (who had been

a champion of the operatives in the agitation to obtain the passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, and also a champion of the farmers, in opposing the abolition of the corn-laws), endeavoured to get parliament to act more directly in the matter than it had hitherto done. On the 28th of April, he moved, amid general cheering, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the government to take into consideration, without delay, what measures may be necessary to relieve the distress which prevails in the cotton manufacturing districts, so that the people may no longer continue unemployed." Although Mr. Ferrand did not directly state the form of employment he would recommend, the tone of his speech indicated a comprehensive measure of emigration, to be carried on with the patronage of the state. To his resolution, the member for Carlisle moved, as an amendment, the appointment of a royal commission, to inquire into, and report upon, the subject. Mr. Villiers stated that he had already determined to send into the district a commissioner, to direct as to the employment of the operatives in draining and improving agricultural land: and here the discussion terminated. Mr. Robert Rawlinson, the civil engineer selected, was well chosen. He was a Lancashire man; and had taken a high position as a sanitary reformer. He had long been in the service of the government. He had been a sanitary commissioner with the army in the Crimea; and he was now chief inspector of the Local Government Act office. He was the man to send down to Lancashire, which needed sanitary reform. The rate of mortality was nearly one-half per cent. higher in Lancashire and Cheshire than the rest of England. There was little house-drainage; dirt-heaps were formed all round the dwellings of the poor; many of the streets were unpaved; the rivers also were polluted. Mr. Rawlinson's estimate was, that £1,500,000 might be spent in forming main sewers, house-drains, street-paving, suburban roads, parks, and recreation grounds; enclosing waste land, land-drainage, &c., &c. In one of his reports to the President of the Poor-Law Board, Mr. Rawlinson writes—

"1. There is plenty of useful work to be done at the several distressed towns and places.

"2. The governing bodies, so far as I have consulted with them, will commence such works if they can obtain legal power, and necessary money at a low rate of interest.

"3. A large portion of the able-bodied operatives can, and will, do this work, if paid fair, but reasonable wages.

"4. There is sufficient local knowledge to design and superintend any works commenced.

"5. Any advance of money by government should be as a loan, on security of the entire rateable property of each district, at a remunerative rate of interest, and repayable at stated intervals.

"6. For each loan, a petition, with plans and estimates, to be forwarded to some government office or officer on the spot, if preferred; and a report or recommendation to be sent in before such loan is granted.

"7. Advances to be made, not in a lump sum for the whole amount of the loan contracted for, but upon certain certificates monthly, as the work is done.

"8. The local authorities to be enabled to stop short, at any point in the progress of the works, should trade revive so as to call the hands to regular work.

"9. The money borrowed should not be appropriated for other works than those scheduled in the report leading to the sanction.

"One or two inspectors, as at the Local Government Act office, ought to do all the government work required.

"The action of the local authorities must be unfettered, or there will be mischief. There may be advice when asked for, as under the Local Government Act.

"The several town-clerks may, with advantage, be consulted as to the legal clauses in any short bill, if one is to be prepared.

"There are mostly some legal peculiarities in each place, which block local im-

provement. I feel the delicacy, and, in some respects, danger, in exceptional legislation; but do not know how it is to be avoided in this case."

A measure, accordingly, was proposed by Mr. Villiers—the Public Works Bill—and carried. Its object was to promote the class of works which would afford employment for the largest amount of unskilled labour. The public works loan commissioners (by no means a new body) were to be the depositaries of the fund applicable to the purposes of the bill; who were to advance loans upon the authority of orders of the Poor-Law Board, after the Board had satisfied themselves that the borrowing powers were valid, and through the inspection and report of their officers that the plans were correct, the estimates reasonable, and the works such as were sanctioned by the provisions of the bill. The measure gave universal satisfaction. The *Manchester Guardian*, on the day following the introduction of the bill, said—"As soon as it has become law, no locality which possesses the power of levying rates, will be able to allege its want of means as an excuse for not finding employment for its distressed population." It was also equally approved of by the members for the cotton districts, and the central executive committee.

Nor was this all that was done in this session of parliament. The House of Commons devoted a night to Mr. Caird's motion for a select committee, to inquire whether any further measures could be taken within the legitimate functions of the Indian government, for increasing the supply of cotton from that country. Mr. Caird, who was distinguished for his agricultural knowledge, stated that the Indian field of production was unlimited; and that, though the climate of India was warmer by 12° than the Southern States, yet that the deficiency of rain might easily be obviated by works of irrigation. It was contended by Mr. Cobden, as the representative of the manufacturers, that the government, the gigantic absentee landlord of this Indian farm, was blamable for refusing to encourage the production of cotton by the remission of the land-tax. Sir Charles Wood had declined to allow the remission even upon small patches of land in Madras. He maintained that the distress of the cotton districts ought not to be relieved at the expense of the people of India. But the moral of the debate was spoken by Mr. Bright, in the words, that "there was no short cut to that which it was wanted to obtain."

In committee upon the new Continuance Bill of the Union Relief Aid Act, Mr. Villiers proposed two amendments, which were both agreed to—the first being, that six shillings should be substituted for five, as the charge to be borne upon the net rateable value of the Unions, before they were empowered to call for contributions from their counties. Experience of the worst season of distress had shown that this amount would render the county rate in aid practically inoperative, as no Union would endure rates amounting to six shillings while possessed of the power of borrowing. This power Mr. Villiers now proposed to facilitate by his second amendment, authorising the loan commissioners to make advances to the Union, chargeable to the common fund, and repayable in twenty years, with interest at 3½ per cent.—a concession, says Mr. Arnold, "not quite guiltless of wise indulgence." Lancashire has owed much to the exceptional circumstances which caused her distress; much to their incidence upon the national policy; much to the influence and the dread of her concentrated population. All this, together with the temporary nature of the crisis, and the desirability of excluding discontent from the district, pleaded for allowance of this easy postponement of local burdens, with a force which it might well be thought could rarely so establish a subsequent claim; and the power was given as one strictly exceptional.

In 1864, the good effect of the Public Works Act was everywhere felt. It raised the spirits of the operatives by giving them remunerative employment, the results of which they, and their children after them, would enjoy; and it produced an excellent effect upon the numerous class of small shopkeepers, who had suffered grievously through the distress. In his Report, November 7th, 1864, Mr. Rawlinson says—"It is impossible to calculate precisely the effect of such an expenditure upon local employment. During the last twelve months, it was the opinion of

many well-informed persons, that the production of cotton manufactures had fallen to as low a point as in the corresponding period of 1862. For the week ending the 29th of October, 1864, 6,424 men were employed; of whom 2,422 were skilled. I estimate the number engaged in getting stone and other materials at not less than 2,000, which will make a total of 8,424; who, with their dependent families, will represent a population of from 30,000 to 40,000 persons, deriving their subsistence from these works."

The story of the Lancashire distress need not be further told. The crisis was past; and, by the sufferers, it had been bravely borne. England had never given her working classes credit for such self-control—such wisdom—such endurance. The nation had done her duty; a better understanding had been created between the upper and lower classes of society; and the bitter feeling often cherished by the men towards the masters was softened and removed. The cotton famine was not an unmixed calamity. It inculcated habits of providence and co-operation; and it gave an impulse to education and sanitary improvement, which must issue in permanent and beneficial results. It, besides, taught the mill-owners of the north not to be dependent on one country alone for a supply of cotton; and thus it gave an additional impulse to commerce and friendly relations between ourselves and other states. Twenty years ago the cotton famine would have nearly plunged us into civil war. That such was not now the case shows the marvellous triumphs of popular education and a cheap press. The lesson is to be deeply pondered over by our rulers, too much inclined to fear the people, and to shrink from contact with them. To each and all of them, the history of the cotton famine says, in the language of one of old—"Oh, thou of little faith, wherefore dost thou doubt?"

CHAPTER XIX.

PUBLIC FESTIVITIES, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY.

WE turn from the record of war and national calamity to other and more joyous themes.

In 1862 there was another International Exhibition in London. It was opened, May the 1st, with great pomp and ceremony. Lord Palmerston, of course, officiated in it; and, whenever visible, was loudly cheered.

The foreign nations whose contributions were displayed in this vast area, were represented by thirty-four acting commissioners. There were thirty to watch over the products of the British colonies and dependencies. London was alive with the men of commerce from all lands, who came to compare and to learn; and, besides, there came the critics, to record and to judge. Even Japan sent her ambassadors to take notes. The annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held in the capital of England this year. The Royal Agricultural Society held its annual exhibition at Battersea Park. There was a Handel festival, with 4,000 performers, at the Crystal Palace. The volunteers met at Wimbledon, and Lord Palmerston distributed the prizes. There never had been such feasting in London before, in spite of the cloud of sorrow which rested heavily on the home of the English queen. The city feasted the Viceroy of Egypt; and, besides, gave a ball to 3,000 persons. There was a great Social Science *soirée*, in the queen's palace of Westminster. At a friendly dinner given to the foreign workmen who came over to visit the Exhibition, a letter from Lord Palmerston to the secretary was read. "I am glad," wrote his lordship, "that you are going to give a welcome to the working-men of France, who have come to visit our Exhibition; and I hope you will explain to them that there ought

to be emulation, but no jealousy, between the productive industries of England and France." In 1862, 6,087,000 persons visited the Exhibition in Brompton.

The following were the words (by the poet-laureate) sung to Professor Bennett's music at the opening:—

" Uplift a thousand voices full and sweet,
In this wide hall with earth's inventions stored,
And praise th' invisible universal Lord,
Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,
Where Science, Art, and Labour have out-poured
Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet.

" O, silent father of our Kings to be,
Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,
For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee !

" The world-compelling plan was thine,
And, lo ! the long laborious miles
Of Palace ; lo ! the giant aisles,
Rich in model and design ;
Harvest-tool and husbandry,
Loom and wheel, and engin'ry,
Secrets of the sullen mine,
Steel and gold, and corn and wine,
Fabric rough, or Fairy fine,
Sunny tokens of the Line,
Polar marvels, and a feast
Of wonder, out of West or East,
And shapes and hues of Art divine,
All of beauty, all of use,
That one fair planet can produce,
Brought from under every star,
Blown from over every main,
And mixt, as life is mixt with pain,
The works of peace with works of war.

" O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,
From growing commerce loose her latest chain,
And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly
To happy havens under all the sky,
And mix the seasons and the golden hours,
Till each man find his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood,
Breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers,
And ruling by obeying nature's powers,
And gathering all the fruits of peace, and crowned with all her
flowers."

The building, by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas, in Brompton, was not much admired ; but it was very large, and was well filled with the products of the industries of all the nations of the earth. The death of the Prince Consort was, however, to it a very heavy blow. There was no one with authority, or tact, or knowledge, or judgment to take his place. Had he lived, and been enabled to preside over it, the Exhibition would have been of a far higher character ; but it was a success nevertheless. Fortunately there were no great expectations formed ; we had no hopes of universal peace ; little was said about the brotherhood of nations ; and the allusions to the millennium, even on the part of clerical gentlemen, were few and far between.

At the distribution of the medals and rewards, in July, Lord Taunton read the report of the council of chairmen on the work of the juries, which we subjoin in full.

"The work of the several juries having been brought to a termination, it becomes the duty of the council of chairmen to explain the manner in which the juries were constituted, and the result of their labours.

"The juries consist of English and foreign members in varying proportions.

The English jurors were, in the first place, nominated by exhibitors; and these nominations having been carefully considered, her majesty's commissioners invariably appointed such persons as appeared to be named by the general agreement of a trade or district. In cases where the nominations were not made on a common understanding, the royal commissioners were guided in their choice by the number of votes given to particular individuals; and, in some instances, by the desire expressed by exhibitors, that the commissioners should themselves select persons possessing the necessary qualifications.

"The British colonies were represented by jurors recommended by the several colonial commissioners.

"Foreign nations taking part in the Exhibition had a right to nominate one juror for every class in which they were represented by twenty exhibitors, and for every section of a class in which they had fifteen exhibitors. As an alternative, each nation had a certain number of jurors allotted to it, in proportion to the space which it occupied in the building; and several countries accepted this alternative. Her majesty's commissioners, without fixing any arbitrary proportion between foreign and English jurors, appointed as many of the latter to each jury as the experience of past Exhibitions showed to be necessary for its efficiency.

"The juries were sixty-five in number, grouped so as to form thirty-six classes, or head juries, corresponding to the thirty-six industrial classes, under which the objects are arranged in the Exhibition. Each of these head juries, when subdivided into sections, acted as a united body for the confirmation of awards. Before, however, these awards were considered final, they were brought before, and received the sanction of, a council, consisting of the chairmen of the thirty-six head juries. The chairmen forming the council which regulated the affairs of the juries were nominated by her majesty's commissioners from the jurors of different nations, a number being allotted to each country relatively to the space assigned to it in the building. The council was presided over by a chairman appointed by her majesty's commissioners.

"Her majesty's commissioners decided that only one description of medal should be awarded by the juries. This decision considerably facilitated their labours, as it became necessary only to reward excellence wherever it was found, without reference to competition between exhibitors. As the work of the juries advanced, it was ascertained that many articles possessed excellence of a kind which deserved a special mention, without, however, entitling them to a medal; and, although it involved some departure from the principle that had been originally laid down, yet the council of chairmen acceded to the wish of the juries, and permitted such cases to be classed and published under the title of 'honourable mentions.'

"The jurors and their associates engaged in examining the objects of the Exhibition, amounted to 615 persons; of whom 287 were foreigners, and 328 English. They are men of high social, scientific, and industrial position, drawn from nearly every civilised country in the world. Their labours have occupied two months, and have been of the most arduous description, as they had to examine the objects displayed by at least 25,000 exhibitors. It can scarcely be expected that none of the articles exhibited have escaped their attention. In a few instances, the delay of arrival or of arrangement has rendered it impossible for the juries to examine every article now within the building; while in other cases, errors in classification have rendered it doubtful to which of the juries the duty of examining some particular objects should fall. Every effort, however, has been made to conquer these obstacles; and the omissions, if any, must be very few in number, and are not owing to the want of attention of the juries or of the officers engaged in facilitating their work.

"The number of medals voted by the juries amounts to nearly 7,000; and the 'honourable mentions' to about 5,300. The proportion of awards to exhibitors is greater than in the International Exhibition of 1851, but less than in that of 1855.

"Notwithstanding the varied nationalities represented in the juries, it is gratifying to record that the utmost harmony has prevailed during the whole time that the jurors have been associated in their labours. The mutual dependence and intimate alliance between the industries of the world, have been illustrated by the zeal and impartial efforts of the jurors of different nations to recognise and reward the merit displayed in the exhibitions of their industrial competitors.

"We are glad to observe that the state of industry shown in the International Exhibition, gives evidence of a singularly active and healthy progress throughout the civilised world; for while we find every nation searching for new raw materials, or utilising products hitherto considered as waste, we are struck especially with the vast improvement in the machinery employed to adapt them to industrial purposes, as well as with the applications of science, and with the great and successful attention which is now given to all the arts necessary to gratify our taste and sense of beauty.

"We cannot conclude this report without expressing our obligations to Dr. Lyon Playfair, the special commissioner for juries, for the constant and intelligent assistance which he has rendered to us throughout our labours, as well as to the deputy commissioners and secretary, who have acted under his direction, and have afforded efficient aid to the several juries during their inquiries."

Lord Palmerston himself was a great man for opening Exhibitions. At the one by working-men in the Westminster Road, he thus spoke:—

"Ladies and gentlemen,—I must, in the first place, express the deep gratification it has afforded me to be allowed to take part in what has been truly one of the most interesting ceremonies I have ever witnessed in my life. What can be more interesting to any man who takes an interest in the welfare and happiness of his fellow-countrymen, and the development of talent among them, than to have seen pass before him that goodly thread of men, women, and children, recipients of prizes awarded for the merits which they have displayed in the Exhibition just closed this day? If there be some whose not unreasonable expectations of higher rewards have been disappointed, they should recollect that the judges appointed by the body of exhibitors had a most difficult task to perform; difficult exactly in proportion to the amount of talent displayed by the exhibitors. Because where there are 600 candidates for distinction, and 300 prizes to be awarded, great, indeed, must be the difficulty of picking out the 300 best. It is impossible that the most accurate judgment, and the most sedulous care in selecting half the names of so large a body, where all have displayed great merit, could satisfy every man that his merits have been duly appreciated, and the reward assigned to him which he thinks ought to have been his meed. It is indeed remarkable that such intellectual distinction should have been exhibited by persons of all ages, of both sexes, even by some whose military uniform showed that their leisure hours are occupied in the service of their country; and by those also who, from their affliction, might be supposed disqualified from competing in such an Exhibition as this. I have seen many recipients of medals pass before me to-day, whom you could scarcely see on account of the lowness of their stature—children, almost, of precocious talent, from whom we may fairly expect that, in their maturer age, they will arrive at great distinction in their respective careers. This Exhibition, and the works which it contained, are extremely significant of the happy constitution under which we have the good fortune to live—that constitution which opens to every man having talent, industry, perseverance, and good conduct, any honours and distinctions which his turn of mind and attainments may qualify him to aspire to. We live under a constitutional monarchy; and of such a monarchy, an aristocracy of wealth and an aristocracy of rank are essential ingredients. It is true that aristocracies of wealth and rank exist in many other countries; but, unfortunately, there are almost impassable barriers separating them from the rest of the nation. But no such barriers exist in this country. With regard to the aristocracy of wealth, the medals distributed to-day have inscribed on them the names

of a great number of men, who, starting from very small beginnings, attained by their talent, their industry, their perseverance, and their good conduct, the very highest positions of social merit and distinction. Many more might have been added to that list. And you must have all seen, in your own experience, men starting from the smallest beginnings, who have in this very city realised princely fortunes. In the manufacturing districts examples of this kind are abundant; for no man can go, even for a few days, into those districts without hearing of great wealth acquired by men who started with little; but, by their talents and genius, raised themselves and their families to opulence. Then, again, does the aristocracy of rank in this country consist simply of those who can count in their pedigree generations of noble ancestors? Look at all the great men who have figured in public life. Look at your army, your navy, your law, your church, your statesmen. You will find, in every one of those careers, men who have risen to the highest points; who have either themselves started from the smallest beginnings, or whose fathers began with nothing but their talents, their industry, and their energy to aid them. I do not mention the names of any of these; though, for the men themselves, and for their families, it would be a most honourable roll: but you are all conversant with names renowned in the history of the country, who belonged, not to noble families, but who founded noble families; springing, many of them, from the very class which I have now the honour of addressing. Does not this afford even greater encouragement than the prizes just distributed to all of you who have cultivated the talents with which nature has endowed you? Wealth is, to a certain extent, within the reach of all; but be assured of one thing—that even if you fail in gaining those summits of ambition which I have indicated, there is no greater source of private comfort, and of individual happiness, than the exercise of intellectual faculties, and the enjoyment of domestic affection. The exercise of the intellectual faculties, to which the exhibitors here show that they have devoted themselves, must make them happier men; must contribute to raise them, not only in their own estimation, but in the estimation of all who know them; and must lead to the noblest of all exercises, of all pleasures—the cultivation, improvement, and development of the human intellect. I may be told that the examples I have cited of men who attained great wealth or distinguished positions are few, while the competitors are many; and that to the bulk of those who struggle to arrive at such goals the effort must be hopeless. I would ask whether any of you have not gone, on a fine bright day in the beginning of summer, to that great seat of amusement, Epsom race-course, and seen horses run for that celebrated race, the Derby? Three or four hundred horses entered for the race, but only one won the prize. All the rest failed to obtain the object of their ambition. But those luckless horses that did not win the Derby, won other races. If they were good for anything, they all won something. And thus the training, the industry, the pains, and the expense of those who had fitted them for the competition in which they were to take part, were eventually repaid. And so I say to you—you are competitors for prizes. You may not all become generals or admirals; you may not all become lord chancellors or archbishops; you may not become members of the cabinet; but, depend upon it, you will, by systematic industry, raise yourselves in the social system of your country—you will acquire honour and respect for yourselves and for your families. You will have, too, the constant satisfaction of feeling that you have materially contributed to the dignity of your country, to its welfare, to its prosperity and greatness, and that you have been worthy of the nation to which you belong. I beg again to express the extreme pleasure I have derived from what I have witnessed to-day; and I trust that, hereafter, these Exhibitions may be even more successful than the present. Go on, ladies and gentlemen, and prosper; and depend upon it that the blessings which you will confer upon yourselves and your families will be proportioned to the industry you display, and to the cultivation which you give to those faculties—those noble faculties with which Providence has endowed you.”

On another occasion, when the scene was laid at Romsey, his own locality, the claims of which were never forgotten, or urged in vain upon his lordship, he said—

“Ladies and gentlemen,—I am proud of having been permitted to attend the opening of this interesting Exhibition; and not the less so because I appear before you in that which is generally considered not a very enviable position—namely, that of a false prophet. I am bound to confess that when our excellent vicar first communicated to me the intention of the town of Romsey to set on foot an Exhibition of this kind, I hastily, and not sufficiently estimating the energy of the people of Romsey, expressed an opinion, or rather an apprehension, that the project would fail. This magnificent display of works of art, and science, and industry, and the numerous assembly which I now have the honour of addressing, amply refute the expectations which I then expressed, and show that I am what I stated—in that respect, at least—a false prophet. But, unlike false prophets in general, I rejoice in the misconception under which I laboured, and the falsification of my prophecy; for nothing can be more gratifying than to see the results of the labour of those who have been charged with preparing this Exhibition. I may add, that I think, from those whom I now see assembled in this room, there is every reasonable prospect, that not only will those walls contain objects most worthy of admiration and of study, but will be filled by those who will be ready to admire and improve themselves by what they see. There can be no question that periodical displays of the works of genius tend not only to amuse but to improve and to cultivate our minds. They show those models of perfection which, more or less, other men may imitate, and, perhaps, may equal. This is not merely confined to Exhibitions of this sort. I remember, some years ago, making a tour through Holland, a country peopled by men who are industrious, persevering, and who neglect no opportunity of improving themselves and the country in which they live; and every town of any consideration that I passed through, had not merely a temporary Exhibition, but a permanent museum containing a collection of matters of general interest. Well, I am afraid that we cannot, in this little town of Romsey, aim at aspiring so high until there shall be some Romsey Hartley who will be kind enough to bequeath us a large legacy. I will venture to say, that if that should happen, the people of Romsey will not spend more than one-half of it in litigation before they are able to lay the first stone of a building in honour of the founder. It is most gratifying to see the results of the energy and diligence—the unconquerable diligence of those who have been charged with arranging and getting together this Exhibition. But among the objects of interest and admiration which this Exhibition brings before us, I must not forget to point out to you the proof it affords of the universal genius of our worthy vicar; for not only does he, as you all know, take especial and good care of your welfare in a future world, but you will see, in one of the compartments of this Exhibition, a most skilful arrangement for preserving the lives of men in this world from shipwreck and other accidents at sea. We people of Romsey—I am proud to call myself one, for I was born here close by—we people of Romsey have some reason to be satisfied with that which this town has produced in the way of human intellect. We have seen, in our abbey church, a monument to Sir William Petty—a man most distinguished in the history of the country—who was born in Romsey. Well, there was another instance of genius which I may be permitted to mention—namely, that among your townsmen of the present time there was a Mr. Lordan, who performed that which is a feat in literature. He printed a book which he had never written, but which he had composed; and as fast as he composed it, word for word, instead of writing it down in manuscript for future correction, as most authors do, he set to work and printed it off at once. Here we have the book now printed from the actual and immediate impulse of Mr. Lordan’s mind. As I have already said, it is not surprising that we here in Romsey should take pleasure in seeing the produce of modern history, skill, and genius, when we have here, in our town, to contemplate every day one of the most splendid monuments of the genius of times gone

by, in that venerable church, which, I may venture to say, has, all things considered, no rival—certainly no superior—in any part of the kingdom. I thank you for having been permitted to be present at the opening of this Exhibition; and I hope the room may, every day it is open, be as crowded as it is at the present moment.”

As a further illustration of Lord Palmerston's readiness to assist, as far as possible, what was worthy of assistance, take his laying the foundation-stone of the building for the enlargement of the Sailors' Home, in the neighbourhood of the London Docks, in August, 1863. The proceedings took place under a large tent, erected by Mr. John Edgington, of Smithfield Bars. From the address presented to Lord Palmerston by Admiral Bowles, we learn that the new building cost nearly £13,000; and that its object was to provide a home—combining security, freedom of action, and social enjoyment—for the sailor, on his return from a perilous voyage; and to promote his moral elevation and religious improvement. “As a proof that these objects have, in large measure, been accomplished, we beg to call your lordship's attention to the fact, that, since the opening of the institution, 139,180 seamen have availed themselves of the advantages it holds out; and such is the confidence inspired by its operations, that no less a sum than £1,110,980 has been received from these men, and directed into legitimate channels for their benefit.” His lordship replied as follows:—“I can assure you that I feel great pleasure, and I may say pride, in having been permitted to take a part in this most interesting ceremony. We are, by our insular position, necessarily a seafaring nation. All our interests, I may say our national independence, are connected with the skill, the enterprise, the daring courage of our seamen. It is needless to point out that, by the great extension which the principles of free trade have received of late years, our commercial intercourse with other nations, carried on in every ocean, has incredibly increased; and that we now are dependent upon our commerce for the maintenance of our national industry, for the subsistence of a great part of our population, and for the markets to which the produce of our manufactures is destined to go. If, then, nothing but commercial interests were concerned, it would be needless to point out how greatly the strength and prosperity of the country depend upon our seafaring population. But there are still higher considerations than that to point out their value, and how much they deserve encouragement from their fellow-countrymen. It is true that something near 30,000,000 of men could not be conquered by any invasion that might reach these shores. But, short of that, we might, if we lost the command of the seas, be blockaded by the cutting off of our foreign supplies, and, by the prevention of our export trade, be reduced to very distressing extremities; and therefore, in that point of view, we ought fully and highly to appreciate the value of our sailor fellow-men. Well, it is the result of their life to be separated in great measure from intercourse with their fellow-men on land, that they are peculiarly a simple-minded and a guileless set of men, but simple-minded and guileless men are too often, when they come into contact with them, the victims of men of different character. A sailor, when he comes to port, cannot go, probably, to the seat of his family—he cannot go to his friends and relations. He must remain in the port where he has landed; and in that port he is exposed to every temptation, and to the loss both of his money and his health. Well, these institutions tend to provide him with a home. It is said, indeed, that ‘his home is on the deep;’ but we provide him with a home on *terra firma*; and it is needless to point out how much his physical and moral interests are promoted by a reception such as he meets with in these institutions. They are, indeed, a part of those great social improvements which have been made in recent times; and I may truly say that among them few are more deserving of public encouragement, and few are more conducive to the real interests of the country. I, therefore, am glad—and I return thanks to those who gave me the invitation—I am glad to be present, and contribute to the foundation of an institution which will be attended with such great national advantages.”

His lordship then laid the stone with the usual honours. It bore the following inscription:—"This chief stone of the new building in extension of the Sailors' Home, was laid on the 4th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1863, and in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of her most gracious majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, K.G."

About this time the Prince of Wales began to take an active part in public life. He had been carefully trained, and studied at Oxford and Cambridge universities. At the Curragh, in 1861, he had learnt something of camp life, and military duties. He had been called to the bar, and admitted as a bencher of the Middle Temple. In July, 1860, he had embarked at Plymouth, on board *H.M.S. Hero*, on a visit to Canada and the United States. The Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary of State, accompanied the prince. At Quebec, where he arrived on the 18th, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm. In September, under the title of Baron Renfrew, he entered the United States, on his way to Washington to visit the president; and, in November, he returned, after having done much, by his manners and appearance, to sustain and create a friendly feeling, on the part of the colonists and the Americans, towards the mother country. In the royal family there was a talk of a wedding: the Princess Alice had a lover. There was to be gaiety and grand doings at Windsor; when suddenly there flashed through the land the sad news that Prince Albert was ill; and then that he was dead—dead, too, just as Christmas festivities had commenced. Every one felt stunned by the appalling calamity. A man whom we all knew and loved—who had done so much for us—whose presence was so familiar to us on all public occasions, or when an impulse to any noble work was required—the husband of our queen—the father of our princes—in the very prime of life, almost without a word of warning, carried off by death. No one could believe, that sad Sunday, that such was the case. "It cannot be true," was the universal hope. With what anxiety were Monday's papers greedily purchased! As much as 5s. were, in some cases, offered for the *Times*; and, as we walked in the streets, and saw the shops all partially closed, and heard the hum of conversation all round, one, alas! could not but feel that there was no deception in the matter; and that, indeed, Prince Albert was no more. All felt for the widowed queen, whose own mother had been seized by the King of Terrors not long before. People were actually merry when George the Magnificent was gathered to his fathers: there was decent sorrow for King William IV.: but, for Prince Albert the Good, as the *Athenæum* called him, there was lamentation deep and sincere in every English home.

The publication of the unfavourable bulletin on Saturday morning, coupled with the intelligence that the Prince of Wales had been summoned to the castle from Cambridge during midnight, spread dismay and astonishment throughout the country. Then, all at once, the fearful affliction which threatened her majesty was seen, and on every side information as to the state of his royal highness's health was sought for with the most intense eagerness. The announcement in the afternoon, that a change, slightly for the better, had taken place in the illustrious patient's condition, was welcomed as almost a relief from the state of feverish anxiety under which all had waited for news. Unhappily, this slight improvement proved to be but a precursor of the fatal issue. During Saturday morning—at least in the early part—his royal highness undoubtedly seemed better; and notwithstanding that his condition was in the highest degree precarious, the change, though sudden, was marked, and almost justified the strong hopes which were then entertained that he would recover. This change was but for a short time, and, in fact, but one of those expiring efforts of nature, which give delusive hopes to the mourners round so many death-beds. Soon afterwards his royal highness again relapsed; and, before the evening, it became evident that it was only a question of an hour, more or less. The prince sank with alarming rapidity. At four, the physicians issued a bulletin, stating that their patient was then in "a most critical

condition;" which was, indeed, a sad truth, for at that time almost every hope of recovery had passed away. Her majesty, and the Prince of Wales, the Princesses Alice and Helena, and the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, were with their illustrious relative during all this mournful and most trying period. The approach of death from exhaustion was so rapid that all stimulants failed to check the progressive increase of weakness; and the fatal termination was so clearly foreseen, that even before nine o'clock on Saturday evening, a telegram was forwarded from Windsor to the city, stating that the Prince Consort was then dying fast. Quietly, and without suffering, he continued slowly to sink—so slowly that the wrists were pulseless long before the last moment had arrived, when, at a few minutes before eleven, he ceased to breathe, and all was over. An hour after, and the solemn tones of the great bell of St. Paul's—a bell of evil omen—told all citizens how irreparable had been the loss of their beloved queen—how great the loss to the country.

The *Times* (from which we take the foregoing details) adds some particulars, which will also be read with deep interest.

"We believe," it says, "that the prince himself had for some days a melancholy conviction that his end was at hand. The recent death of his relative, the King of Portugal, from a similar disorder, is understood to have had an unfortunate influence upon him, and possibly assisted the progress of the malady. It is said that, as early as Wednesday morning, the prince expressed his belief that he should not recover. When the improvement took place on Saturday, it was agreed by the medical men, that if the patient could be carried over one more night, his life would, in all probability, be saved. But the sudden failure of vital power which occurred in the afternoon frustrated these hopes. Congestion of the lungs, the result of complete exhaustion, set in; the prince's breathing became continually shorter and feebler, and he expired without pain at a few minutes before eleven o'clock. He was sensible, and knew the queen to the last. The Duke of Cambridge and the following gentlemen connected with the Court were present—General Bruce, Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, General Bentinck, Lord Alfred Paget, Major Du Plat, General Seymour, Colonel Elphinstone, and the Dean of Windsor.

"It must have cheered the last moments of the illustrious patient to see his wife and nearly all his children around his bed. The princess-royal, being at Berlin, was prevented by recent severe indisposition from travelling; and, indeed, the death of the prince followed too soon on the discovery of his danger for such a journey to have availed her. Prince Alfred was serving on board his ship on the other side of the Atlantic; but the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice were by his side, together with several of the younger members of the family. Of the devotion and strength of mind shown by the Princess Alice all through these trying scenes it is impossible to speak too highly. Her royal highness has, indeed, felt that it was her place to be a comfort and support to her mother in this affliction; and to her dutiful care we may perhaps owe it that the queen has borne her loss with exemplary resignation, and a composure which, under so sudden and so terrible a bereavement, could not have been anticipated.

"This fact will, we are sure, give the greatest satisfaction to the country; and we may add that, after the death of the prince, the queen, when the first passionate burst of grief was over, called her children around her, and with a calmness which gives proof of great natural energy, addressed them in solemn and affectionate terms, which may be considered as indicating the intentions of a sovereign who feels that the interests of a great nation depend on her firmness. Her majesty declared to her family, that, though she felt crushed by the loss of one who had been her companion through life, she knew how much was expected of her; and she accordingly called on her children to give her their assistance, in order that she might do her duty to them and the country. That her majesty may have health and strength to fulfil these noble intentions, and that she may live

many years in placid cheerfulness and peace of mind, alleviating the recollection of her loss by sharing the happiness of her children, will be the earnest prayer of all her subjects."

In a large number of churches and chapels, on the Sunday after the mournful event, special reference was made to the subject, and special prayer was offered on behalf of the queen and the royal family. The Lord Chamberlain issued an order for "all persons" to "put themselves into decent mourning"—a request generally complied with. In Paris the mournful tidings of the death of the prince caused a profound sensation. The emperor despatched an aide-de-camp to her majesty, with an autograph letter expressive of his sorrow, and, we may presume, that of the empress, at the melancholy event, and offering suitable condolence. The King and Queen of Prussia, on receipt of the intelligence, paid a visit of condolence to the crown princess. The king also sent his aide-de-camp to Lord Loftus, to express his sympathy for the royal family of England. The Prussian Court went into mourning for four weeks.

The funeral of the prince was fixed for Monday, December the 23rd, between eleven and twelve in the forenoon, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The "royal vault" in which the body of the prince was deposited, had not been opened, except for the funeral of the queen-dowager, since the death of William IV. Three gates close the entrance to this final resting-place of departed royalty, the keys of which are kept by the sovereign, the Lord Chamberlain, and the dean of the chapels royal. According to custom, the body was interred in four coffins, the inner one or shell being of polished mahogany cased outside with lead; then an outer plain, but very massive coffin of mahogany; over all comes the state coffin, or case, of crimson velvet, and with massive silver-gilt ornaments. On the leaden coffin was a silver plate, engraved with the style and titles of the deceased prince. The outer mahogany coffin simply bore a plate with his name and the date of his birth and death. On the state coffin was the customary silver-gilt plate, bearing an inscription similar to that on the leaden coffin.

The funeral was, in accordance, as it was understood, with the wishes of the deceased, very plain and quiet. In fact, the recent precedent set at the interment of the late Duchess of Kent was as closely followed as possible; and though, from the very large numbers of attached friends whom the prince had left to mourn his early loss, the funeral was necessarily on a scale of greater magnitude, it was not, as regards state, less strictly private. The Prince of Wales was, of course, the chief mourner. A few days after Prince Albert's decease, according to the custom observed on the decease of the kings of England, the body of his late royal highness was dressed in field-marshal's uniform, and placed in the shell, when, by command of her majesty, those of the royal household who might desire, were permitted to take a last farewell of their royal master; and in the evening the body was soldered down. On the leaden coffin is a massive silver plate, with the following inscription:—

"Depositum
Illustrissimi et Celsissimi Alberti,
Principis Consortis,
Ducis Saxonie,
de Saxe-Coburg et Gotha Principis,
Nobilissimi Ordinis Periscelidis Equitis,
Augustissimæ et Potentissimæ Victorie Reginæ
Conjugis percarissimi,
Obiit die decimo quarto Decembris, MDCCCLXI.,
Anno ætatis sue XLIII."

The following account of the last hours of Prince Albert appeared in a country paper—the *Northern Whig*. The editor, in introducing it, says—

"There has reached us, from abroad, a most interesting extract from a letter which was written by a member of the queen's household, shortly after the death of Prince Albert. The extremely confidential position which the writer held at

the time, not only gives the assurance of perfect reliability, but invests the following lines with a very special interest. After describing the griefs and fears of the whole household for the queen, the writer speaks of the personal loss sustained in the death of Prince Albert:—

“‘How I shall miss his conversation about the children! He used often to come into the school-room to speak about the education of the children, and he never left me without my feeling that he had strengthened my hands, and raised the standard I was aiming at. Nothing mean or frivolous could exist in the atmosphere that surrounded him; the conversation could not be trifling if he was in the room. I dread the return of spring for my dear lady. It was his favourite time of the year—the opening leaves, the early flowers, and fresh green were such a delight to him; and he so loved to point out their beauties to his children, that it will be terrible to see them without him. The children kept his table supplied with prim-roses, which he especially loved. The last Sunday he passed on earth was a very blessed one for the Princess Alice to look back upon. He was very ill and very weak, and she spent the afternoon alone with him, whilst the others were in church. He begged to have his sofa drawn to the window, that he might see the sky and the clouds sailing past. He then asked her to play to him, and she went through several of his favourite hymns and chorals. After she had played some time, she looked round and saw him lying back, his hands folded as if in prayer, and his eyes shut. He lay so long without moving that she thought he had fallen asleep. Presently he looked up and smiled. She said—‘Were you asleep, dear papa?’ ‘Oh no,’ he answered; ‘only I have such sweet thoughts.’”

“‘During his illness his hands were often folded in prayer; and, when he did not speak, his serene face showed that the ‘happy thoughts’ were with him to the end. The Princess Alice’s fortitude has amazed us all. She saw from the first that both her father and mother’s firmness depended on her firmness, and she set herself to the duty. He loved to speak openly of his condition, and had many wishes to express. He loved to hear hymns and prayers. He could not speak to the queen of himself, for she could not bear to listen, and shut her eyes to the danger. His daughter saw that she must act differently, and she never let her voice falter, or shed a single tear in his presence. She sat by him; listened to all he said; repeated hymns; and then, when she could bear it no longer, would walk calmly to the door, and rush away to her room, returning soon with the same calm and pale face, without any appearance of the agitation she had gone through.

“‘I have had several interviews with the poor queen since. The first time she said—‘You can feel for me, for you have gone through this trial.’ Another time she said how strange it seemed, when she looked back, to see how much, for the last six months, the prince’s mind had dwelt upon death and the future state; their conversation had so often turned upon these subjects, and they had read together a book called *Heaven our Home*, which had interested him very much. He once said to her—‘We don’t know in what state we shall meet again; but that we shall recognise each other, and be together in eternity, I am perfectly certain.’ It seemed as if it had been intended to prepare her mind, and comfort her; though, of course, it did not strike her then. She said she was a wonder to herself, and she was sure it was in answer to the prayers of her people that she was so sustained. She feared it would not last, and that times of agony were before her. She said—‘There’s not the bitterness in this trial that I felt when I lost my mother; I was so rebellious then; but now I can see the mercy and love that are mixed in my trial.’ Her whole thought is now to walk worthy of him; and her greatest comfort to think that his spirit is always near her, and knows all that she is doing.’”

In taking leave of this mournful part of our history, we can only add that Prince Albert’s memorials are numerous in all our chief towns and cities; and that, while we write, the papers contain an account of a statue being erected at Wolverhampton, and of the queen assisting at its unveiling.

In some cases these memorials took a form and shape more in accordance with

the wants of society and the spirit of the age. Utility was not lost sight of. It was felt desirable, that whilst the memory of a prince, exceptionally good and great, should be preserved, at the same time the memorial should be associated with something of permanent benefit, such as better accommodation for the poor, drinking fountains, &c. In Suffolk, for instance, the people of that county did a very wise thing. Not only did they erect a monument to "Albert the Good," consonant with the character of that beloved prince, but provided an institution calculated to confer signal advantages on the middle-class population of the county through all time. Nothing is more needed in the rural districts than efficient middle-class education at a reasonable price—that is, a price which can be paid by farmers, whose profits, it is generally acknowledged, do not exceed 10 per cent. Suffolk has supplied her need. By the strenuous efforts of the county magnates and others, there now stands at Framlingham the Albert College, wherein the son of any middle-class man may receive a sound practical education for the sum of £25 per annum, inclusive of lodging, board, and washing. The building, which is of noble proportions, constructed to contain 300 boys, cost £20,000, the greater part of which was raised in the county. It opened the first term with 270 boys. The founders have proposed to themselves, in establishing this school, "to furnish to the middle classes in Suffolk the means of obtaining such an education for their sons, as shall place them, for all practical purposes, in such a position with the upper and lower classes as will fit them for the society in which it will be their lot to live." Amongst the subjects of instruction Greek figures as an *extra*. These subjects are divided into, first, those taught to all; second, those taught only by the desire of parents. Religious instruction, according to the wishes of parents; instruction in the elements of an English education, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar and composition, history and geography, is given to all without distinction. Parents are requested to inform the head master, the Rev. Albert Daymond, whether they wish their sons to be taught Latin, French, German, mathematics, drawing, land-surveying, the elements of natural science, agricultural chemistry, &c. We have received most satisfactory testimony as to the success of this school. The examiner reports well of the tone of morals and the quality of instruction; Mr. Daymond speaks favourably of the masters associated with him, and the material he has to mould. This is an example England could well afford to see repeated until every county was furnished with similar educational apparatus: and we are sure that no way of preserving his memory could have been more acceptable to the prince.

On the 1st of July, 1862, another royal wedding took place. The Princess Alice was married to Prince Frederick William, eldest son of the brother of the Grand Duke of Hesse. As it was thought the marriage was one of affection, the nation participated in the event, and wished the young couple joy.

In 1862, the Prince of Wales had the pleasure of a trip to the Holy Land. The journey had been long in contemplation, and formed part of the admirable plan of education devised by the late prince, his father. It was deeply cherished to the last days of his life, and even, it is believed, recommended with his failing breath. In deference to this wish, the journey of the Prince of Wales was at length undertaken at a time when his presence could ill be spared in the palace, and when the prospect of the Great Exhibition seemed almost to depend on his taking the place of the late Prince Consort. On the 6th of February, the prince left Osborne for London; and embarked the same evening at Dover, where the royal yacht, *Osborne*, was appointed to be in waiting to convey his royal highness and suite to Alexandria. The prince travelled *incognito* as Baron Renfrew. His suite consisted of Major-General Bruce, the Hon. H. Meade, Dr. Minter, physician; Colonel Keppel, and Major Teesdale, equerries; and lastly, the Rev. Dr. Stanley, the accomplished historian of the land about to be visited. His royal highness landed at Alexandria on the 1st of March. On the 4th, he left Cairo for the purpose of visiting the Pyramids, and the wonders of Upper Egypt. The prince then returned to Cairo,

and re-embarked for Jaffa. On receiving tidings of the prince's approach, the Pasha of Jerusalem went forth to meet him on the Jaffa road; and, in his company, the little English party performed the last stage of its journey, preceded and followed by a numerous and picturesque escort of Turkish horsemen. The welcome offered to the prince by these accomplished cavaliers was according to the picturesque custom of the East. He visited Damascus, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem; and, on April the 7th, came the excursion to Hebron, which will, undoubtedly, long be regarded as the most memorable event of the prince's pilgrimage. Never before had an unbeliever been permitted by the Turks to visit the tombs of the patriarchs; and the Pasha of Jerusalem did all he could to dissuade the prince from the dangerous attempt. At length, finding all remonstrance useless, he accompanied the prince. The little place was taken possession of by the military; guards were stationed in every spot where it was possible some fanatical Moslem might attempt to avenge the intrusion. Happily no mischief was attempted; and, after visiting all the chief cities in Syria, Rhodes, and Patmos, the homeward route was taken through the well-known scenes of Smyrna, Constantinople, Athens, Malta, &c. On the 14th of June, his royal highness reached Windsor Castle.

When parliament met, on February 6th, 1863, there was, in the speech from the throne, the announcement of another royal marriage. It appeared one of the fairest of princesses had consented to a marriage with the Prince of Wales. The parliament was opened by commission. His royal highness the Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Earl of Dublin, Baron Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, having been created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, was, in his parliamentary robes, and wearing the collar of the Order of the Garter, and of the Star of India, introduced in the following order:—

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

Garter King-of-Arms,
Bearing His Royal Highness's Patent of
Creation.

The Lord Kingsdown.
The Earl of Derby, K.G.

Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
Deputy Earl Marshal.
Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Steward of the Household.
The Lord Great Chamberlain.
Lord President of the Council.

The Coronet of the Prince,
On a crimson velvet cushion, borne by the Hon. H. Meade,
one of the Gentlemen of His Royal Highness's Household.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES,

Carrying his Writ of Summons; supported by

The Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
in his robes.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.,
in his robes.

Attended by

The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

The Earl Spencer.

All in their robes.

And proceeded from the bar up the House, with the usual reverences. The writ and patent were then delivered to the Lord Chancellor on the woolsack. His royal highness then proceeded, with his supporters, to the table, the rest of the procession standing near. The letters patent and writ were read by the clerk of the parliament at the table, where his royal highness took and subscribed the oath. After which the prince was conducted to his chair, on the right hand of the throne; and his royal highness being covered as usual, the ceremony was concluded, and he received the congratulations of the Chancellor.

The royal speech was then read. The first paragraph was as follows:—"Her majesty commands us to inform you, that since you were last assembled, she has declared her consent to a marriage between his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and her royal highness the Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince

Christian of Denmark; and her majesty has concluded thereupon a treaty with the King of Denmark, which will be laid before you."

This paragraph of the queen's speech gave universal satisfaction. In the House of Commons, in proposing resolutions for providing an establishment for the Prince and Princess of Wales, Lord Palmerston said—"In doing so, I would remind the House of the happiness in which we live under a constitutional monarchy. The people of this country not only are now, more than at any former period, sensible of the blessings which that form of government confers, but they have also an opportunity of appreciating its value by contrasting it with events which are passing in other parts of the world. We see, in the East, some of the evils which are incident to arbitrary sway. We witness, in the West, the widespread misery and desolation which are sometimes created by democratic and republican institutions. We enjoy a happy medium between the extremes of these two forms of government. Our institutions not only confer happiness and tranquillity upon the people of these realms, but enable them to enjoy the most perfect freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, and of action, undirected and uncontrolled by the edicts of despotic authority, or by the Lynch law of an ungovernable mob. Well, sir, I trust that the people of this nation will long continue to enjoy these advantages, and that their hearts will be turned to the Almighty Dispenser of events with thankfulness—with reverential thankfulness—for the lot which has been thus assigned them; and I am persuaded that their bosoms will be full of the most affectionate attachment towards that sovereign and family under whose mild and beneficent sway, humanly speaking, those blessings have been conferred. Sir, there are occasions, in the course of human affairs, in which events that are matters of joy and rejoicing, produce pleasure that begins and ends with the occasion on which it arises; but there are other occasions where joyful events link and connect the present with the future, when the happiness which mankind enjoys at the moment, is an earnest and security for happiness for the future. Such an occasion is the present, when the heir-apparent to the crown is going to contract a marriage which will, I trust, not only be productive of domestic happiness to the family in the midst of which it is to be celebrated, but holds out to this country a prospect of a long line of succeeding sovereigns, who, by virtue of transmitted qualities, and of the recollection of those who went before them, will imitate the virtues of the stock from whence they spring, and will contribute, as much as the present family do, to the happiness, the welfare, and the dignity of the country over which they rule."

In referring to the sum to be asked from parliament for the prince and princess, Lord Palmerston continued—

"The Prince of Wales, in 1745, and the Prince of Wales at an earlier period, in 1715, had each of them a net income of £100,000 a year—in one case in addition to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. It is not quite clear, from the words made use of, whether, in both cases, that income was in addition to the £100,000. I rather infer that it was. Now, everybody is aware what a great change has taken place in the value of money since either of those remote periods, and how little a sum of the same nominal amount represents, in the present day, the command of things which it did either in 1745 or 1715. Coming down to a later period, when, in 1795, Mr. Pitt proposed, and the House assented to an establishment for the then Prince and Princess of Wales, the arrangement was not a simple one, because it was complicated by the payment of the large debts due at that time by her royal highness the then Princess of Wales. But the total amount of allowance that was granted, including that portion which was set aside for the liquidation of the prince's debts, was £138,000, charged partly upon the civil list, and partly upon the consolidated fund; and although, for a certain number of years, the appropriation of a large portion of the amount to the payment of debts, reduced the available income of the then Prince of Wales to something, I believe, between £60,000 and £70,000, yet I apprehend that, about the year 1806, the debts

having been discharged, the Prince of Wales entered into the receipt of £138,000. Now, it is not the intention of her majesty's government, nor is it the desire of her majesty, that the present appropriation by parliament should be founded upon what was then proposed for the Prince of Wales. His royal highness is in the receipt of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; and, to the honour of her majesty, and of the Prince Consort, be it said, that whereas, in former reigns it was understood, and the practice was, that during the minority of the Prince of Wales the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall were added to the available revenues of the crown, in the present reign those revenues have been carefully and studiously set apart, to accumulate for the benefit of the Prince of Wales, till he became of age. The funds thus accumulated are very considerable. Part of them have been invested in the purchase of a landed estate in the county of Norfolk, which cost, I believe, about £220,000, the nominal rental being £7,000 a year; but it may be, there will be deductions, as honourable gentlemen will well understand, and there may not be more than £5,000 available income. Part of these accumulations must be set aside for the outfit of the Prince of Wales; and part also will be required for the purpose of building, upon the Norfolk estate, a mansion more suitable than the present one to the dignity and station of its new occupants. Making these deductions, the details of which I will not trouble the House to go into, the probable income of the Norfolk estate, together with the income arising from the investment I have mentioned, and from the remaining accumulations, may be taken, in round numbers, at about £60,000 a year. Well, we think that a sum of £100,000 a year would not be disproportionate to those expenses which must fall upon a person in the exalted position of his royal highness the Prince of Wales; and I shall, therefore, have to propose to the House to grant £40,000 a year, out of the consolidated fund, for the establishment of the Prince of Wales. Such of those whom I am now addressing, and who, fortunately for them, are not in the single, and bachelor state, well know that there are expenses which the Princess of Wales must incur, and which require that she should have a separate and sufficient income; and, by the treaty of marriage recently concluded between her majesty and the King of Denmark, the allowance undertaken to be secured to her royal highness, was £10,000 a year for her own separate use. The grant, therefore, which to-night I shall have to ask of the committee, will be one of £50,000 a year—namely, £40,000 for the aggregate establishment, and £10,000 for the separate use of the princess."

Provision was also made for the princess in case her husband should die. Lord Palmerston said—"In the case of the Princess of Wales, the wife of George IV., the jointure was fixed at £50,000. We do not propose, in the present instance, that it should be so high an amount. We think that £30,000 a year will be a sufficient amount; and, therefore, although the allowance to the late Princess of Wales, during the joint lives of herself and husband, was less than the amount stipulated for the present princess; yet, putting one thing against the other, though the present allowance is greater—and I think not greater than it ought to be—the jointure will nevertheless be reduced to the amount I have named."

On March the 6th, the Princess Alexandra of Denmark arrived at the Nore; and, on the 7th, landed at Greenwich, where she was received with every demonstration of delight. The Prince of Wales met her there; and the corporation and inhabitants presented an address to each. They came to the Bricklayers' Arms station by rail, and thence proceeded in an open carriage, with a large suite of attendants, through a continued crowd of welcoming spectators. At London Bridge, where a triumphal arch had been erected, they were met by the city corporation in state, who preceded the procession, which had literally to force its way through the immense crowd which flocked to meet them. Almost every house was adorned with banners or devices. At length the procession reached Temple Bar. Here, disencumbered of the civic pomp, a quicker progress was made; and through applauding multitudes the royal carriages passed along the Strand,

and by Hyde Park, which was lined with volunteers, and, arriving at the Great Western station (which, like that of the Bricklayers' Arms, was richly decorated), proceeded thence by rail to Windsor. The only drawback to the general joy was, that, through mismanagement, the crowd in the city had been so dense that several persons lost their lives. However, all were charmed with the beauty of the young princess, and gave her a reception such as must have compensated for the abandonment of her northern home.

On the 10th the marriage of the prince and princess took place at Windsor, which they left in the afternoon for Osborne, receiving at Southampton addresses from the inhabitants and corporation of that ancient and loyal borough. The wedding was celebrated with the requisite pomp; and the widowed queen, from a private nook, surveyed the whole. The enthusiasm in favour of the young and beautiful "Daughter of the Isles" was intense. The event was celebrated by illuminations and festivities in every town, and almost every village, in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, in the city of London lives were again lost, through the pressure of the crowds. These accidents led, in parliament, to several discussions on the city police, and were quoted as an argument in favour of placing them under the care of the Home Office. The fact was, that just at that time there was an interregnum—the city police force had but recently lost its efficient and experienced head.

Never did our poet-laureate indite a warmer welcome than on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Denmark.

“ Sea-king’s daughter from over the sea,
Alexandra !

Saxon and Norman, and Dane are we ;
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee,
Alexandra !

Welcome her, thunders of fort and of fleet ;
Welcome her, thundering cheer of the street ;
Scatter the blossom under her feet !
Break, happy land, into earlier flowers !
Make music, O bird, in the new-budded bowers !
Welcome her, welcome her, all that is ours !
Warble, O bugle, and trumpet blare !
Flags, flutter out upon turrets and towers !
Flames, on the windy head-land flare !
Utter your jubilee, steeple and spire !
Clash, ye bells, in the merry March air !
Flash, ye cities, in rivers of fire !
Welcome her, welcome the land's desire,

Alexandra !

“ Sea-king’s daughter, as happy as fair,
Blissful bride of a blissful heir ;
Bride of the heir of the kings of the sea ;
O joy to the people, and joy to the throne !
Come to us, love us, and make us your own :
For Saxon, or Dane, or Norman, we,
Teuton, or Celt, or whatever we be,
We are each *all Dane* in our welcome of thee,
Alexandra ! ”

On the first anniversary of the marriage of his royal highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, their infant son was admitted, by baptism, into the Christian church.

At one o'clock, all the visitors (Lord Palmerston was one of them) being seated, her majesty the queen—attended by the Duchess of Wellington, Mistress of the Robes; the Lady Churchill, Lady in Waiting; the Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce, Bedchamber Woman; and by the Lord De Tabley, and Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bentinck, K.C.B., the Lord and Groom in Waiting—took her place in the seat prepared for her as one of the sponsors. The other sponsors for his royal highness the infant prince, were then conducted to their places in the chapel.

Their royal highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the royal family not being sponsors, met in the visitors' drawing-room; and were thence conducted by the Lord Chamberlain to the bow room, where her majesty's household, and others taking part in the royal procession, had previously assembled.

The royal personages having been conducted to their seats, and the great officers and other attendants having their appointed places on either side of the chapel, the service commenced with the performance of sacred music.

The Archbishop of Canterbury having asked, in accordance with the terms of the Rubric, "Hath this child been already baptized or no?" and received an answer that it had not, proceeded with the service, until he came to the prayer—"Almighty, ever-living God," &c. The Countess of Macclesfield then gave the infant prince to the queen, who handed his royal highness to the primate. His grace, having taken the child in his arms, said to the godfathers and godmothers—"Name this child."

Her majesty the queen then said, in a clear voice—

"ALBERT VICTOR."

The archbishop then poured water on the child's face, and made the sign of the cross upon his forehead, saying—"Albert Victor, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

His grace then handed back the newly-baptized infant to the queen; and then said—"We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that, hereafter, he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end." The other portions of the service having been read, the archbishop, turning to the sponsors, said—"Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop, to be confirmed by him as soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue; and be further instructed in the church catechism set forth for that purpose."

The ceremonial concluded with the performance of sacred music.

In June, the prince appeared in public, at the inauguration of the Great Exhibition memorial to Prince Albert, in the Horticultural Gardens. The queen had privately inspected the work on a previous day. Originally intended as a memorial of the Great Exhibition of 1851, it was converted into one of the prince by having his statue placed on the summit, and by the inscription on its sides. It is a commonplace mixture of allegory and reality. In July, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the Warehousemen and Clerks' Orphan Asylum, at Caterham; and ever since, it must be said of his royal highness, that he has always been ready to assist, by the attraction of his presence, when possible, every good work. Nor has the princess been behind in such matters; and her presence has been a greater attraction than that of her lord.

Let us add, that while the widowed queen indulged her grief in retirement, and rarely appeared in public ceremonials, in all the events of the time which aroused popular sympathy, she was ready to take a practical interest. There was a terrible calamity, known as the Hartley colliery explosion—one of the saddest casualties ever recorded in the north of England. In the midst of her grief, the queen was not slow to feel for the grief of the many women made widows by that mournful event. On another occasion, when a poor woman lost her life at Aston Park, Birmingham, on the occasion of a popular *fête* there, in one of those sensational performances which had become the fashion of the day, her majesty commanded the following letter to be sent to the mayor of Birmingham. It was dated, "Osborne, July 25th, 1863."

"Sir,—The queen has commanded me to express to you the pain with which her majesty has read the account of a fatal accident which has occurred during a *fête* at Aston Park, Birmingham. Her majesty cannot refrain from making known, through you, her personal feelings of horror that one of her subjects—a female—should have been sacrificed to the gratification of the demoralising taste, unfortunately prevalent, for exhibitions attended with the greatest danger to the performers. Were any proof wanting that such exhibitions are demoralising, I am commanded to remark that it would be at once found in the decision arrived at to continue the festivities, the hilarity, and the sports of the occasion after an event so melancholy. The queen trusts that you, in common with the rest of the townspeople of Birmingham, will use your influence to prevent in future the degradation to such exhibitions of the park which was gladly opened by her majesty and the beloved Prince Consort, in the hope that it would be made serviceable for the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people."

On another occasion, when the public had been alarmed and horrified by the increasing number of railway accidents, there came from Osborne, again, a cry on behalf of her people, from the widowed queen. In 1864, at a meeting, at Manchester, of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, the chairman (Mr. Watkin, M.P.) said that her majesty the queen had written to some of the railways centred in London, as follows:—"Sir Charles Phipps has received the commands of her majesty the queen to call the attention of the directors of the — to the increasing number of accidents which have lately occurred upon different lines of railroad, and to express her majesty's warmest hope that the directors of the — will carefully consider every means of guarding against these misfortunes, which are not at all necessary accompaniments of railway travelling. It is not for her own safety that the queen has wished to provide in thus calling the attention of the company to the late disasters. Her majesty is aware that when she travels extraordinary precautions are taken; but it is on account of her family, of those travelling upon her service, and of her people generally, that she expresses the hope that the same security may be ensured for all as is so carefully provided for herself. The queen hopes it is unnecessary for her to recall to the recollection of the railway directors the heavy responsibility which they have assumed since they have succeeded in securing the monopoly of the means of travelling of almost the entire population of the country." And thus the queen, though in retirement, and deprived of the husband of her brighter and happier hours, was still as much as ever alive to the public weal. In other respects her conduct has been equally worthy of praise. The principle of hereditary succession has been put to a severe test in England; for we have had few kings fit for their station, or who have failed to furnish arguments against the system which, at first sight, seems so monstrous and absurd. As a writer in a daily paper has well remarked—"It has pleased God, at the present time, to bless the nation with a ruler who, for nearly thirty years, has fulfilled her high office with a constant sense of solemn responsibilities. For nearly thirty years Victoria has stood in the full gaze of her people; and nobody has been able to allege one single instance of the misuse of her power. Who among us would have stood an equally severe test? Is there any other public person in the realm to whom a similar tribute of praise could be given without sycophancy? We may, for reasons which we have recently stated with unqualified frankness, desire to learn that time has been permitted to fulfil its office in assuaging grief, and to see the royal countenance once more lending its general encouragement to our social life; but a great debt of national obligation must be cancelled before we join in accusing Queen Victoria of neglecting duty." We all feel, in the language of Mr. Bright, on a memorable occasion, "that the woman, be she queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her love and affection, is not likely—is not the most likely—is not at all likely—to be wanting in a kind and generous sympathy for you."

CHAPTER XX.

CHIEFLY ECCLESIASTICAL.

ONE morning, in May, 1851, Lord Palmerston received a singular visitor. The stranger wore sandals; on his breast was the badge of a monkish order; and his garb altogether was curious and suggestive. The visitor was the Hon. Mr. Spencer, better known as Father Ignatius. He thus describes his visit:—

“It will not be foreign to my purpose to relate how my acquaintance with his lordship had been formed. May I venture to call it a friendship? It was at the close of a long run with Lord Derby’s staghounds—I mean the grandfather of the present Earl—I think, in 1821; we finished, I think, twenty-four miles from London; and I was making up my mind for a long, tedious ride home, on my tired horse (for I was not up to having second horses and grooms in my suite on these occasions), when Lord Palmerston, who was likewise in at, not the death, but the taking (I forget the proper sporting term), of the stag, understanding my case, and knowing me by sight—though, I think, till then we had never spoken—gave my horse in charge to his groom, and took me home with himself in a post-chaise. For the short remaining time of my being known as a young man about town, as we met at one party or another, Lord Palmerston continued to accost me with a kind word, to which I had good reason, it will be allowed, to respond in the best manner I knew how. At the close of the London season of 1822, I made my bow and withdrew from that stage, to prepare for taking orders; and, except an interview of a few moments in 1834, we had never met till I appeared before the now far-famed, and, by many, dreaded Foreign Secretary, with my parsonish habit and sandalled feet, for a private audience. * * * * On entering his private room, I found him engaged in looking over what seemed official papers, which he had upon his knee while he spoke, though without the least sign of impatience or wish to get rid of me; but I saw that what became me at once was to enter on business, without waste of time or words. * * * * I think I began without any kind of apology, for his lordship’s look gave me no feeling that any was needed or expected. I said—‘That in coming to speak to his lordship on this subject, I had not so much to ascertain more and more that there was no danger of what I proposed causing offence to our government, as I thought what I had heard from others was sufficient proof of this; but I wished to put as many of our public men as I could meet with in possession of all our intentions and proceedings, in order that, if at last I succeeded in moving the Catholics to be interested about them, and these matters came before the public, they might know from myself in person what I really intended; and might be enabled, if they thought fit, to do me justice.’ This was the substance of what I said to him. Having thus concluded, I awaited his answer, which was about as follows:—‘As you wish to know what I think of your doings, I must say I do not by any means agree with you in considering it a desirable result that this country should again be brought under subjection to Rome. I do not profess to take my view from the elevated and sublime ground on which you place yourself. I mean, I speak not with reference to religious interests, but to political; and, as a politician, when we consider the way in which the pope’s government is opposed to the progress of liberty and liberal institutions, I cannot say that I wish to see England again under such influence.’ Thus far I do not mean to say that what I heard was anything agreeable to me. Neither the matter nor the tone were agreeable to me. There was something sarcastic in his tone. * * * * ‘But, as to what you are doing, as it must tend to conciliate Catholic powers towards England, what have I to say but that it is excellent?’—or some such word, expressing full and

cordial approbation. After this he went on with some remarks on the establishment of the hierarchy, which, of course, were in accordance with what he had, I think, been saying a few days previously in parliament, complaining of it as offensive and injurious; but on this part of the conversation I need not dwell, as it had no bearing on the subject which I had proposed to him. With regard to that, my impression was that he had listened with attention to what I had said; had at once perfectly understood me; had answered me so as to make me perfectly understand him on the subject, simply and openly; and that what he had said was entirely satisfactory to me. I could wish for nothing more, except, of course, what St. Paul wished for in the presence of Festus and Agrippa. I then rose; so did he; then shook hands with me, and most cordially thanked me for having renewed our old acquaintance."

Lord Palmerston easily got rid of his ecclesiastical visitor, with whom he had little trouble. His was not a nature to vex itself much with the doubts and embarrassments of tender consciences; but, as Prime Minister, he had much to do with church matters; and he was singularly fortunate in having what, in worldly language, might be considered an unusual quantity of good things to give away. As his patronage was chiefly extended to what is called the Evangelical or low church party, its organ was in a state of intense delight; and on one occasion so far forgot itself as to hint something about his lordship being the man of God—an insinuation which, in profane circles, when it was remembered that Lord Palmerston was the Cupid of the Georgian era, gave considerable amusement.

At this time the state of the church of England was peculiarly unsatisfactory. The nation had outgrown the establishment; and the spectacle of its ministers quarrelling among themselves, and yet all signing the same articles, for the sake of paltry emoluments and position in society, was not pleasant to men of thoughtful minds. The intellectual and high-spirited of the young preferred anything rather than enter the church; and the bishops were compelled to confess that, year by year, they had a lower class of candidates to examine and ordain. It was not easy to see how it could be otherwise; and it was clear that Lord Palmerston was far too wise and wary to intrude into the field of controversy. He left churchmen to fight their own battles, confining himself chiefly to sympathy with popular rather than high-church notions; and believing—or we have been strangely misinformed—that, as regards a sermon, the chief element of beauty in it was its brevity. The church of England was divided then, as now, chiefly into three great parties—high church, low church, and broad church. Dr. Döllinger, a competent and an impartial, because a Roman Catholic witness, thus describes them.

After referring to the rise of the low church, or Evangelical party, he says—"Its favourite doctrine, and most effective instrument, is the dogma of 'justification by imputation,' which is so popular in England and America; and, when proclaimed with fluent oratory, fills both churches and chapels. This party is most deficient in university culture; and there is no question of theological science among its adherents; their literature consists, almost exclusively, of sermons and writings 'for edification;' they also occupy themselves and their hearers much with apocalyptic and millennarian theories and prophecies; with the approaching fall of 'the man of sin,' and 'the beast;' or with the discovery of the ten lost tribes, and so forth. A narrow understanding, a defective education, and an unacquaintance with the world, are, according to Arnold's definition, the signs of an Evangelical; internally, the Evangelicals stand in nearer relationship to the dissenters—Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists—than to the high church, whom they cordially hate.

"The true Anglican, or high churchmen, take a middle position between the Evangelicals and the Tractarians. They reject, as a rule, the Protestant doctrine of justification, and the Calvinistic degradation of baptism to a ceremony. They value the professed apostolic succession of the Anglican episcopacy; they maintain the existence of a church endowed with doctrinal authority: but they defend

themselves against every logical conclusion that must be drawn from such premises. * * * * They are really the best sons, and truest representatives of this church, and are most content with its existing state; and since, also, they are by no means exacting in their claims on the Christian lives of their congregations, they are much in favour with those classes who give the tone to society. * * *

As these Anglicans formerly found the continual profanation of the Lord's Supper, in consequence of the Test Act, to be quite a matter of course, so they now feel no repugnance at the burial service; and the clergy of the established church, Evangelicals and high churchmen, are certainly the only clergy in the world who give every deceased person to the grave, let him be even a Catholic or a dissenter, in the sure and certain hope of a blessed resurrection. There can hardly be a more distinct declaration, that after all, belonging to the church, taking part in her services, and using her means of salvation, can be a matter of no consequence."

Out of this party have grown the Tractarians, or Puseyites, or, as we should now call them, the Ritualists, which, if Dr. Newman be an authority, commenced their operations in Oxford in 1833, when Mr. Keble preached his sermon on national apostasy. In his *Apologia Pro sua Vita*, Dr. Newman sketches the rise and progress of his religious life. We refer to it here as forming part of the religious history of the time.

This work was another illustration of the old truth—What dire offence from little causes spring! A few words spoken by Professor Kingsley led to a correspondence which resulted in the composition of this masterly and interesting volume. Professor Kingsley charged Dr. Newman with being either a liar or a fool. The insinuation was uttered in the course of lecturing or speaking, and in the careless way in which men of one persuasion generally speak of men of another persuasion. Dr. Newman seized the opportunity to set himself right with people who have utterly misunderstood him. In order to do this, he writes a history of his religious life, and of the causes which led him to abandon the church of England for that of Rome. This leads him to annihilate the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and, in language of exquisite beauty, to vindicate the honour and integrity of his own career. This book is a history of the rise and fall of Tractarianism. It shows where it was found, and to what it leads. We are much mistaken if it will not occupy a place, as a text-book, in certain circles. "I was," says Dr. Newman, "brought up, from a child, to take great delight in reading the Bible; but I had no formed religious convictions till I was fifteen. Of course, I had perfect knowledge of my catechism." Even then Dr. Newman was very superstitious, and used to cross himself on going into the dark. At fifteen he became converted. Romaine, Thomas Scott, and Dr. Wilson (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta), much influenced him at that period of his life. Law's *Serious Call* also much impressed him. From Joseph Milner he learned to love the Fathers; and from Bishop Newton he learned that the pope was the antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. Perhaps, with the exception of the preference for a life of celibacy, and of an undue leaning to the church catechism, there was not much here to induce the most far-sighted Roman Catholic to imagine that young Newman would, in time, become one of the most zealous champions and noblest trophies of his church. Still less could this have been anticipated when he went to Oxford in 1822, and became attached to Mr. Whately, the late Archbishop of Dublin.

It seems to us that we have now reached the point when Dr. Newman's career as a Protestant was at its height. Henceforth, the steps taken—though taught by Protestant divines—all helped him on his way to Rome. Dr. Sumner, then Archbishop of Canterbury, taught him to give up Calvinism, and to receive the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and of Dr. Hawkins, the present provost of Oriel, he learned the doctrine of "tradition"—viz., that Scripture was never intended to teach doctrine; and that, if we would learn it, we must have recourse to the formularies of the church: for instance, to the catechism and the creeds. About this time, also, Mr. Newman embraced the doctrine of apostolical succes-

sion; and learned, from Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, not merely the truth of a visible church, and the historical character of revelation, but the doctrine of probability and the sacramental system—the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen. Dr. Whately taught Mr. Newman the existence of the church as a substantive body or corporation, and fixed in him “those anti-Erastian views of the church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement.” This movement was now to be originated. In 1827, Keble published his *Christian Year*. In 1826, Newman met with Howell Froude. He professed openly his admiration of the church of Rome, and his hatred of the Reformers. “He fixed deep in me,” writes Dr. Newman, “the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin; and he gradually led me to believe in the Real Presence.” About this time, Bishop Bull made it clear to our author, that antiquity was the true exponent of Christianity, and the basis of the church of England. In writing his history of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Dr. Newman got his doctrine of angels, whom he considers as carrying out the economy of the visible world. At this time great events were happening. The Reform Bill had been carried; and Liberal principles were gaining the upper hand. The church was in danger; and Dr. Newman felt that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. Dr. Newman, of course, hates Liberalism with a perfect hatred. “It was the success of the Liberal cause which fretted me inwardly. I became fierce against its instruments and its manifestations. A French vessel was at Algiers: I would not even look at the tricolour. On my return, though forced to stop a day at Paris, I kept in-doors the whole time; and all that I saw of that beautiful city was what I saw from the top of a diligence. The Bishop of London had already sounded me as to my filling one of the Whitehall preacherhips, which he had just then put on a new footing; but I was indignant at the line he was taking, and from my steamer I had sent home a letter declining the appointment.” The times were out of joint. Something had to be done. Dr. Newman began to think he had a mission. Immediately on his return, “Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the university pulpit. It was published under the title of the *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.” Mr. Newman found that a movement had commenced in opposition to the specific danger which, at that time, was threatening the religion of the nation and its church. Several zealous and able men had united their counsels, and were in correspondence with each other. The principal of these were Mr. Keble, Howell Froude, Mr. William Palmer, of Dublin and Worcester College; Mr. Arthur Percival, and Mr. Hugh Rose. The latter had, in 1832, commenced *The British Magazine*, in order to unite churchmen together, and to make a front against the coming danger. The time had come to publish the tracts. When Dr. Pusey joined him, great was Mr. Newman's joy. “Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a professor and canon of Christchurch; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with university authorities.” Thus things went on till the appearance of Tract 90, and the founding of the bishopric of Jerusalem. The unanimous condemnation of the tract by the bishops, which followed, taught Mr. Newman that his views were not those of the church of England. And when the Jerusalem bishopric was founded, the church of England seemed to him to become a defender of heresy, and to forget its Catholic character. Thenceforward there was no rest till he got to Rome. Logically, we believe, he was right, though reluctantly he took the step. That he did so, we are of opinion is much to his credit. There is no *viâ média*. If the Bible is to be abandoned—if we are to take, instead, the traditions of the Fathers and the teachings of antiquity, Protestantism is, of course, a mistake, and Rome is once more the mistress of the world.

Of the broad church party, Dr. Döllinger says—"They have nothing positive. Their entity is in negative; they can only be described by saying they are not Anglicans; they are not Evangelicals; and so on. They are all under the influence of German literature and theology; they are opponents of a fixed form of doctrine, and they endeavour to make the contradictions of the Anglican church more tolerable, by assigning to dogma in general only a relative and temporary value, and declare a sort of general Christianity levelled and smoothed on rationalistic principles, to be all that is essential; though they are well content with the established church, as being a decorous institution, the best emblem of the national will in matters ecclesiastical, and well adapted to the real state of things." The chief men of this party were Professor Jowett, the authors of *Essays and Reviews*, Dean Stanley, Professor Kingsley, and last, and not least, Bishop Colenso. The late Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, was nearly, but not quite, allied to this sect.

Dr. Döllinger might well be surprised at the position of the church of England, where, according to the *Times*, "There is nothing to prevent any one from going out into the market, and buying a living for any silly, fanatical, extravagant, or incapable noodle of a son; and installing him, forthwith, as the spiritual mediator between the Almighty and one or two thousand of his creatures." He sees its bishops powerless concerning doctrine and discipline. He adverts to the nepotism of the church, and continues—"Thus, according to the confession of serious and conscientious men in the English church, it is an entirely worldly institution. The ecclesiastical offices have been, for 150 years, disposed of by the civil power, chiefly according to political views, and regarded and treated according to their lucrative value; the bishoprics, and other rich preferments, have been employed to procure for the ministry the support of influential families. At present they are chiefly bestowed on men of the Evangelical party, as these are most agreeable to powerful dissenters, and to great numbers of similarly disposed Anglicans of the middle class. The designation of a church benefice, as a living, is very characteristic. It is regarded entirely as a piece of private property; as a mere ware that can be bought, and sold, and bargained for as one pleases. The most open simony is an every-day occurrence in England, and meets with no remonstrance on the part of the bishops. It creates no surprise when the next presentation of a living is publicly offered for sale; and it is quite usual for a father to buy for one of his sons a commission in the army, and for the other the next presentation to a church living. And yet, every clergyman, upon entering on his living, has to take an oath that he has not obtained it through simony."

No wonder that, in Palmerston's time, men left the church. The Hon. Mr. Spencer, to whom we have already referred, was one. Another was the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, who became a Baptist clergyman: another was Blanco White, who became very negative; and who was followed by Stirling, and Francis Newman, the brother of Dr. Newman, who went over to Rome. He also has published, in his *Phases of Faith*, his religious experiences. Very early his training led him to come in contact with the church system, and to feel its hollowness. In the ceremony of his confirmation, at the age of sixteen, he says—"Everything in the service was solemn to me except the bishop; he seemed to me a made-up man." He began thus early to feel the difficulties all ought to feel in the conjunction of Calvinistic articles and a popish ritual. A year later, on entering the university, and subscribing to the articles, he perceived that not one-sixth of those who were compelled to subscribe "had any religious convictions at all;" and "that the whole system of compulsory subscription was hollow, false, and wholly evil." All his articles of faith at Oxford were torn away. The more his brother expatiated on the power of the bishops, the more Francis William distrusted and disliked them. He had come to perceive that "the episcopal order might be described as a body of supine persons, known to the public only as a dead weight against all change that was distasteful to the civil power." That

they had never "taken the lead in denouncing" the prevalent iniquities of the people; that they had never aided the great social reformers; that their patronage had exercised a strongly narcotic influence over the two old societies of the church; and that their nomination by the crown was an utter anomaly and wrong. Even if this had not stood in the way of his entering the church, the ordination service would; for "he could not, for an instant, believe that the bishop could transmit to him the power to forgive and retain sins." No wonder that Francis, like his brother John, was compelled to find that, in the church of England, there was no room for such as he: that he found, as all true men must find, that conformity, however great may be its rewards, is dear at the price of mental freedom and self-respect.

Far away, in the grammar-school at Rugby, Dr. Arnold was trying to settle church difficulties—trying to put new wine into old bottles—till he died. His theory was more political than religious: that the church of England and the nation are synonymous. Of course, he failed; but he did the state good service, nevertheless. He raised up for church and parliament, for the law and public life, some of the noblest of our modern men.

In the Irish church, also, at this time, there was a remarkable man, whose influence was great; and of which, we can truly say, that it is deeply to be regretted it was not greater. Archbishop Whately—for it is of him we write—was feared by all. The Whigs trembled lest in the House of Lords, as Lord Holland said, he might at any time get up and declare that there was no use in the order of bishops; and the high-church party were aroused and irritated by his powerful logic, and irresistible common sense.

Archbishop Whately died in October, 1863, at his country residence, Roebuck House, near Dublin. His grace had long been suffering from an illness which, at his advanced age (he was born in 1787), could have but one result; and the bulletins, which had been published from day to day, prepared the public mind for the melancholy event. The late archbishop was the son of the Rev. Dr. Whately, of Nonsuch Park, Surrey. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, of which, in 1819, he was elected a Fellow. The college of Oriel is famous for having sent out some of the greatest thinkers of which English churchmen of the present generation may boast; such as Dr. Arnold, Dr. Copleston, Dr. J. H. Newman, and the late archbishop. Whately was appointed to read the Bampton lectures in 1822, in which year he accepted the rectory of Halesworth, in Suffolk, value £450 per annum. In the contest which took place in the university, when Sir Robert Peel appealed to his learned constituents upon the Catholic question, Whately voted for the right honourable baronet. In 1830 he was appointed President of St. Alban's Hall, and Professor of Political Economy; and, in 1831, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Glendalagh. The diocese of Kildare was subsequently added to his charge. From the life recently published by his daughter, it appears this appointment was made by Earl Grey solely on public grounds. He and Whately had never met. His lordship published a considerable number of theological writings, consisting of sermons and charges, all marked by a desire to place religion on a simple and scriptural basis, and in harmony with man's intellectual nature. His style was aphoristic and luminous, and his reasoning severe. In the administration of his office he displayed a uniform liberality, and was a constant promoter of the national system of education in Ireland. He was the author, among other works, of a treatise on political economy, and of the best manual of logic which we possess.

"Forty years ago there was," wrote the *Times* in a leader after the archbishop's decease, "in the University of Oxford a man who seemed to have devoted himself, single-handed, to stem the whole current of academic sentiment and opinion. The university, with hardly an exception, was one way, and Richard Whately the other. Oxford had resigned itself to orthodoxy and Toryism, and Whately was an inquirer and a Liberal. Tomline ruled in the lecture-room; the

formulas of Aldrich were committed to memory for the schools; and a succinct course of reading, which then had the charm of novelty, carried the more ambitious through certain poets, histories, and 'sciences,' to the first or second class of honours. Not only a revolution, but a revolutionary age, had then been happily surmounted; the great type of self-will, and the nearest figure of antichrist the world had yet seen, had just been laid under a willow-tree at St. Helena; and few, indeed, were the students who did not come up to Oxford, resolved to conform to anything that was established, whether in thought, word, or deed. Whately seemed to have formed the exactly opposite resolution. He had counted the cost, which appeared to him very trifling, and he was evidently prepared to run a tilt at any number of the men he found about him. He was not really single-handed, for he had friends in council, and even teachers, from whom he derived inspiration. But Coplestone was quite content to think profoundly, to read, to criticise, to amuse his friends with his wit and humour, to write good Latin, and make young gentlemen wise statesmen; and gladly left to his pupil a movement for which he was himself becoming physically disqualified."

So Whately, whether as Fellow or tutor of his college, or as president of a hall, and so taking part in the government of the university, talked and wrote as no man had ever talked or written before on the banks of the Isis, unless it might be some doubting doctor of the middle ages, whose very name has been happily suppressed by his pious survivors. All that he said and wrote went to make people think for themselves, to value truth for its own sake, to be content with no prescriptive reasoning, to be just, generous, and public-spirited. His was a sharp and almost violent reaction against prejudice, sophistry, bigotry, and all the shams that had substituted falsehood for truth, and the part for the whole. But he unsettled where he could not re-arrange; he disturbed where he could not calm; he raised doubts, which he was content to see working their way; and even his friends compared him to the fisherman who lashed the stream with his pole, but had no net to secure the fish as they swam away. But wherever he went he was easily and always master of the situation; his talk was a rapid and overflowing stream of argument, quotation, illustration, which it was impossible not to admire. It was all the same whether in his old common room, among the friends of his youth, or in companies where he was regarded as a heretic and a false philosopher. He often surged into indignation; he satirised freely, and snubbed without a qualm, or even a thought, for his victim. He walked over ignorance, stupidity, and conceit, as a man crushes the shells on the sea-shore. There limped about the university, men whom he had fearfully maimed, without his knowing anything about it, and who revenged themselves by loud complaints when safe out of hearing. But to genius and to goodness Whately felt as a brother; and even where there was some disagreement or diversity of temper, he was a loving, confiding, and most zealous friend. But what was he to be?—for even at Oxford every man has a future as well as a present and past. The singularity and freedom of his manners, and indifference to the feelings of those he did not like or respect, seemed to cut him off from all promotion. Indeed, nobody thought of him in that light, any more than he did himself, in all probability. He lectured lying on a sofa, with his legs over the end. He would throw a stick, or roll a turnip, for the amusement of his dogs in Christchurch meadow. He always had a *fidus Achates*, who had little else to do but to keep pace and listen. What else could Whately be? True, he was known at Holland House; but so were others, of high standing and of less blemished orthodoxy. It seemed almost certain that Whately would live and die an Oxford "head," of the eccentric, unaccommodating, and ultimately unsociable class. There are such men. He would die and die out there; he would live a brief term in the short memories of common rooms, and the somewhat longer recollections of those older dons who meet to revive names, to compare dates, to trace careers, to pronounce terse judgments and sentimental epitaphs upon dead movements and buried reputations.

"All at once Oxford was thunderstruck to hear that Whately was Archbishop of Dublin. The university was thrown on its beam-ends by the news. It could not have been more astonished had it heard that a conclave of cardinals had elected him to the holy see. It was true that by this there were certain temporal difficulties to be settled in Ireland as best they could, and that Whately was known to have talked about them, as he did of everything else; it was true, also, that by this time the 'powers that be' had somewhat changed; but universities take time to understand changes. Like kine, they are ruminating bodies. It was thought that he was utterly unfit for dignity and position; that he would throw the Irish church into a flame, and involve himself and all about him in difficulties from which they could never be set free. It was assumed that he knew nothing of the Roman Catholics; that the established church would excommunicate him for his theology; and that his want of manner and tact would offend the Irish government and magnates. He was gravely assured that even his life was in danger, and that somebody or other—it was not clear who—would answer his arguments with a logic happily unknown at Oxford. His reception on the other side was not very cordial. However, it was soon known that he found Dublin at least as congenial and pleasant as Oxford. He was immediately admired, soon liked, and eventually found as useful as his patrons could possibly have anticipated. He soon astonished even those who had known him at Oxford, by two achievements beyond the power of most men even in this versatile and practised age—his evidence before the select committee on the Irish tithes; and the compromise he effected with Archbishop Murray for the introduction of a system of national education. With regard to the former, when it is considered that the archbishop had not had those opportunities and that experience that constitute what is called a practical man, and that for many of the questions he could not have been prepared, his evidence showed a marvellous amount of information and of insight into men and things. The latter—that is, the compromise—was the result of long negotiation, and the careful preparation of school manuals. As a political act, to meet a very pressing emergency, and bring together for a time extremes said to be utterly unsociable, it must be called quite successful. It led to twenty years of peaceful if not hearty co-operation, at a most important epoch of our common annals. No one can pretend that it was not worth the compromise, and that Richard Whately has not left his mark on his church and his country."

We have already spoken of the Hampden controversy, which reflected disgrace on most of the clergy connected with it. In Palmerston's time there were many more such cases. In 1863, Professor Jowett, the Oxford Greek professor, was subjected to a considerable amount of annoyance by the orthodox party. However, it came to an inglorious termination. As the judge of the University Small Debts Courts refused, in the exercise of his discretionary powers, to hear the case, the three prosecutors proposed to make application to the Queen's Bench for a *mandamus*, requiring the judge to hear it. On taking the opinion of two first-class ecclesiastical lawyers, however, they found, in brief, that though the Queen's Bench had probably power to issue the *mandamus*, yet that the court had certainly a discretion, and would use it, not to issue the writ. The prosecutors learned, at the same time, to their mortification, that there was a superior court in the university itself, to which they might have appealed; but that, while they were trying the Court of Queen's Bench, the legal time for appealing to the university court had passed away. They incurred, therefore, for nothing, the odium of prosecuting a man for a book several years old; of defeating themselves by their own blunders, and of making the Greek professor—very popular before—more popular than ever. But, before that, there was the great Gorham case, declaring, to the mortification of the evangelicals, that baptismal regeneration was taught by the church of England; and the Knightsbridge affair, considered, at the time, a blow to the ritualists—one from which, however, they have, if we may judge by appearances, speedily recovered. In March, 1859, the Archbishop of Canter-

bury gave his decision in the case of the Rev. Mr. Poole, accused of introducing the practice of the confessional at St. Barnabas, Pimlico. The archbishop's decision was confirmatory of that of the Bishop of London, revoking Mr. Poole's license. In the autumn of the same year there were disturbances at the church of St. George's in the East, London, in consequence of the rector, the Rev. Bryan King, adopting a ritual and vestments similar to those of the Roman Catholics, and his refusal to allow a suitable time for the Sunday afternoon lecture, by the Rev. Hugh Allen. After ten weeks had elapsed, the Bishop of London undertook to arbitrate in the case, and propounded an accommodation. This proved ineffectual; for after the church had been shut up for several Sundays, on its being reopened the disturbances were recommenced. Ritualism is all very well for fancy churches; but not for the people and parochial churches. This fact became clearer every day.

The appearance of *Essays and Reviews* created a considerable consternation amongst the orthodox party in the church. The authors of this obnoxious publication were Dr. Temple, chaplain to the queen, and head-master of Rugby; Dr. Williams, vice-principal and professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter; Professor Baden Powell, of Oxford; Mr. Wilson, vicar of Great Staughton, Hants; the Rev. Mr. Goodwin; Mr. Pattinson, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Professor Jowett, of Oxford. The book was thus written on the co-operative principle; was decidedly rationalistic; it contained little novelty; the novelty was in the fact that clergymen of position should thus write to shake the faith of the people. Their work, in university circles, was known as the seven against Christ; and, in one or two cases, the law courts were appealed to, and the orthodox triumphed. Alas! their triumph was not of long duration. On February 8th, 1864, by the judicial committee of the privy council, the judgments of the Court of Arches, in the cases of the Bishop of Salisbury against R. Williams, and of Fendall against Wilson, for articles written in *Essays and Reviews*, were reversed.

A still greater sensation was created when Bishop Colenso, of Natal, published his work on the Pentateuch—a work, again, with little novelty to the well-informed in such matters; but remarkable for the fact, that in it a bishop demonstrates the falsehood of that Scripture which he has in public to read and sanction. The anomaly appeared, even to Bishop Colenso, so extraordinary, that he was prepared to come over to England, and resign his office; but the judgment in the case of the *Essays and Reviews*, decided him that it was his duty to remain in the church. His colonial superior, Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, thought otherwise. It appears that, in the year 1863, charges of heresy were preferred against Dr. Colenso, before Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, who delivered a sentence upon those charges, by which he deposed the Bishop of Natal from his office, and further prohibited him from the exercise of any sacred functions within the metropolitan province of Cape Town. The Bishop of Natal protested against this assumption of authority, and petitioned the judicial committee, praying that he might be declared entitled to hold his see until the letters patent, which had been granted him, should be cancelled by due process of law. On March 20th, the judicial committee of the privy council decided that the Bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal, and had, therefore, no power to remove him from his office, and that the proceedings against Bishop Colenso were null and void in law.

This decision astonished all parties. When recording it, the *Times* wrote—“It is hard to say which of the contending parties has the more or less reason to be satisfied with this singular result. Dr. Colenso has successfully disputed the authority of the Bishop of Cape Town, but only to discover that his own authority is equally shadowy; and the Bishop of Cape Town, if he is compelled to surrender his usurped authority in Natal, may console himself by reflecting that Dr. Colenso has no power to assert a counter-authority, and that no

clergyman need be contaminated against his will by any intercourse with episcopal heresy. That which will probably strike the public as forcibly as anything, is the confusion which this judgment brings to light. Here have bishops been sitting in solemn conclave, and going through all the elaborate forms of ecclesiastical trial and judgment; hearing learned arguments, and pronouncing pompous decisions: and it turns out that they were going through no more than a sort of ecclesiastical play; and that, for all practical purposes, they might just as well have been acting a mediæval farce for their own amusement in London. The good they have done is to furnish an opportune illustration of the sort of ecclesiastical law which their friends would be glad to introduce in this country; but, more than this, we see 'official persons' drawing up the most elaborate letters patent for these two, and for other colonial bishops, in innocent ignorance that they were producing mere waste-paper. Solemn documents have passed the great seal over and over again, which are simply null and void; and oaths have been repeatedly taken, which either had no meaning, or which it would have been illegal to observe. The depth of confusion which these ecclesiastical demonstrations have reached is, indeed, unfathomable. One cannot but feel a certain compassion for the colonial bishops, who are thus reduced to so helpless, and, comparatively, insignificant a position; but the public in general, and the colonies in particular, may be sincerely congratulated on this issue of what promised to be a most troublesome and difficult question. For the future, whatever may be the distracting influences which Zulus, Kaffirs, or other heretical savages may bring to bear upon the Christianity of the colonies, the consequent disputes will have to be settled by the voluntary action of the colonists themselves."—"From this astounding decision," wrote the *Morning Advertiser*, "two or three questions immediately flow. First—Since the crown has thus befooled the Bishop of Cape Town—sending him to Natal to hold a visitation, to pass a sentence, and then to maintain it in England—does the crown really mean to leave the bishop to pay all the costs of these proceedings? From first to last, the bishop cannot have spent less than £2,000, which, we suppose, is equal to three years' income; and he has done this in pursuance of instructions clearly given to him in the queen's patent. If the crown has given him wrong instructions, is the crown to throw the cost of his obedience on himself? Secondly—But, again, are these colonial bishops to be irresponsible persons, subject to no law whatever? It is decided by this judicial committee, that, do what he may in matters of religion, the Bishop of Natal has no superior—is subject to no jurisdiction. Now, he has already written in favour of the allowance of polygamy; and he was present at that meeting of the Anthropological Society, in which Mahommedanism was declared to be better suited to Africa than Christianity. He was present, and uttered no protest. What if he should take it into his head to turn Mahommedan? Stranger things have been seen. But, if he took this step, where is the remedy? According to this judgment of the judicial committee, there is none! Surely it is impossible that matters can be left in such a position as this!" The *Daily News* asked if there was a diocese of Natal at all? and dwelt on the full and emphatic declaration of Erastian principles made at the very opening. "The bishops are declared to be ecclesiastical persons, who 'have been created bishops by the queen, in the exercise of her authority as sovereign of this realm, and head of the established church;' 'their legal existence depends on acts which have no validity or effect except on the basis of the supremacy of the crown;' 'they are the creatures of English law, and dependent on that law for their existence, rights, and attributes.' These principles, which are enunciated and iterated with a certain zest at the beginning of the judgment, form the basis of all the reasoning on which it proceeds. The lords of the judicial committee say—'We must treat the parties before us as standing on this (legal) foundation, and on no other.'"

Very wisely Lord Palmerston left the churchmen to wrangle among themselves; and he filled up all the vacancies as they occurred, in a way of which the

public generally approved. This ecclesiastical patronage was enormous. During his first year of the Premiership, not a single vacancy occurred among the right reverend occupants of the episcopal bench; but, in the following year, Lord Palmerston was called upon to make no less than five appointments—namely, to the bishoprics of Carlisle, Durham, Gloucester and Bristol, London, and Ripon. The annual value of those sees, respectively, is as follows:—London, £10,000; Durham, £8,000; Gloucester and Bristol, £5,000; Carlisle, £4,500; and Ripon, £4,500; showing a total value of £32,000. To the see of Ripon, Dr. Bickersteth was appointed—Dr. Longley, who had previously held it, being translated to Durham. Dr. Villiers was installed at Carlisle; Dr. Baring at Gloucester and Bristol; whilst the metropolitan see, vacant through the resignation of Bishop Bloomfield, was conferred on Dr. Tait, Dean of Carlisle. In 1857, there was but one vacancy; and that was in the see of Norwich, value £4,500. To this bishopric Dr. Pelham was appointed. Passing over the interregnum in Lord Palmerston's power, which took place in the years 1858 and 1859, we come to 1860, a year in which many rich pieces of ecclesiastical patronage fell to the disposal of the lord of Broadlands. In the month of May died Dr. Musgrave, Archbishop of York, the revenues of the see being £10,000 per annum. Dr. Longley was now translated from Durham to York; Dr. Villiers was translated from Carlisle to Durham; and Dr. Waldegrave was placed in the vacant see of Carlisle. The same year also witnessed vacancies in the bishoprics of Rochester and Worcester, each of the value of £5,000 per annum. To the former was appointed Dr. Wigram; and to the latter, Dr. Philpot. Dr. Villiers did not long survive his translation from Carlisle to Durham. He died in 1861, and was succeeded by Dr. Baring. The translation of the latter prelate rendered vacant the see of Gloucester and Bristol, which was given to Dr. Thomson. But it was not until the autumn of 1862 that the richest pieces of church preferment fell to the disposal of Lord Palmerston. In the month of October, in that year, the venerable primate of Ireland, the Right Rev. Lord John Beresford—who had been in failing health for many months—was gathered to his fathers at the age of nearly ninety years. The value of the primacy was about £14,500 a year; and to it succeeded a near relative of the deceased, the Right Rev. Lord Marcus Gervais Beresford, aforetime Bishop of Kilmore, Elphin, and Armagh. The vacancy created by this translation was filled by Dr. Verschoyle, Dean of Ferns. But the richest of all the prizes of ecclesiastical patronage was shortly to fall into the hands of the lucky Premier. The aged Archbishop of Canterbury was gradually sinking from exhaustion consequent on natural decay, and swiftly followed the primate of all Ireland to the grave. On the 6th of September, by the death of Dr. Sumner, the primacy of all England, with an income of £15,000, fell to the disposal of Lord Palmerston. As in the case of York, the Premier, in filling this archiepiscopal see, contrived to make three appointments out of one vacancy. Dr. Longley was translated for the third time within six years, and sent from York to Canterbury. Dr. Thomson was promoted from Gloucester and Bristol to the archbishopric of York; whilst Dr. Ellicott, Dean of Exeter, was appointed Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. And then, in the autumn of 1863, the fourth archbishopric happened to fall in. The death of Dr. Whately gave the Premier a piece of patronage, value £7,636 per annum. Lord Palmerston twice filled the bishopric of Cork; Dr. Fitzgerald, who was appointed in 1857, having been translated from this see to that of Kilaloe, in 1861. He likewise supplied vacancies in many Irish deaneries; and in England those of Canterbury, Westminster, Carlisle, Ripon, Lincoln, Gloucester and Bristol, and Exeter twice.

The united annual value of the sees held by the twenty-seven prelates, who constitute the English hierarchy, is £151,200; and of this Lord Palmerston had had the disposal of very nearly one-half, or £75,500. Vast as this amount of patronage might appear, it shows more strikingly by contrast with that which has fallen to the lot of previous Prime Ministers. Sir Robert Peel held office from 1841 to 1846; and in these five years filled as many bishoprics—those of Chichester,

Ely, Lichfield, Oxford, and St. Asaph—with an annual value of £23,400. During the six years of Lord John Russell's administration, from 1846 to 1852, the amount of patronage which fell to his disposal was just as much as that which in one year alone—1856—fell to Lord Palmerston. Lord John filled the primacy, and the bishoprics of Chester, Hereford, Llandaff, and Manchester, with an aggregate revenue of £32,100 per annum. During Lord Aberdeen's ministry, from 1852 to 1855, the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, Lincoln, and Salisbury were filled, with an annual income of £5,000 each. The Earl of Derby has holden office altogether about two years and two months—namely, ten months in 1852, and sixteen months in 1858-'9. The only episcopal appointment made by the Conservative leader was that of Dr. Campbell to the bishopric of Bangor, in 1859, the revenues of the see being £4,000 a year. From these calculations it will be seen, that the aggregate amount of patronage disposed of by Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the Earl of Derby, amounted to £75,400. So that Lord Palmerston, in seven years, had, within the small sum of £3,000, disposed of as much church patronage as his predecessors in the Premiership during a period of sixteen years. But when we take into consideration the noble viscount's Irish patronage, representing a total of £28,120 per annum, and add this to the £71,500, the value of his English church preferments, we have a grand total of £99,620, or a yearly sum amounting very nearly to £100,000.

Such is the annual value of the appointments which have been made by Lord Palmerston. Of the twenty-seven prelates who sit in the House of Lords, no less than ten have been placed there by himself. Add to these five Irish sees, and the number of his bishops is increased to fifteen. Twice he filled the archbishopric of York; once the archbishoprics of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin—Dr. Trench, Dean of Westminster, being appointed to this last. Three times the noble lord had been called upon to appoint new overseers to the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, and Durham; and twice he filled the vacant bishoprics of Carlisle and Cork; and once those of London, Rochester, Norwich, Worcester, and Ripon. Of the twenty-seven prelates on the episcopal benches, ten owe their positions to Lord Palmerston; five to Sir Robert Peel; four to Lord Russell; three to the Earl of Aberdeen; two, the Bishops of Peterborough and St. David's, to Lord Melbourne; one, the Bishop of Winchester, to Lord Liverpool; one, the Bishop of Exeter, to the Duke of Wellington; and one, the Bishop of Bangor, to the Earl of Derby.

Meanwhile the ecclesiastical trials and troubles, at which we have glanced, were teaching the Premier and all men that something must be done to liberalise the church and the universities. "I have long been of opinion," wrote the Rev. W. G. Clark, Fellow and tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, "that the maintenance of religious tests keeps from the universities many who might have been their ornament and support, and affords to the church no security at all commensurate with the odium they excite. In fact, the only dissenters they exclude are those who have a very scrupulous conscience, and a very high sense of the obligations of a promise—precisely the men we should be most anxious to admit." And the same may be said of the clerical profession. More and more, as experience shows, men of "scrupulous conscience and of a very high sense of the obligations of a promise," refuse to become church ministers, and feel that any honest way of getting a livelihood is better than that. In 1864, Mr. Dodson nearly carried his bill to abolish subscription to the articles on taking the degree of M.A., D.C.L., and M.D.; and thus, in religious matters (in 1862 the Rev. M. Heath was deprived of his living for heterodox sentiments contained in his sermons), the England of Lord Palmerston's old age had altered very much from that of his youth. One juvenile enthusiast had even gone so far as to found a monastery, first at Claydon, in Suffolk, and then at Norwich; and to walk about the streets in a monkish costume. Thus, between ritualism on the one side, and broad churchism on the other, the establishment had grown to be in a state in which it was

encompassed by such dangers as had never threatened it in "the good old times." Those acquainted, however, with the history of the English state church need trouble themselves little, or feel but little alarm, when the cry of danger is raised. If tender consciences are shocked—if weak brothers are offended—if high-spirited men think it mean and ignominious to subscribe to that which they do not and cannot believe, for a bit of bread—if the men of cultivated intellect reject the services of the church, and join the ranks of practical dissent, it matters little. Where there is a wealthy endowment there will always be a state church; where there is money to give away there will always be hands stretched out to receive it; where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The church of England can never claim to be the church of the nation. As long as our territorial system of government prevails, it will last; as long as it is thought genteel to go to church, it will last; as long as the middle class in our land is absorbed in money-making and frivolous amusements, it will last: but on those who feel, as many do, that God's truth can win its way in spite of principalities and powers—who believe the living faith of Christ and his apostles (the poor fishermen of Galilee) is not aided but crippled by state patronage and support—its hold will be weakened day by day. It is even questionable whether its exclusive command of the universities is a real benefit. A university training did not make Gibbon a Christian, while it drove Shelley into fierce and bitter hostility to Christianity. Sir James Graham confessed, on one occasion, in the House of Commons, that he received no religious teaching whatever while at Oxford. Besides, it is a fact, that the sceptical writers of the day, such as Newman and others, are university men, trained to be church ministers, but on whom a residence at Oxford or Cambridge had much the same effect as a residence at Rome had on Luther. There were, as was to be expected, endless agitations and discordant passions, all the while Lord Palmerston was Premier, on church matters; but his lordship was too wary to interfere.

CHAPTER XXI.

A FEW HOUSE OF COMMONS' NOTES.

A WRITER in the *London Review*, in 1861, says, in a parliamentary sketch—"Among the freshest arrivals of spring is that marvellous young old man, Lord Palmerston. He comes up jubilant as the earliest lark, and crisp and new as the brightest spring flower. No frost of age seems to have chilled the life that glows in the region of his heart. A sunshine breaks out through his furrowed features, and lights up that countenance of threescore and sixteen years with the lights of forty years, as if in the depths of his soul were an unwasted youth, which finds openings through his eyes, and expression in his speech. Lord Palmerston lives in everybody's memory as a young man. He seems to have found the philosopher's stone, or to have bathed in the fountain of perpetual youth. With him it is always spring. He is a living evergreen. Were he to cease to appear in the House, or his speeches no more to be seen in our parliamentary reports, it would feel as if London had lost its spring, and parliament its best bit of sunshine. The ever-renewed sprig in the button-hole of his coat is a type of the Premier. His heart keeps green notwithstanding many a trouble. Feeling as much as other men, he retains the happy power of throwing off his mind the *worry*, while he keeps in hand the *work* of each day. Perhaps, too, under that merry mood, and in spite of the witty remark, and deep down in the recesses of his nature, may lie, neither dried up in summer's heat nor frozen over in winter's cold, full springs that

freshen his life, and yield him, in his quiet hours, sustaining draughts. When it shall cease to be spring with him, we trust he will lay his head on his pillow, and find his last sleep to be everlasting refreshment. His buoyant spirits have lighted up many a hard and prosy debate, and vivified many a dull House, and made the old and leafless survivors of autumn open their eyes and fancy it was spring again."

Let us gather together a few parliamentary items here. In 1861, the four seats in the House of Commons, forfeited by the disfranchisement of St. Alban's and Sudbury, were allotted. One was given to Birkenhead, another to Lancashire.

In February, Mr. Locke King moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the franchise in England and Wales, the object being to establish a £10 franchise in counties. Lord Palmerston, while not opposing the introduction of the measure, could not promise any active support, as he thought it injudicious, after the reception the government Reform Bill met with last session, to revive the question in the present session of parliament. On a division, the motion was lost by 167 to 51. Mr. H. Berkeley brought on his annual discussion on the ballot, which was rejected by a large majority; as was Mr. Baines's bill to reduce the borough franchise. It is clear the House had no stomach for any kind of parliamentary reform. In most respects the action of the House was negative. Commissions were appointed for all sorts of things—to consider the embankment of the Thames; to inquire into the present system of transportation; to inquire into the constitution of the Board of Admiralty; to inquire whether and what alterations may be advantageously adopted in regard to the defence of the British dependencies; to inquire into the diplomatic service: and then there was one to inquire into the case of Mr. Stewart, one of the members for Cambridge, who had, on a recent occasion, come from a lunatic asylum, where he was residing under the care of the proprietor, and had given a vote on a division in the House. Members were far more ready to trifle, and evade the consideration of difficult questions, than to work. Thus, for instance, it had been resolved that admission to the civil service should be, not as previously, by favour, but by competitive examinations, in which the candidate who answered best the questions put to him should have the preference over others. Still the House was quite ready to laugh at the new system; and we find Mr. Baillie Cochrane excited some amusement by noticing certain absurdities of the test examination system. Among the questions set in 1860-'61 were the following:—"What do you understand by a good English style? and give proofs of your being able to write in such a style. Write a series of short sentences, every one of them containing a figure of speech." Another question was, "Give a description of winter, stating its various duties and amusements." He (Mr. Cochrane) did not know whether "curling" was one of the winter amusements referred to by the examiner. Another question—all these were to be answered in two hours—was, "Give a bit of English historians, characterising each of them by a single epithet." Another was this—"Compare the influence of the ballad writers of early times with that of the press of the present day." One of the things asked of the candidate was to write a panegyric upon General Garibaldi, General Havelock, and Sir I. Newton. They were asked, also, to "write an essay on the queen's visit to Germany;" and "if a holiday were given to a man employed in a public office, how it would be advisable to spend it?" No less than six times students were asked to give essays on Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily: but perhaps every other instance of absurdity was exceeded by the following question: "Give your views on the late fight for the championship between Tom Sayers and Heenan." He would cite only one more, as being perhaps the most extraordinary of all, much as they had heard of the views of geological theorists. "Give the evidence which exists for believing in former submersions of the British Islands beneath the sea. State when the last of these submersions took place, and by what phenomena it was accompanied."

International laws, educational discussions, national defences, were the questions chiefly agitated in 1862. On March 4th, a resolution, proposed by Mr. Arthur Mills, with an addition by Mr. Baxter, passed, to the effect that, while all portions of the British empire have a claim to imperial aid, against perils arising from the consequences of imperial policy, the colonies, which have the right of self-government, ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security; and such colonies ought to assist in their own external defence. In April, Mr. R. Sheridan, by a majority of 127 to 116 against the government, obtained leave to bring in a bill to reduce the duty on fire insurance at once, from 3s. to 2s. per cent., and at the expiration of five years, to 1s. per cent. The House also agreed to appoint a committee to consider the practicability of adopting a simple and uniform system of weights and measures. Other committees were chosen, to inquire whether any consolidation of some of the offices of the Board of Inland Revenue might be effected; to inquire into the operation of the petty charges on commerce, imposed in 1860; to inquire into the operation of the present scale of sugar duties; to consider the expediency of legalising the circulation, in the United Kingdom, of the sovereigns coined at Sydney; to inquire into the working of the law relating to patents. In July, on the motion of Lord Elcho, it was agreed to present an address to her majesty, praying for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the present position of the Royal Academy, in relation to the fine arts, and the occupation of a portion of the National Gallery. A night-poaching bill was carried. The country gentlemen could always take care of themselves, but in vain did members try to get church subscription modified, or to carry the abolition of church-rates, or to get the ballot into use for the election of members of parliament. One step taken in the right direction, was that of passing an act to facilitate the proof to, and the conveyance of, real estates. As regards parliamentary reform, nothing was done. The subject appears to have been, by common consent, utterly ignored.

In 1863, an attempt was made to put down the city police. Sir George Grey moved for leave to bring in a bill amalgamating them with the metropolitan police; but it was subsequently withdrawn. Mr. Soames' Sunday Bill was equally unsuccessful. In June, Mr. Bagwell moved a resolution, that it was impolitic any longer to exclude Ireland from the operation of the volunteer system. Lord Palmerston opposed, not from any doubt of the loyalty of the Irish; but he argued that religious warmth was likely to lead to dangerous results when the parties were armed. The motion was wisely negatived by 156 to 45. In many matters the House, as usual, was liberal with other people's money. Mr. Lowe moved for a grant of £804,000 for public education, and the grant was agreed to; and £122,883 were voted for the department of science and art. Lord Palmerston moved for a grant of £120,000 for the purpose of purchasing the land on which stood the Exhibition building at Kensington Gore, preparatory to purchasing the building, at a cost of £80,000. Some opposition was made; but, ultimately, £67,000 was voted towards the purchase of land. In March, Mr. Forster called attention to the fitting out, in our ports, vessels of war for the Confederates, in contravention of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The Solicitor-general replied to Mr. Forster, that the government had acted with good faith towards the United States; they were anxious to enforce the law, but they must have legal evidence of its violation before they could act. Lord Palmerston contended we had done everything the law enabled us to do; and that the Northern States had no just cause of complaint. In May, Mr. Gladstone had to suffer a slight defeat. In his budget for the year, he had introduced a plan for the taxation of charities. He showed abundantly the mischief many of them did, and the way in which their funds were wasted. This case seemed unanswerable. However, the House of Commons was of a contrary opinion; and he had to withdraw that part of his scheme. In July, Lord Naas drew attention to the state of affairs in China, where, he said, we were injudiciously interfering. Mr. Layard maintained, that per-

mitting officers to serve in the China army was no breach of neutrality. Lord Palmerston said he could not understand the censure of Lord Naas, who seemed to imply that we were teaching the Chinese the art of government, how to regulate their finances, increase their revenue, and improve their administration: he admitted these charges, and claimed credit for them. In July, Mr. R. Sheridan gained another victory over government, by carrying a resolution to the effect, that the duty on fire insurance was excessive, and should be reduced. Some legislative measures—small, but useful—were passed; but no mention was made of reform, or no measure, of a partial character even, was attempted to be carried.

One of the debates was on racing matters and queen's plates, on which Lord Palmerston was an authority. General Peel, as a great supporter of the turf, called attention to the subject. Lord Palmerston said he entirely concurred in what had fallen from the gallant officer opposite. He differed from those who contended that the breed of horses had deteriorated. He believed that, generally, the breed of horses was better than ever it was as to size, substance, power, and endurance. Let any man go into a racing-stable, and seeing the bone and substance of the horses, let him ask himself what he would wish to see better in the shape of a four-legged animal. The fact was, greater pains were now taken to bring the two-year-olds to a greater size than formerly. If the breed of horses in this country had deteriorated, foreigners would not come here to buy English horses. But, every year, more and more foreigners come here from the continent to buy English horses. A deputation of gentlemen, from the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, called upon him, and complained that the breed of horses there was deteriorating; but they stated, in the course of conversation, that, from the port of Dublin, 5,000 horses had been exported in the course of last year. No doubt the principle of supply and demand would operate in regard to horses as in regard to other articles, and that an effectual demand would be met by the supply. With regard to the motion, the subject would be considered by the Master of the Horse, in common with the best judges of the turf; and they would see whether greater weight, or longer distances, would or would not be advisable in improving the breed of horses. But it appeared to him that there was greater weight in what the gallant general said, that they ought not to abolish prizes which applied to horses of greater age than those which usually ran.

This reminds us of a sketch of Lord Palmerston in the hunting-field, as described in the *Mark Lane Express*, in the winter of 1864-'65. The writer says—"The meet of the Hursley hounds, on Monday, was at Eldon Farm, when a messenger arrived to announce that Lord Palmerston intended honouring the field with his presence; and, accordingly, punctual to the appointed time, the veteran Premier made his appearance, under the pilotage of the Hon. Ralph Dutton, M.P.; and astonished every one by the ease with which he dismounted the horse he rode to covert, and got on his hunter, looking as fresh as he was ten years ago, and, as usual, affable and pleasant to all. The hounds were thrown into Michaelmas, a covert belonging to Mr. Dutton, when a leash of foxes was immediately afoot; and, after twenty minutes in the woodland, ran to ground about a mile from the find, his lordship being one of the first up with the hounds. Another fox was then hallooed away, and a capital run followed of one hour and twenty minutes. Lord Palmerston remained the first thirty minutes in the open, and rode right well, his honourable pilot being frequently heard to exclaim, 'This way, my lord!' making for a gate or a gap: but, on one occasion, the hounds were running quite in another direction to that suggested, when his lordship was understood to say—'But there go the hounds, and I must follow them;' and away he went as hard as he could go, and was soon up with the leading horseman, leaving his honourable pilot to look out for gates and gaps."

We must here digress a little further. In 1864, on the occasion of a visit to Tiverton, Lord Palmerston attended the races, and dined at the race ordinary;

where, after his health had been drunk, he said—"Mr. Nagle has been pleased to advert to what I have been doing in Ireland as an Irish proprietor. I will only say that if, as my worthy friend stated, that man is a benefactor to mankind who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, I may claim some merit, because I had at one time nearly 1,000 acres of blowing sand, where no blade of grass grew; and now, in consequence of having assiduously planted that sand with bent, which dies away after it has come to a certain growth, and is followed by grass, I have succeeded in covering the whole of that barren spot with grass; and, therefore, I have done something more than make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. I am glad to say that I and my tenantry are on very good terms; and although I am happy to see a great many faces when I visit that part of the country, for their own sakes I should be glad if many of them would go to a place where they would be more able to benefit themselves. But so long as they choose to remain in their present position, I shall be most happy to allow them. Mr. Nagle remarked that he was not allowed to advert to politics. But I beg leave to advert in a certain degree, I will not say to politics, but to political conditions, and, especially, to government and parliamentary conditions; for there is a great similarity between government and parliamentary conditions and the racing which we have been attending to-day. The House of Commons very much resembles a race-course. First of all, parties go there and run for the queen's plate. It is a general sweepstakes, and more than one takes the stakes if he wins. Then, again, there is the match; and he is a lucky man who does not meet with his match; but almost every man does meet with his match, and he is not at all contented in that encounter. Our rules are somewhat similar to those which guide the turf, because there is that good feeling in the House of Commons which gives weight for age. It is very true that the young ones are, sometimes, very apt to bolt out of the course. We have one rule which is not enjoyed to the same degree by the turf—that is to say, that sometimes we run a dead heat, which, in parliamentary language, is expressed by the words 'a tie.' But then our judge does not make us run the heat over again; does not make us go through the debate again; and take the division over again. Our judge decides the matter on the spot; and, a dead heat having been run, he decides in favour of one horse or the other, just as he may think it best to do. The Speaker settles the matter. He gives the casting vote. Then there is another thing in which we greatly resemble the turf—that is to say, it often happens that a very good-looking horse breaks down. And so there is a great analogy, in reality, between things that apparently differ very much. I think I have shown—perhaps you were not aware of it before—that there is a great analogy between parliament and the turf. I think I have kept my word, and given you a little of parliamentary conditions. I hope, in so doing, that I have not intruded anything that was not strictly in accordance with your rules; that I have not introduced anything which is not entirely appropriate to a race-meeting. I will now conclude by returning my best thanks for the honour which you have conferred upon my colleague and myself by drinking the toast with so much cordiality." The noble lord resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued cheering.

But we must return to the House of Commons. In the *Sporting Magazine* for 1865 we have the following description, under the title of "A Sportsman's Sketch of Lord Palmerston." The writer says—"Then we read of him as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, settling a dispute at the Dover races, or taking the chair at the Tiverton race ordinary, and making that happy comparison between horses entered for the Derby and House of Commons 'colts.' Members generally made a point of dropping in to hear him move the adjournment of the House till Thursday, on the eve of 'the Isthmian games;' and his humour was rendered still more playful from the thought of how very little Mr. Bright or Mr. Hadley could appreciate the holiday. He was quite in his glory when he interfered, as leader of the House, between 'Portmanteau Peel' and 'The O'Donoghue;' and gravely

recounted to that somewhat troublesome Tamworth pupil the things which were to befall him, beginning thus: '*You will have an inauguration.*' Taking only his little off-hand speeches out of the House, who was ever so happy? His definition of dirt to a deputation could give 7 lbs. to any philosopher's out. No one could hand over prizes to a school-girl or a labourer with a more pleasant word of encouragement; and no one, save a Loughboro' dominie, was found to dispute the justice of his condemnation of those very thin up and thick down-strokes which '*look like area railings on one side.*' If an opponent proposed the health of 'Her Majesty's Ministers,' he could freely assure him that there was no inconsistency in his conduct to wish them health, as they could hardly enjoy it in perfection *unless* they were relieved from the cares of office. Then, too, when that banquet was given to 'Old Charley' at the Reform Club, before he went to the Baltic, who but 'Pam' would have thought of roasting him about his specific for getting two lambs? Who knew half so well as he did how to propose the health of the bridesmaids, '*whose champion I am;*' and no doubt he was more than equal to the occasion at the very last marriage that he attended, and hailed as his new nephew a bridegroom of seventy-two, who espoused a 'fair and forty' spinster. Be the occasion what it might, he said or did the right thing. Your 'London correspondent' delighted to take out his 'copy' with a story of how, on one of those Saturday evenings at Cambridge House, where honey was put on the political wasps, one of them tumbled backwards into a flower-stand or flower-pot, and, sticking there, was extricated with the most comic condolence by his host; and how, when a lady in a Hampshire lane had undergone a most distressing accident to her crinoline, 'a gentleman, who proved to be the Premier of England, descended swiftly from his carriage, helped to pin her up, and insisted on driving her to her residence.' 'Just like him,' said every reader—'always on the spot.' Lord Aberdeen took occasion to point out, when he took the head of the coalition ministry, well-nigh thirteen years ago, that he was the younger man of the two; but, hard as he looked, the old Scotchman held life on a frailer tenure. 'Pam' then seemed comparatively buoyant and young; and we shall never forget the almost savage energy with which, at seventy-four, he jumped out of his brougham and strode across Westminster Hall, and through the folding-doors, when he came down to the House just after he had frittered away his great 'pluck' majority of 57, and let in Lord Derby once more. For years after that, he and the grey horse were seen busy with their constitutional in Rotten Row; and each walker turned his head as he passed the tall and erect old gentleman with the velvet-faced great-coat strutting up Piccadilly before dinner. Then he suddenly seemed to grow weaker, and there was more of the old man in his dress. Members shook their heads, and prophesied (as the opposition papers took care to let him know) that he would hardly meet another parliament, when, with his arm in a sling, he almost tottered across the lobby, leaning heavily on his stepson. If you saw him in his carriage by himself, his head was sunk deep on his bosom, as if life was a burden, and he only wished to be at rest. And so it was his lot to 'fade as the leaves do, and fall in October.' He died as he wished to die, with harness on his back. He had kept parliament together for six sessions."

In 1865, the sixth session of the sixth parliament of Queen Victoria was opened by commission. The queen's speech, which was read, began by congratulating both Houses on the birth of a son to the Prince of Wales. It then referred as some length to the affairs of Denmark and Greece; more shortly to the attack on Kagoshima, in Japan; to the insurrection in New Zealand; and to the surrender of the Ionian Islands in the kingdom of Greece. It promised the House of Commons a due attention to economy in the preparation of the estimates; congratulated the Houses on the general prosperity of the country, notwithstanding the continued depression of the cotton trade, which it was trusted would be gradually relieved by increased supplies of the raw material from extended sources; announced the appointment of a commission for revising the forms

of subscription and declaration to be made by the clergy of the established church; and concluded with a prayer for the welfare and happiness of her loyal people.

An event occurred in 1863, which gave Lord Palmerston a considerable amount of trouble in this session of parliament. In December, at Paris, four Italians, named Greco, Imperatori, Trabuco, and Scaglioni, were arrested by the French police, charged with an intention of assassinating the emperor. On the 25th of January their trial took place. It was proved that, on their first entering France from Italy, they had been under the constant watch of the police, in consequence, it was said, of Trabuco being recognised as having been pointed out as a dangerous character in 1862. Greco at once admitted the fact, stating that the proposal had come from Mazzini, who had furnished the money, the explosive bombs (which were proved to be of a most dangerous character), and the weapons; and that no one had come between him and Mazzini. Trabuco confirmed Greco, saying that he had a life for his country which had been oppressed by the emperor. Imperatori declared that Greco had drawn him into the plot by degrees; and Scaglioni pleaded that he had been drawn into it by Imperatori. All were found guilty—Greco and Trabuco sentenced to transportation; Imperatori and Scaglioni to twenty years' imprisonment.

As to Mazzini's connection with the plot, few placed much credence in the statement; but it was known that Mazzini was a friend of Mr. Stansfeld's, and that Mr. Stansfeld was one of Lord Palmerston's most promising colleagues. The opportunity for damaging the ministry was too valuable not to be made the most of by the Conservative party.

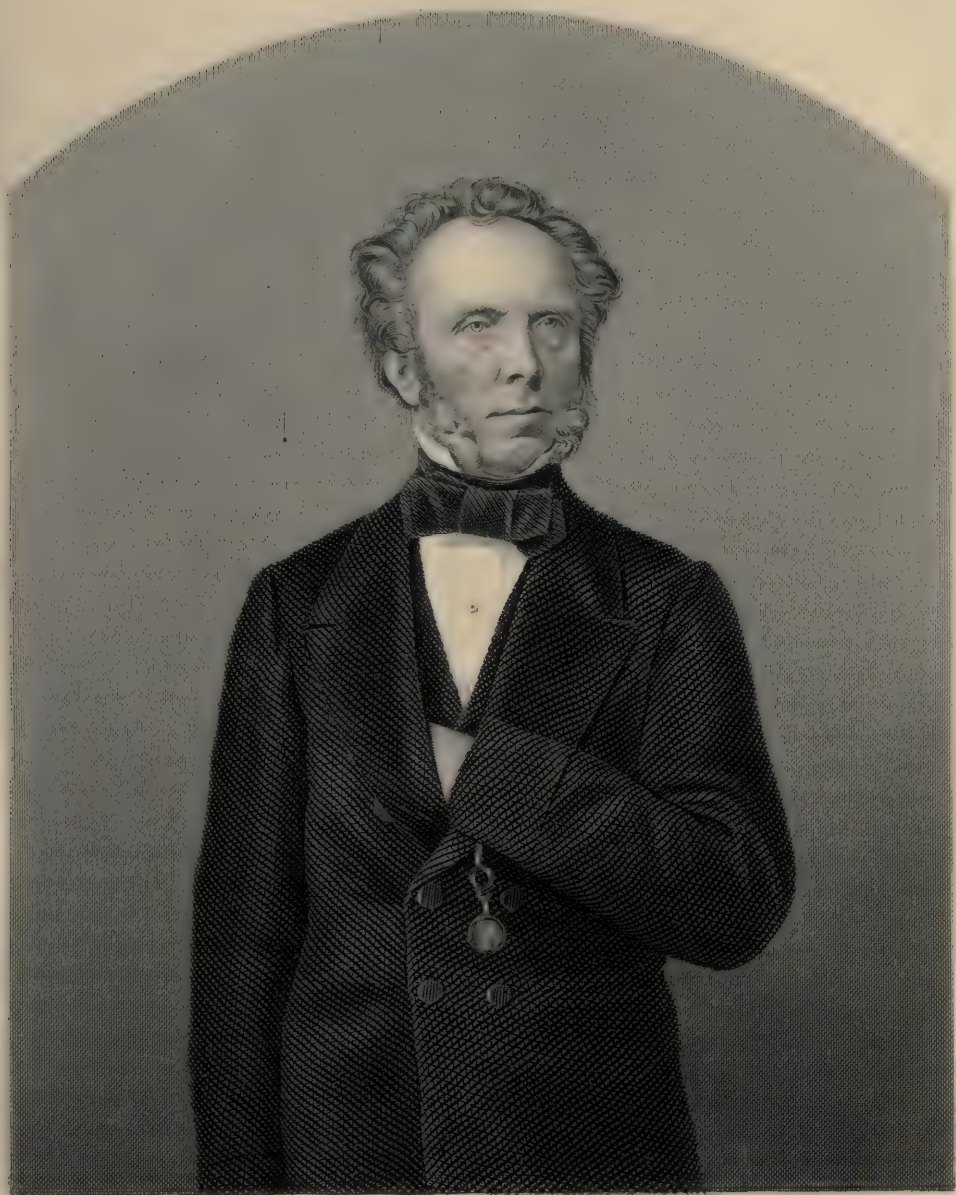
James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P. for Halifax—a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, where he won great fame by his mastery of details, heretofore considered incomprehensible—belonged to the advanced Liberalism, without whose support even Lord Palmerston would have found it difficult to hold his ground. The nation, wearied of seeing perpetually the same men in office—men who had been useful in their day, but who were now a little inclined to lag behind—demanded fresh blood; and, in deference to this demand, Mr. Stansfeld had been placed in a subordinate office in the ministry. The selection was judicious, as Mr. Stansfeld had already won a position in the House, and, out-of-doors, was held in high esteem, as an exponent of principles and practices more in conformity with the spirit of the age than those of timid Whig noblemen, long past, not merely the freshness and ardour of youth, but the prime of life. Born in 1820; educated at University College, London; an LL.B. of the London University; called to the bar of the Inner Temple in 1846, Mr. Stansfeld's youth had passed amidst circumstances which made all men of intellect and generous disposition ardent politicians. In his boyhood the Reform Bill had been carried, and the middle classes admitted to the possession of political power. In his youth, he had seen the misery created by the corn-laws, made, in spite of the people, by the landlords in their own parliament, and for their own ends. As the evils of class legislation had been gradually removed, he had seen the welfare and the happiness of the nation increased. In many ways, before he was a M.P., he had been noted in London for the zeal and ability with which he had pleaded the cause of oppressed nationalities; and to the great work of Italian regeneration, especially, he had cheerfully given his time, his talent, and his worldly goods. Quite unexpectedly he was returned to parliament in 1859. His place was on the benches below the gangway, side by side with Cobden and Bright, who gave a cordial welcome to so able an ally. There were those who complained somewhat of the narrowness of the Manchester school, and who saw, in the member for Halifax, signs of an intellect more cultivated, and of a wider range of thought. As he made his way in the House they rejoiced; and were not sorry to see him placed on the Treasury benches, believing that there, in time he would occupy a more important position, and one in which he could give effect to the principles he and they held

dear. But Mr. Stansfeld was a friend of Mazzini's; and as he was no scion of a noble house—"no tenth transmitted of a foolish face"—it was deemed fair to hunt him down. Mazzini was, it was said, at least an assassin. Consequently Mr. Stansfeld was the friend of an assassin—of a man who recommended the assassination of our faithful ally, the French emperor. Was such a one to be tolerated on the Treasury benches? English people are very sensitive in such matters. It had been charged against Mr. Huskisson, that he had been a member of the French National Convention; and the stigma, as it was deemed, was never lost sight of by his political opponents. But to brand Mr. Stansfeld as a friend of assassins, was not merely to drive him from office, but to extinguish a promising career. The attempt was made; but, fortunately, failed.

On March 17th, a Norfolk baronet, Sir H. Stracey, moved a resolution, that "The statement of the Procureur-general, on the trial of Greco, implicating a member of the House, and of her majesty's government, in the plot for the assassination of our ally, the Emperor of the French, deserves the serious consideration of this House." Mr. Stansfeld denied any participation in the plot; expressed his belief that the accusation against Mazzini was equally unfounded; generously declared that he was proud of his friendship; explained his relation with that gentleman, who, he said, had letters for him addressed to his house, under the name of Flower, but of the contents of which he (Mr. Stansfeld) was ignorant: adding that, on accepting office, he had ceased to have any so addressed. After a debate of some length, the House divided—161 in favour, and 171 against the resolution. Lord Palmerston, with his usual pluck, defended his colleague. His lordship always did defend his colleagues; and the House liked him better for it. Again the subject was referred to, in consequence of a question put by Mr. Cox, M.P. for Finsbury—a man whose position in the House had been a source of laughter to many. Mr. Cox had better have been quiet. At the next election, his conduct on the occasion lost him his seat; and Finsbury felt herself no longer disgraced.

The Conservatives were beaten; but the calumnious charge was still the talk of country squires and rival M.P.'s all that Easter vacation. On reassembling, which the House did on April 4th, Mr. Stansfeld announced that, believing, from the manner in which he had been attacked with reference to his friendship for Mazzini, that his retention of office would be an embarrassment to the ministry, he had resigned. Lord Palmerston said that he was quite convinced of the complete innocence of his honourable friend, and regretted his loss as a colleague of unswerving integrity and untiring industry: and thus the matter was settled. The Duke of Somerset, the First Lord of the Admiralty, it was said, much regretted Mr. Stansfeld's resignation. As regarded the public, the M.P. for Halifax had gained rather than lost in popularity.

In a few days after, Lord Palmerston was deprived of another of his ablest allies. On April the 12th, Lord Robert Cecil moved a resolution, that the mutilation of the reports of the inspectors of schools was a violation of the understanding under which the appointment of inspectors had been originally sanctioned. He stated cases in which the information thus given had been withheld; and maintained that, as presented, the reports were not trustworthy. Mr. Lowe denied that the reports were garbled, but that when the inspectors diverged into discussion—gave arguments instead of reporting facts—they were returned to them for correction. Mr. Walter, and others, took part in the debate, asserting that passages in the reports were marked; and the resolution was carried by 101 to 93. In the House of Lords, a few days after, Earl Granville, referring to the resolution passed by the Commons, defended the council of education from the censure passed upon it. He said that, as President of the Council, he was the responsible person, morally and officially; and he denied, as Mr. Lowe had done, that reports had been mutilated. He trusted that a committee would be granted, in which all the circumstances would become known; and he had no fear of the result. On the same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lowe stated that, in consequence of the



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vote of April the 12th, he had resigned the office of Vice-President of the Board of Education; but he thought that the vote, which he considered imputed to him a want of veracity, had been passed in mistake. Lord R. Cecil disclaimed the intention of impeaching Mr. Lowe's veracity. Lord Palmerston, in his characteristic manner, regretted the resignation of Mr. Lowe, which all his colleagues had endeavoured earnestly to prevent. On May the 12th, Sir George Grey moved for a select committee, to inquire into the practice of the committee of council of education, with respect to the reports of the inspectors of schools; rendered desirable, he said, in consequence of the resolution of the House on April the 12th, which had been arrived at under a mistake. Sir J. S. Pakington moved an amendment for extending the scope of the inquiry; which, after a discussion, in which the justification of Mr. Lowe was allowed to have been complete, was rejected by 142 to 93.

Some few attempts were made to get partial reforms carried, but the anti-reform feeling of the House was too strong for them to succeed. Mr. Locke King's bill to extend the franchise in counties to occupiers of the annual value of £10 was rejected. Mr. Baines's bill to reduce the borough franchise from £10 to £6 met with a similar fate, in spite of the support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground of the moral character and material progress of the middle and working classes, and the desirability of deciding such questions before any popular agitation should arise. Nor was Mr. Berkeley more successful with the ballot. His motion that, at the next general election, "it was expedient that a fair trial should be given to the vote by ballot," was rejected by 212 to 123. Lord Palmerston opposed it, as inconsistent with the character of Englishmen.

Out of the House it began to be whispered that ministers were getting a little shaky. Under Lord Palmerston's rule, the House of Commons, which had been elected with the idea of carrying a satisfactory and comprehensive measure of reform, had exhibited a stronger Conservative feeling every day. The Liberals themselves, in many instances, consequently gave his lordship a reluctant and grudging support. That fidelity to party obligations which had characterised the political history of England, from the days of the Revolution to the passing of the Reform Bill, had, in a great measure, disappeared. By many of the Liberals—that is, by all who ranged themselves under the banner of John Bright—the Premier was considered a Tory, from whom nothing of a truly liberal character was to be expected; and by many a Tory Lord Palmerston was maintained in office, as a barrier against further concessions to the spirit of the age. It was also understood that many of the country gentlemen, headed by Mr. Newdegate, mostly preferred the sway of Lord Palmerston to that of their necessary leader, Mr. Disraeli; and thus no organised effort had been made by the opposition for his overthrow.

In July the ministry had to sustain a fierce attack. A formidable attempt was made to turn them out by Mr. Disraeli, who moved, on the 4th, that "a humble address be presented, to thank her majesty for directing the correspondence on Denmark and Germany, and the protocols of the conference recently held in London, to be laid before parliament. To assure her majesty that we have heard, with deep concern, that the sittings of that conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purposes for which it was convened. To express to her majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her majesty's government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities of peace." It is to be feared that the charge, the very serious charge, thus formally enunciated, was not altogether baseless. However, it is clear that a Conservative ministry would not have acted a bit better than did the one of which Lord Palmerston was the head. The debate was adjourned for four nights; Messrs. Cobden, Layard, and Osborne respectively moving the adjournment. All the leading men in the House spoke on the question. At the end of the debate the House divided on the

amendment of Mr. Kinglake, to which Lord Palmerston had given his assent. On a division, the result was a majority of 18 for government.

The following is an analysis of the division on Mr. Disraeli's vote of censure, distinguishing the votes of English, Scotch, and Irish members:—

ENGLAND.

Majority for government	41
Voted for government	254
Pairs	6

260

Liberals absent	5
Speaker	1

266

Against	213
Pairs	7

220

Conservatives absent	11
Vacant	1

232

SCOTLAND.

Majority for government	23
Voted for government	35
Paired	2
Absent	1

33

Against	12
Paired	2
Absent	1

15

IRELAND.

Majority against government . .	46
Voted for government	26
Absent	3
Paired	1

30

Against	72
Absent	3
Paired	0

75

Majority for government in England . .	41
„ „ Scotland	23

64

Deduct majority against government } in Ireland	46
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Majority for government	18
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The following Conservative members voted for government:—

Chapman, J.	Pugh, David.
Dutton, Hon. R.	Legh, Major Cornwall.
Scourfield, John Henry.	

The following Liberal members voted against government:—

Acton, Sir J.	M'Mahon, P.
Brady, Dr.	M'Cann, J.
Blake, J. A.	O'Reilly, M.
Bowyer, Sir G.	O'Donoghue, The.
Cogan, W. H. F.	O'Connor Don, The
Corbally, M. E.	O'Ferrall, M.
Greville, Colonel.	Scully, V.
Greene, John.	Sullivan, M.
M'Evoy, E.	Waldron, L.

Total—18.

The above are all Irish members, and, with the exception of Colonel Greville, Roman Catholics.

No English or Scotch Liberal member voted against government.

Voted for government—Liberals . .	310
„ „ Conservatives	5

315

Voted against government—Con- } servatives	279
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Voted against government—Liberals .	18
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297

Paired for government—Liberals . .	9
Against—Conservatives	9

Absent—Liberals	9
„ Conservatives	15

Speaker	1
Vacant—East Gloucester	1

656

The debate was thus epitomised in the *Times*, under the date of July 29th:—
 “At the end of June, Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell announced to both Houses the renewal of the war between Germany and Denmark, and the determination of the government to remain absolutely neutral. Both ministers stated, in language which had previously been concerted, the general course of the negotiations; and the reasons of a neutrality which approved itself to the judgment rather than to the feelings of the community. A concluding intimation that English patience might perhaps not prove inexhaustible, exposed Lord Palmerston to severe criticism. After the impunity with which Lord Russell's warnings had been disregarded by the German powers, a contingent menace seemed undignified and

useless. The imprudent outburst, perhaps, betrayed the impatience of the leaders and organs of the government, at the restraint which may have been imposed on their activity by cautious colleagues. The eagerness of Mr. Disraeli to expose Lord Palmerston's indiscretion, implied a doubt whether parliament could be induced to condemn the general policy of the government; but the opposition had no longer a choice between the loss of a great opportunity, and a regular party engagement. At a meeting in Lord Salisbury's house, on the following day, it was resolved that Mr. Disraeli should move a vote of censure; and the first week in July was occupied with the most remarkable debate which has occurred in the present parliament. The advantages of full parliamentary discussion were never more thoroughly exemplified. Although the merits of the controversy, the conduct of the belligerents, and the policy of neutral powers had been sifted and illustrated by innumerable writers, the question was not exhausted until conflicting opinions were brought into immediate juxtaposition. On the last day of the debate, Lord Malmesbury moved a similar vote of censure in the House of Lords; and, accordingly, almost every prominent member of either House was enabled to share in the discussion. The subject admitted of many independent methods of treatment; and successive speakers profited by the occasion, not only to support their respective parties, but, at the same time, to advocate their own peculiar opinions, and to assert their positions in any future political combinations which might result from the division. Mr. Disraeli opened the debate by one of those laborious essays with which he is accustomed, from time to time, to counteract the prejudice which may attach to brilliancy and genius. Foreseeing that he would have room for epigrammatic personalities in his reply, he chose, in his opening act of accusation, to be prolix, documentary, and tedious. He proved, by copious extracts from the published correspondence, that Lord Russell had lectured the Danes, and warned the Germans; and it was unnecessary to show that good advice had in both cases been wasted. There is always a presumption that failure is the consequence of error or incapacity; and the House of Commons was not disinclined to condemn diplomatic transactions which had become profoundly unpopular: but Mr. Disraeli was compelled to disclose, both in his language and in his reticence, the inherent weakness of his case. The government was, in substance, charged with the ignominious maintenance of peace; and the opposition was not ready to pledge itself to war. Mr. Disraeli virtually admitted that, if he had been in office, he would have insisted on the treaty of 1852; and that, nevertheless, he would ultimately have acquiesced in a compromise, or connived at the violence of Austria and Prussia. The only alternative which he suggested consisted in a deference to the Emperor of the French, which would have been even more unpalatable to the House and to the nation than the ministerial policy. Retrospective criticism fell comparatively dead when there was no opportunity of choice. The vote of censure on the government became a vote of confidence in the opposition; and, consequently, not a single Liberal member for Great Britain found an excuse for deserting his party. Mr. Gladstone answered his rival with his wonted superiority of oratorical fertility and dialectic force. With the readiness of a consummate advocate, he confuted Mr. Disraeli by the context of his own citations; and he persuaded himself, and almost convinced his audience, that Lord Russell's changes of tone, from defiance to regret, had been consistent expressions of a uniform policy deliberately adapted to circumstances. His apology assumed, that down to January last, menacing language was justified by French co-operation; and that the English government had exercised a dignified reserve from the moment at which it found itself alone. As the distinction was not wholly imaginary, the supporters of the government applauded the fluent exposition of a theory which seemed to reconcile their consciences with their votes; and this expression lasted, though subsequent speakers tried to show that Denmark had relied on the separate assistance of England, both before and after the avowed secession of France.

"The principal members of the opposition displayed a vigour and ability which, in some degree, justified their pretensions to office. General Peel, who is regarded by a section of his party as the destined successor of Mr. Disraeli, delivered an animated and effective speech against the pacific policy of the government. Lord Stanley, in consistency with the opinions which he has uniformly professed, commanded the attention of the House, and the applause of his own party, by an able argument for peace. The government was assailable in both directions, as its opponents found it convenient to censure either the vigour of the earlier despatches or the final adherence to neutrality; but in politics, as in war, converging attacks are seldom dangerous, as the defence is conducted on interior lines. Lord Stanley's able speech was chiefly remarkable as an announcement, after a lengthened silence, that his anomalous connexion with the Conservative party still formally exists. Among the opposition speakers who have scarcely yet attained to the front rank, the most conspicuous were Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Hardy, both of whom may expect to occupy places in Lord Derby's future government. In a spirited encounter with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Hardy sustained the character of an acute and popular debater. Lord Robert Cecil would, perhaps, have been a more formidable antagonist if he had conformed less scrupulously to the requirements of party. From a careful, if not impartial, study of the dispute, he had emerged a vehement partisan of Denmark and of war. Ambitious, indefatigable, and indomitably pugnacious, he had still to earn the confidence which is seldom accorded to undisciplined energy. Lord Robert Cecil's political associates, however, have, perhaps, discovered that his vehemence arises not from impracticable enthusiasm, but from a polemical temperament, and a logical preference of extremes. Advancing years, and the enforced silence of office, will, probably, hereafter correct the impatient vivacity which sometimes disturbs parliamentary conventions. In the great party debate, Lord Robert Cecil distinguished himself by extracting from the correspondence some damaging quotations which had escaped the industry of his predecessors.

"The occasion was unusually favourable to independent or unattached politicians; for it was possible, without scandal, to speak against the government, and to vote against the opposition. Mr. Kinglake strove to reduce Mr. Disraeli's cumbrous resolution to a simple issue. Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Horsman, and Mr. Osborne, may, perhaps, not be desirous of places in the cabinet; but they fully understand the immunities of non-official Liberalism. The ministers had the advantage of seeing their foibles dissected by three of the ablest representatives of as many classes of friendly critics. Mr. Roebuck is a plain-spoken person; Mr. Horsman is, as Mr. Disraeli said, a superior person; and Mr. Osborne is a privileged person, and a 'chartered libertine' in debate. The imbecility of Lord Russell, the folly and incapacity both of the government and the opposition, and the special errors of Lord Palmerston, were the subjects of as many clever and amusing disquisitions on the part of these volunteer 'advocates of the accuser.' Mr. Cobden, with equally bitter feelings of animosity against the government, pursued a worthier object, in profiting by the temporary discredit of diplomacy, to recommend his favourite theory of political isolation, and of exclusive national devotion to the pursuit of gain. It is seldom pleasant to be the object of elaborate invectives, or even of improving moral demonstrations; but Lord Palmerston, whose experience and sagacity secure him from undue sensitiveness, may probably have felt that no better service could be done to his government, than to utter, with amplification, all the latent dissatisfaction which had endangered the allegiance of his party, while it had nerved the energies of his opponents. There was no danger that the House would adopt Mr. Osborne's jokes or Mr. Roebuck's exaggerations in practical earnest. Mr. Cobden's theories were still less to be feared; and Mr. Disraeli and his allies had been forced to admit their want of a distinctive policy. The ministerial speeches, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone's, had not been remarkable. Mr. Layard contrived, in some instances, to offend

the prejudices of the House; and the Attorney-general, who has deserved and acquired a great parliamentary reputation, was unusually feeble. Lord Palmerston, at the close of the debate, seeing victory within his reach, boldly passed from the immediate question to an enumeration of the merits and services of his government; and challenged the opposition on the issue of public confidence in the contending parties. A majority of eighteen, secured notwithstanding the defection of several Roman Catholic members, formed almost a dramatic conclusion to the events of the session. There is now little doubt, that the ministry which came in with the parliament will witness its natural close. The discussion in the House of Lords was shorter; and, on the whole, it was more advantageous to the government. In Lord Derby's absence, the conduct of the attack devolved on Lord Malmesbury; and Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon spoke with higher authority than Mr. Layard, or even than Mr. Gladstone. The peers who were present at the debate gave the government a small majority; and although the balance was reversed by the employment of proxies, the collective verdict of parliament amounts to condonation, if not to approval, of the ministerial policy."

As we have given none of Lord Palmerston's speeches on Danish affairs, the present is an appropriate time for the insertion of the one he delivered on July 2nd.

Lord Palmerston, in presenting, by command of her majesty, the protocols relating to the proceedings of the conference, observed that there never was an occasion on which a minister of the crown had to make a statement to the House of Commons and the public upon a subject in which the feelings, the sympathies, and, he might say, the anxiety of the country were more deeply engaged. He had, however, simply to communicate to the House a short abstract of the proceedings of the conference, contained in the papers to be laid upon the table. He proceeded, first, to give a general outline of the transactions which had led to the Dano-German quarrel. He described the circumstances out of which the treaty of 1852 had arisen, which contained arrangements assented to by the chief European powers; the object of that treaty, to which certain powers did not assent; the diplomatic negotiations which followed the treaty; their objects and results. "If all the parties," he remarked, "had been actuated by a spirit of justice, no complications would have taken place; but events happened which, the German powers contended, contravened engagements; and during the discussions the late King of Denmark died. Fresh subjects of dispute then arose between the Federal Diet and Denmark; and her majesty's government urged that of Denmark to adopt certain measures which would place it in the right; and it did so. But the Diet alleged that a question had existed as to the title to the duchy of Holstein, and decided to occupy that duchy. He was of opinion that the Diet had assumed an authority which did not belong to it. Execution was, however, decreed by the Diet, and Federal troops entered the territory to enforce an execution unjust in itself. Then arose the question of the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, and the Germans determined to enter Sleswig, and to hold it as a material guarantee. When the Federal troops entered Holstein, the Danes refrained from offering any resistance to them. In Sleswig, however, their feelings were so strong that they were resolved to resist, and did so against superior numbers. Up to the occupation of Holstein, all the parties to the treaty of 1852 continued to adhere to its stipulations, and even Prussia did not dispute its binding nature. Military operations, with which the House was familiar, had led to the occupation of the whole of Sleswig and part of Jutland. A conference was proposed to consider means of re-establishing peace, which was agreed to. On the 25th of April the conference met, and continued its labours till last Saturday. The first proposal was for a suspension of hostilities, and, after some delay, agreed to, for a month. The belligerent powers were then asked what conditions were required to put an end to the war. Difficulties then appeared as to the proposals, the nature of which he explained. The neutral powers agreed to propose a line of separation in Sleswig, and they proposed that of

the Schlei, which they considered a fair one, giving Denmark a proper frontier. This proposal was accepted by Denmark, but refused by the German powers, who required another line. Time pressed, and the neutral powers urged a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities. With much difficulty an extension of a fortnight was obtained, which expired on Sunday. Throughout the conference perfect unanimity had subsisted among the representatives of the neutral powers. As Earl Russell had been chosen president of the conference, all the proposals were made in his name, but they were to be considered as proposals of all the neutral powers; and this was a very important matter. Seeing, apparently, no possibility of getting the belligerent powers to agree upon a line of separation, they proposed that a question so narrow should be referred to arbitration. The German powers accepted the proposal on condition that they might, if they pleased, decline the line fixed upon by the arbitrator. The answer would have been more frank and candid if they had simply rejected the proposal. The Danes, on the other hand, declared against arbitration; they said they had accepted the line of the Schlei, and further they would not go. The French representative, by desire of his government, proposed another arrangement—namely, that an appeal should be made to the population of the intermediate district between the two lines. This proposal was negatived by Denmark. Thus the labours of the conference were brought to a close, and war was to begin again about a question involving, not the existence of a nation, but the possession of a comparatively small district. Then it became the duty of her majesty's government to consider seriously the course they should adopt. They were of opinion that, in this case, might had overridden right, and that the sympathy of the British nation generally was in favour of the Danes; and they should have been glad, if it were possible, to take part with Denmark. On the other hand, originally she had been in the wrong herself. The matter in dispute was small; and it was impossible to lose sight of the resistance which we should have to overcome. France had declined to take any active part in support of Denmark, and Russia the same. The whole brunt of the effort to dislodge the German troops from Holstein and Sleswig would fall upon this country alone. The government had therefore not thought it consistent with their duty to advise their sovereign to take such a course, and to recommend to parliament such an effort and such a sacrifice. He did not say that, if the war assumed a different character, and the existence of Denmark as an independent power was at stake, the position of this country would not be subject to reconsideration. If there should be any change in the policy of the government, it would be communicated in parliament, if it were sitting; and if not, it would be called together."

A minor debate was that which ensued on China, when the Manchester party and the Premier, as usual, came into collision. The occasion was Mr. Cobden's moving a resolution declaring that the policy of non-intervention, observed with regard to Europe and America, should also be observed with regard to China. It appears, that after beating the Chinese imperial forces, we were fighting their battles for them against the Taepings—a new set of rebels who had sprung up suddenly, and laid waste the fairest portions of the empire; and would, most probably, have carried all before them, had it not been for our aid. We had supplied the Chinese with gun-boats and naval officers. Mr. Cobden said he believed that no one representing this country in China was satisfied with the present state of things. The merchants were dissatisfied; Sir F. Bruce seemed no longer to have a policy; and our military commander recommended the abandonment of the policy which they had been led to believe was to re-establish the imperial government in China. Our object in China was simply trade. In the course which had been taken we had consulted neither our honour nor our interests. Our military operations had ended most unsatisfactorily, so far as our trade was concerned. China was the only country where we had sought to extend our trade by force of arms, and it was the only country where our trade had not progressed. He showed by figures that the trade had not increased; and commented on the reckless assertions to the contrary

which had been made by the Premier. He reviewed the course which had been taken with respect to China, and contended that the proper course would be to obtain another trading depôt like Hong-Kong. If that were done, trade would soon come to it. He feared that a similar policy to that which had been pursued in China was going to be followed in Japan. He expressed a strong hope that such would not be the case, and urged that the merchants should there confine themselves to the treaty ports. He concluded by moving his resolution.

Mr. Layard asked where and how they were to get the second trading station suggested by the hon. gentleman? He defended the policy of the government, and declared that under it our trade with China had largely increased. Our relations with that country were now greatly improved. All that the government had done, was to prevent the Taepings from entering the treaty ports. He defended generally the policy which had been pursued.

Lord Naas contended that we ought to have maintained strict neutrality. The policy we had pursued had been a failure. In proof of this he specially instanced Captain Sherard Osborne's expedition.

Mr. B. Cochrane and Mr. Liddell took a similar view.

Mr. Gregson did not think our relations with China were in an unsatisfactory state, nor did he think we had been the cause of the anarchy which prevailed in China.

After some remarks from Mr. Kinglake, Colonel Sykes, and other members,

Lord Palmerston defended the policy of the government. Our wars with China had been the natural consequence of communication between a highly-civilised and a half-civilised people. He justified the wars in which we had been engaged with that country, and said they would have been more frequent had not the monopoly of the East India Company been abolished. The effect of our policy had been to increase our trade; and those persons who wished, by a change of policy, to narrow our foreign markets, were, in fact, taking the bread out of the mouths of the working classes of this country, and depriving them of the means of earning it. He believed the course taken by the government had the approval of the country, and he was certain it would be of benefit to our commerce.

Mr. Bright severely denounced the manner in which the noble lord had dealt with the question. He had defended a policy which had been fraught with unutterable horrors, and had charged Mr. Cobden with disregard of the trading interests of the country, than which nothing could be more unjust. It was clear to every member of the House that a policy of intermeddling was a policy of idiocy.

The last session of parliament in which Lord Palmerston was destined to figure met on February the 7th. The queen's speech congratulated the Houses on the pacific condition of Europe, and lamented the continuance of the civil war in America; it next mentioned the hostile operations against one of the Japanese chiefs, which had ended in his submission; hopes were expressed for the speedy restoration of peace in New Zealand by the submission of the Maories, who, it was added, would be treated mildly and equitably. The speech next expressed satisfaction with the proposed confederacy of our North American colonies; promising that, when the conference of delegates had proposed a scheme, a bill should be laid before the Houses to carry it into effect. Congratulations were offered on the prosperous state of India, but with regret for the calamity experienced by Calcutta and other places from the storms of last November. Parliament voted £1,500,000 for the new law courts, between Carey Street and the Strand. On the motion of Mr. Doulton, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the best means of preserving for the public use the forests, commons, and open spaces in and around the metropolis. Mr. Baines made an unsuccessful attempt to carry his bill for the reduction of the borough franchise. Mr. Berkeley fared no better with his ballot. Ministers were beaten by the legal profession. In May, on going into committee

of supply, Mr. Denman moved a resolution, that the annual certificate duty paid by attorneys and solicitors should be abolished. It was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but carried, on a division, by 146 to 143. One sign of the times was the passing of an act for the more useful application of sewage in Great Britain and Ireland; another was one for the establishment of a fire brigade in the metropolis; another was the amendment of the laws of partnership, so that the advance of money by way of loan, to a person engaged, or about to engage, in trade, "upon a contract in writing with such person that the lender shall receive a rate of interest varying with the profits," shall not constitute partnership; another was an alteration in the management of Greenwich Hospital, in consequence of which the pensioners, or the majority of them, left it, preferring an increased allowance instead; another was to amend the law as to the subscriptions and declarations made, and oaths to be taken, by the clergy of the established church of England and Ireland. An act to amend the oaths taken by Roman Catholic members of parliament was not so successful; it was carried through the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, led by the Earl of Derby.

In April Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement for the year. He said, that the estimated expenditure, as contained in the Appropriation Bill, had been £67,000,000; while the actual expenditure had been less, to the amount of £611,000. The estimates of the revenue had been exceeded by the actual receipts in every branch, and the result was a clear surplus, after deducting £620,000 for fortifications, of £3,231,000. With this surplus he proposed to effect reductions which would occasion an estimated loss to the revenue, this year, of £3,778,000, and in the financial year, of £5,420,000. As usual, Mr. Gladstone demonstrated the benefit of the free-trade policy pursued by government ever since he had been in office; and the protectionists, or Conservatives, had little or nothing to say.

In March, this session, Mr. Pope Hennessy, as he had done repeatedly, brought the affairs of Poland under discussion. As this was the last utterance of Lord Palmerston on Polish affairs, we reprint his speech. His lordship said he regretted that the question had again been mooted. "The subject of Poland has been repeatedly discussed in this House. Now, it appears to me that there is a rule which ought to be strictly observed in bringing subjects forward for discussion. A motion of this nature ought only to be put upon the paper for the purpose of obtaining from the House, once and for all, a decisive expression of opinion, which may have the effect of influencing events; or for the purpose of justifying and obtaining from the government some action, with a view to giving effect to the opinion which it at the same time endeavours to extract from the House. Now, with reference to the first point, this subject has been repeatedly discussed in this House. The hon. and learned gentleman has himself this evening quoted opinions expressed on similar occasions to the present; so that, as far as a deliberate expression of opinion as to the conduct of Russia towards Poland is concerned, nothing can be added to what is already contained in the records of parliamentary proceedings; and any less vehement expression of feeling only tends to weaken instead of strengthening what has been done before. I think, therefore, that inasmuch as the object of the hon. gentleman was to obtain from the House a condemnation of the conduct of Russia towards Poland, he would have better consulted the interests of the country whose wrongs he deploras by allowing the matter to rest upon the recorded opinion of the House, instead of weakening his cause by conducting to the supposition that, by the way in which this debate is conducted, the interest excited in favour of the Poles has in any way subsided. As far as eliciting an opinion from the House is concerned, I think that the hon. gentleman has misjudged the course which he should have followed. Then with regard to the second point—a resolution in this respect should have the object of inducing the government of this country, acting upon the promptings of parliament, to interfere in the affairs of Poland for the protection of the Poles. This could be done either

diplomatically or by the employment of force. But the hon. member disclaims any desire that this country should go to war for Poland; and, as he says to-night, he never urged such a course upon the government. I willingly subscribe to that assertion. He especially always disclaimed any desire that anything falling from him should be construed into a wish on his part that there should be a war between England and Russia on behalf of Poland. But the hon. member, and with him many other hon. gentlemen in this House, earnestly recommended, on the part of the government, the employment of diplomatic exertions in favour of Poland. The government was not only asked to undertake this duty by itself, but we were strongly urged to enlist the other governments of Europe in our endeavour to persuade Russia faithfully to perform her engagements, and to adopt a different course with the Poles. That action was adopted by us, and failed; and because the result of those diplomatic exertions did not realise their anticipations, hon. gentlemen have made that very failure a matter of reproach to us. The natural feelings of the Russian people induced them to rally round their government. They considered those representations as implying an intention to coerce the independent action of a great nation; and so far from those representations producing any good result, I am afraid that they only tended to increase the irritation which existed in Russia against the Polish nation. Here, then, sir, the employment of force is disclaimed by the hon. member, after the failure of negotiations adopted by the advice and at the earnest entreaty of the hon. gentleman, and after the failure of similar representations made by nearly all the non-Polish governments of Europe, who had been induced to make these exertions by the influence of the English government. But the hon. gentleman is not deterred by his own disclaimer and by the failure of what he recommended, and he now propounds a third method of inducing Russia to perform her engagements—namely, that this House should make a declaration of forfeiture, and should withhold the payments to Russia stipulated by treaty. I would ask, however, what would be the value of a declaration made by this House that Russia had forfeited a right accruing to her by virtue of a European treaty. This House is not a treaty-making power; and this House, I most respectfully submit, is not a treaty-breaking power. If any treaty which the crown of England has contracted has been broken by the power with which the treaty was concluded, it rests with the crown to represent its claims, and, if necessary, to make war in their vindication; but I maintain that neither the crown nor any one power has the right, by its own declaration, to emancipate itself from obligations contracted with another power. Therefore, the first part of the hon. member's motion, declaring that the Emperor of Russia has forfeited his rights to Poland, in consequence of his non-compliance with the engagements of the treaty of Vienna, would be a declaration unattended by any practical value, and inconsistent, as I think, with the dignity of the House and the respect which it owes itself. Then the hon. member makes another proposal. He proposes, in consideration of the violation by Russia of the engagements of the treaty of Vienna, of June, 1815, the discontinuance of the payment on account of the Russo-Dutch loan, which was stipulated to Russia, not by the treaty of June, 1815, but by the treaty of the May preceding; and, therefore, in no way connected with the Polish engagements. That engagement on our part had, I repeat, no connection whatever with Poland. The engagement in connection with the Russo-Dutch loan was undertaken on our part in consideration of Russia supporting the union of Holland and Belgium. The case of forfeiture was to be the failure of Russia to exert her force and means to maintain that union, if it could be maintained at all. Before the revolution in Belgium no question could arise; but when that revolution had taken place, and a conference of the five powers assembled, the governments of England and of France, under the circumstances, were of opinion that it was hopeless to expect that the union, which had been broken by the insurrection, could be re-established with any advantage to Europe, or any prospect of permanence. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were of a different opinion.

They wished the union to be re-established by force; and one great object of the conference was to press upon those three powers to acquiesce in what we considered to be a fact irreversible, except at the risk of a general European war. Russia very reluctantly consented to do that which the English government wished—to agree to the separation of Belgium from Holland: but then Russia said—

“By the letter of the treaty, by the separation of Belgium from Holland, if not prevented by Russia, or if Russia has not used her best efforts to prevent it, she forfeits the payment to her of the amount insured to her on account of the Russo-Dutch loan; and, therefore, as it is at the request of England, at her earnest desire, that we consent to the abandonment of the union, it would be the height of injustice for England to deprive us of the annual payments which, under the former treaty, she undertook to make to us.”

“That observation was so entirely just and equitable, that the English government had no answer to make; and a new treaty was signed, agreeing that the payments should be continued, upon Russia consenting to the separation of Belgium from Holland; and that in case, at any future time, a different arrangement should be contemplated, Russia should not concur in such arrangement without the consent of Great Britain; pointing to some different position of Belgium, which might be deemed inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain. But for us to turn round now, and to say to Russia, ‘Because you, Russia, have misconducted yourself with regard to Poland; because you have broken the engagements in the treaty of June, 1815, with regard to Poland, we are therefore to break our engagements founded upon a different treaty, and based upon wholly different considerations,’ would be to do that which, I hope, this House and the government would ever be ashamed of even contemplating as possible. But see to what an impotent conclusion the hon. and learned gentleman comes. He is eloquent upon the wrongs of Poland, which nobody denies; declaring that great European rights have been violated; asserting that in which I do not concur—that wherever there is a right there is an obligation to enforce that right. I deny that proposition altogether. Where there is a right, there is also a discretion to enforce it or not, according to circumstances—to the facility or the difficulty of the task. But see, again, to what an impotent conclusion the hon. gentleman comes. Here is an hon. member who arraigns Russia before the tribunal of the world for breaking her engagements, for acting the tyrant towards a deservedly commiserated people, and for having committed cruelties which, in a former motion upon this subject, he designated in terms which were not, as I thought, very proper for this House to adopt; but, having arraigned Russia for one of the greatest crimes recorded in history, as my hon. and gallant friend behind me has stated, the hon. member thinks it would be consistent with the dignity of this great country to scone Russia of a payment of some £70,000 a year. If the breach of engagements on the part of Russia be such as the hon. member thinks, and as other hon. members agree with him in thinking it to be, then that might be a cause of war; we might take up arms, if we could do so with effect, to vindicate the rights of Poland, and the engagements of the violated treaties; but I must say it would be a thing altogether unworthy of this House, and unbecoming to the country, that we should show our sense of a great European wrong by putting into our pockets, instead of paying into the Russian treasury, a sum which, by a solemn treaty, we had undertaken to pay to Russia. Whatever might be the feelings of the House, it would be a clear violation of an engagement—an engagement wholly distinct from the question of Poland—one not to be affected at all by the conduct of Russia towards Poland; and, therefore, I hope that this House will not agree to the motion of the hon. gentleman; inasmuch as I think a record of its opinion upon the conduct of Russia has been sufficiently made in its debates; and the means by which the hon. gentleman proposes to give effect to that opinion, is one that it is not fitting to the dignity of the House, or the good faith of the country, to adopt.”

In April, the great free-trader, and apostle of peace—Richard Cobden—died. On the order of the day for going into committee of supply, Lord Palmerston, evidently under strong emotion, said—"Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for this House to have that order put, without calling to its mind the great loss which this House and the country have sustained by the event which took place yesterday morning. Sir, Mr. Cobden, whose loss we deplore, occupied a prominent position, both as a member of this House and as a member of the British nation. I do not mean, in the few words I have to say, to disguise or to avoid stating that there were many matters upon which a great number of people differed from Mr. Cobden, and I among the rest; but those who differed from him the most, never could doubt the honesty of his purpose, or the sincerity of his convictions. They felt that his object was the good of his country, however they might differ on particular questions from him as to the means by which that end was to be accomplished. But we all agree in burying in oblivion every point of difference, and think only of the great and important services he rendered to our common country. Sir, it is many years ago since Adam Smith elaborately and conclusively, as far as argument could go, advocated, as the fundamental principles of the wealth of nations, freedom of industry, and unrestricted exchange of the objects and results of industry. These doctrines were inculcated by learned men—by Dugald Stewart and others; and were also taken up, in process of time, by leading statesmen, such as Mr. Huskisson, and those who agreed with him: but the barriers which long-established prejudice, honest and conscientious prejudice, had raised against the practical application of those doctrines for a long series of years, prevented their coming into use as instruments of progress in the country. To Mr. Cobden it was reserved, by his untiring industry, his indefatigable personal activity, the indomitable energy of his mind, and, I will say, that forcible and Demosthenic eloquence with which he treated all the subjects which he took in hand—it was reserved to Mr. Cobden, aided, no doubt, by a great phalanx of worthy associates—by my right hon. friend the President of the Poor-Law Board, and by Sir R. Peel, whose memory will ever be associated with the principles Mr. Cobden so ably advocated—it was reserved, I say, to Mr. Cobden, by exertions which never were surpassed, to carry into practical application those abstract principles, with the truth of which he was so deeply impressed, and which, at last, gained the acceptance of all reasonable men in the country. He rendered an inestimable and enduring benefit to our country by the result of those exertions. But great as were Mr. Cobden's talents, great as was his industry, and eminent as was his success, the disinterestedness of his mind more than equalled all of these. He was a man of great ambition; but his ambition was to be useful to his country: and that ambition was amply gratified. When the present government was formed, I was authorised graciously by her majesty to offer to Mr. Cobden a seat in the cabinet. Mr. Cobden declined; and frankly told me, that he thought he and I differed a good deal upon many important principles of political action; and therefore he could not, either comfortably for me or for himself, join the administration of which I was the head. I think he was wrong: but this I will say of Mr. Cobden, that no man, however strongly he may have differed from him upon general political principles, or the application of those principles, could come into contact with him without carrying away the strongest personal esteem and regard for the man with whom he had the misfortune not entirely to agree. Well, sir, the two great achievements of Mr. Cobden were, in the first place, the abrogation of those laws which regulated the importation of corn, and the great development which that gave to the industry of the country; and the commercial arrangements which he negotiated with France, which paved the way and tended greatly to extend the intercourse between the two countries. When that achievement was accomplished, it was my lot to offer to Mr. Cobden—not office, for that I knew he would not take, but to offer him those honours which the crown can bestow—a baronetcy and the rank of a Privy Councillor; honourable distinctions which it would

have gratified the crown to bestow for important services rendered to the country, and which I think it would not have been at all derogatory for him to accept. But the same disinterested spirit which actuated all his conduct, whether in private or in public, led him to decline even the acknowledgments which would properly have been made for the services he had rendered. Well, sir, I can only say that we have sustained a loss which every man in the country will feel. We have lost a man who may be said to have been peculiarly emblematical of the constitution under which we have the happiness to live; because he rose to great eminence in this House, and acquired an ascendancy in the public mind, not by virtue of any family connexion, but solely and entirely by means of the power and vigour of his mind, that power and vigour being applied to purposes eminently advantageous to the country. Sir, Mr. Cobden's name will be for ever engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of this country; and I am sure there is not one in this House who does not feel the deepest regret that we have lost one of its proudest ornaments, and that the country has been deprived of one of her most useful servants." Let us add, that in this generous eulogy, Lord Palmerston, whose remarks were greeted with cordial cheers, was not alone. The eminent leader of the opposition joined in a few graceful words. Perhaps, for the first time in the House, Cobden's friend and faithful colleague, John Bright, commanded the sympathies of all his hearers. His speech was short, yet eloquent. Evidently overwhelmed with grief, and scarcely able to speak on account of it, he said—"I feel that I cannot address the House on this occasion. Every expression of sympathy which I have heard has been most grateful to my heart; but the time which has elapsed since I was present when the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever actuated or tenanted the human form took its flight is so short, that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave it to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking to some portion of my countrymen the lesson which, I think, will be learnt from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say that, after twenty years of most intimate and most brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him." Well might Mr. Bright be sad. In the storm and battle of parliamentary life, he well knew that he could never have such a one by his side again.

One of Lord Palmerston's last speeches in the House was to announce the resignation of the Lord Chancellor. This reminds us that we must here give the history, as it was termed, of the Westbury scandal.

On March 7th, the Lord Chancellor explained to the House of Lords the circumstances connected with the resignation of Mr. L. Edmunds, of the offices of clerk of the patents, clerk of the commissioners of patents, and reading clerk of the House of Lords. He said that Mr. Edmunds had been accused of defalcation in his office of clerk of the patents; an investigation had taken place; Mr. Edmunds had paid over £7,872, which, he said, was all that was due; but that there were other claims amounting to £9,100. He (the Lord Chancellor) had intended laying these facts before the House immediately on its assembling; but delayed doing so at the request of Mr. Edmunds, who, after a few days, sent in his resignation. On consulting with the law-officers of the crown, he found there were no grounds for a criminal prosecution, and, therefore, he suffered Mr. Edmunds' petition for a retiring pension to be presented to a committee of the House, who had granted him £800 a year, which grant would only be in force according to the result of the investigation for which he was about to move. He added, that the office of clerk of the patents, which required to be filled immediately, had been given to his son, as also that of reading clerk to the House. The Earl of Derby thought that undue haste had been used in accepting the resignation; the facts should have been laid before the House, which would then have decided whether the misconduct in one office should involve the loss of the other. He hoped, however, that the investigation would be a searching one, and

would extend to every transaction involved. No vote was taken, but a committee of inquiry was appointed. This was the least that could have been done. Public suspicion had been aroused, and most alarming rumours were in circulation.

In the Westbury scandal many were involved. Mr. Edmunds, it appears, was appointed to the clerkship of patents in 1833, during the Chancellorship of Lord Brougham, at a salary of £400 a year. The *Times* asserted, "that three-fourths of that salary—in other words, £300 a year—have been, from that time to the present, paid over, under the direction of Mr. William Brougham, the brother of Lord Brougham, and late Master in Chancery—£100 to Mr. William Brougham himself, and £200 to keep down the interest of a mortgage of £5,000 on the landed property of Lord Brougham. If this transaction be admitted to be blameless, it will be made clear that the profits of public offices are to be appropriated, not to those who discharge their duties, but in some way or other for the benefit of the persons by whom they are conferred. Then, as regards the defalcations of Mr. Edmunds, there was a culpable laxity. The charge is, that fees have been received on behalf of the public, which fees should at once have been paid over to the Exchequer." How came it, people asked, that Mr. Edmunds should be able to retain such fees in his own hands; and that he was allowed to resign, and to resign with a retiring pension, as if, instead of being a defaulter to a large extent, he had served the public faithfully and well? There the Chancellor was much to blame. It was certain that Mr. Edmunds, instead of being prosecuted, as he should have been, was allowed to resign his situation; that his petition for a pension was presented by the Lord Chancellor, and that a pension was granted him. It was not denied that the Lord Chancellor, who presented the petition, had official knowledge of the case; nor did the members of the committee assert that they were in ignorance of the rumours which were in circulation. They must have known that Mr. Edmunds, by his conduct, had forfeited all claim to a pension; and whilst we blame them, we must blame the Chancellor much more, who must have known all the facts, and, by his silence in the matter, helped to lead the committee astray. It must be admitted, that all the noble lords who took part in the discussion, concurred in regretting, if not censuring, the reticence of the Lord Chancellor on this head. The fact that Mr. Edmunds thought proper, or, what is more probable, found it unavoidable, to make a clean breast of it, did not entitle him to stand in the position of a person void of offence; and though the propriety of using his confession to his prejudice in support of a criminal prosecution might have been questioned, it was unpardonable that he should be allowed to hold himself forth as a meritorious public servant entitled to a retiring pension. But when the Lord Chancellor designed the offices thus vacated for members of his own family, the course he pursued became still more imprudent. Altogether, the more the case was discussed the worse it seemed. The defence of the Chancellor was most unsatisfactory. He allowed an officer, guilty of misconduct, to evade legal trial; he allowed him to receive a pension; and he placed a relative of his own in the vacant office.

The report of the committee was very damaging to Lord Westbury. They expressed their regret that "Mr. Edmunds was allowed to resign, and thereby withdraw himself from the impending inquiry before the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor." They were of opinion, "that the inquiry ought to have proceeded; and if the charges which Mr. Edmunds had been formally called upon to answer had been established (as, in the judgment of the committee, the principal part of them must have been), he should at once have been dismissed, leaving it open to future consideration whether ulterior proceedings ought to have been taken against him." The committee considered the following four charges against Mr. Edmunds proved: the misapplication to other than public purposes of the discount on stamps purchased with public money; the retention, in his own hands, of fees received for patents; the transferring to his own account, and appropriating to his own use, certain sums of public money; lastly, the retaining, in his own hands, a sum of £399,

paid on behalf of a defaulting clerk, to make good deficiencies. The committee blamed the Lord Chancellor for suffering Mr. Edmunds to resign with a retiring pension. In their opinion, it was incumbent on him, who presented the petition of Mr. Edmunds to the House of Lords, in some manner to have apprised the parliament office committee of the circumstances under which the resignation of the clerkship had taken place, and with which the Lord Chancellor was officially acquainted, and not to leave them to decide the question of a pension, with no clearer light than that which could be derived from vague and uncertain rumours. "The committee, however, have no reason to believe that the Lord Chancellor was influenced by an unworthy or unbecoming motive in thus abstaining from giving information to the committee." With regard to the payment of £300 a year out of Mr. Edmunds' office, first to Mr. James, and then to Mr. William Brougham, the committee remark, that "the application of the money is immaterial; any private arrangement that a portion of the salary of a public officer, which is the remuneration of his services, shall be applied to the benefit of any other person, is a grave offence against public morality, and deserves the severest condemnation." They acquitted Lord Brougham of any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The committee rejected a paragraph which omitted all exculpation of the motives of the Lord Chancellor, by a majority of one—five Tories voting for it, and six Whigs against it; and they refused to recommend the House to reconsider its former opinion with regard to the pension of Mr. Edmunds.

But the matter was not allowed to rest here. The report, from which we have quoted, was laid on the table of the House of Lords, May 4th. On the 9th, on the motion of Earl Granville, the resolution of the House, for granting a retiring pension of £800 a year to Mr. Edmunds, was rescinded.

Further action was taken in the matter. In the House of Commons, on the 3rd of July, Mr. Hunt, in a speech of great extent, moved a resolution—"That the evidence given in the case of Leonard Edmunds, and in that of the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, showed a laxity of practice and want of caution, on the part of the Lord Chancellor, that was highly reprehensible, and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of state." The Lord Advocate defended the judgment of the committee, which had absolved the Lord Chancellor from blame. Mr. Bouverie moved an amendment, acquitting the Lord Chancellor of any corrupt motives in the appointment to the Leeds Bankruptcy Court; but affirming that the granting of the pension was highly reprehensible, as showing a "laxity of practice and want of caution, with regard to the public interests, on the part of the Lord Chancellor in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers against whom grave charges were pending." Mr. Hunt withdrew his amendment in favour of this; and, after a long debate, Mr. Bouverie's amendment was carried unanimously. Against the vote of the House of Commons, Lord Westbury found it impossible to stand.

Nor even here did the matter end. One of the persons implicated in these dirty transactions, was the Rev. Mr. Harding, rector of St. Anne's, Wandsworth; and a meeting of his parishioners was held in August, which almost unanimously censured his conduct. From the evidence, which came before the House of Commons, it appeared that an appointment was given to Mr. Welch in the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, by means of pecuniary inducements alone. According to the report, it appeared that a gentleman of the name of Welch, wishing to obtain an appointment in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, applied to the Hon. Richard Bethell to use his influence with his father to obtain the appointment; and a sum of £500 passed from the hands of Mr. Welch to Mr. Bethell, with a view to get that influence. Mr. Harding was employed by Mr. Bethell to go to Mr. Welch to get the money. Mr. Harding contended that there was a further sum of £1,000 to be paid by Mr. Welch on his getting the appointment: and the arrangement was, that Mr. Harding was to have one-third of that £1,000—namely, £333 6s. 8d. Mr. Bethell got into difficulties, and left the country because of

those difficulties. He did not obtain the £1,000 from Mr. Welch; but Mr. Harding applied for his third. The application was repudiated by Mr. Welch altogether. Mr. Harding then sent down another clergyman to Leeds to get the money. This journey was in vain. Mr. Harding then employed his solicitor; and intimated that the payment of the money would screen Mr. Welch from an exposure of the facts. He worked on the latter gentleman's fears, and succeeded in getting his claim satisfactorily settled. It was in evidence, that his clerical friend kept out of the way, to avoid being served with the Speaker's warrant. He had an interview with Mr. New, a respectable solicitor, who had put to him this practical question. Mr. New asked him if he had mentioned the matter to others. Mr. Harding said he had not. Then, said Mr. New, he knew from whom the anonymous letters he had received had proceeded; because nobody would have written them who did not know of the transaction. On this matter the committee reported as follows:—"Your committee have given the more prominent features and statements on this matter: for minute details they refer to the evidence of parties concerned. The statement of Mr. Harding is irreconcilable with those of Mr. Bethell and Mr. Welch. Mr. Harding's statement, if true, discloses a corrupt bargain between the three parties. If false, it is a gross attempt at extortion. One or other of these conclusions would be established by judicial investigation of the facts of the case; but as each of them involves the liability to a charge of a highly penal nature, your committee, not having the opportunity of examining witnesses upon oath, or of bringing the parties inculpated to a formal trial, purposely abstain from expressing an opinion as to which of the two views above mentioned should be adopted. They consider it their duty to observe, that the indisputable facts are such as to render it essential to the public interest, that the case should, as soon as possible, be made the subject of legal investigation." But, after all, no further steps were taken.

On July 5th, after the royal assent had been given by commission to 212 bills, the Lord Chancellor gave an explanation of his resignation; glanced at the measures of law reform he had introduced; and thanked the House for the kindness uniformly displayed towards himself. His bitterest opponents could have felt no resentment then. We are all poorer for the loss of great reputations, or when dishonour is done to a noble name. Happily for us the spectacle is as rare as it is sad. In public life seldom is any scandal able to sully the ermine of our great men. Lord Palmerston must have felt the shame and humiliation deeply. As Sir R. Bethell, the Lord Chancellor had lent him most efficient aid. He himself, in the matter of patronage, had been remarkably exempt from blame. Sorrowful, indeed, must his lordship have been as the Lord Chancellor, in his old age, resigned his stately office, and sailed away to bury his resentment and grief in a foreign land.

But the time was fast arriving when the Premier was to have done with such vexations and disappointments. On the 6th of July, the Commons were summoned, and the queen's speech was read by commission. It thanked the Houses for several of the measures they had passed, for the supplies voted, and for their attention to the business of the country. It congratulated them on the general prosperity, the beneficial results from remission of taxation, and the financial arrangements. It announced the friendly relations existing with all the European powers, and the cessation of the war in America. Finally, it announced the immediate dissolution of the House of Commons, and the issue of writs for a new election. Little thought M.P.'s, as they hastened home thus unusually early in the year—some to recruit in their pleasant houses, others to plunge into the turmoil of a contested election; almost all of them to swear that they would give to Lord Palmerston a cordial support—that never again should they look upon his face, or listen to his words; that, when next they met, he would no longer be their leader; that all of him which would remain to them then, would be the memory of his name and fame.

Our poet-laureate makes King Arthur say—

“The sequel of to-day unsoldiers all
The goodliest fellowship of famous knights
Whereof this world holds record. Such a sleep
They sleep—the men I loved. I think that we
Shall never more, at any future time,
Delight our souls with talk of knightly deeds,
Walking about the gardens and the halls
Of Camelot.”

It may be that some such thought may have passed through the Premier's brain as, for the last time, he caught the Speaker's eye; or listened, for the last time, to the door-keeper's exclamation, “Who goes home?”

CHAPTER XXII.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE COLONIES.

SIDNEY SMITH, in one of his letters, complained terribly of the way in which Lord Melbourne suffered Lord Palmerston to do as he pleased; and intimated that, under Lord Grey, such license would not have been allowed. Earl Russell, we may imagine, as Lord Palmerston's Foreign Secretary, would, in his way, attempt to be as independent as Lord Palmerston. We cannot conceive, however, of the latter completely abandoning his favourite occupation of putting the continent to rights. The noble viscount's knowledge and experience, besides, must have been of great assistance to the earl, who understood reform questions better than those relating to foreign affairs. We may, therefore, presume that the policy pursued and recommended by Earl Russell was that of his chief, who would control and guide, especially in difficult and delicate matters, and would take care that the earl did not make the mistakes of which he was guilty when he went to Vienna. At the same time it must be confessed that the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston's later years was not that of his youth; that he had become far more peaceable and forbearing; that he had changed somewhat from what he was, when he had drank—

“Delight of battle with his peers,
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.”

It is difficult to write about foreign policy, which is always more or less contradictory and unintelligible; arising from the fact that, while from the nature of our parliamentary government it is too democratic for foreign princes, it is, from the same cause, too autocratic for foreign people. But it is clear that we had got into a transition state; and that we were constantly bewildered by the contradiction between our former interference and our latter practice of giving no practical aid to our friends, but only advice gratis, in which Earl Russell's art was great.

In October, 1862, there was a change in the government of Greece—King Otho was compelled to abdicate. Immediately afterwards Earl Russell communicated with the French and Russian governments, urging upon them that the protocols and treaties of 1829, 1830, and 1832, by which any member of the reigning families of the three powers was prohibited from occupying the throne of Greece, should be held binding. The Russian government agreed at once to this proposal; but the French government did so with a great deal of reserve. Lord Russell then wrote to our ambassador at Greece in these terms:—“Her majesty's

government have no desire to influence the decision which the Greeks may come to as to the choice of their new sovereign, except to remind them that, by the agreements and engagements entered into between France and England, and Russia, no person connected with the royal and imperial family of either of the three powers can be placed upon the throne of Greece." As soon, however, as Lord Russell saw Russia hesitating as to whether Prince Leuchtenburg was excluded, the candidature of Prince Alfred assumed a new character. The Greeks became more and more enthusiastic on behalf of the prince; and Lord Russell did nothing till December, when Mr. Elliot was despatched to Athens on a special mission. On the 5th of February, 1863, Mr. Elliot made this speech to a Greek deputation which waited on him:—

"I am charged by my government to notify to the provisional government of Greece, that her majesty's government have, with the concurrence of the Emperor of the French, agreed to recommend the Prince Ernest, of Saxe-Coburg, as a suitable candidate for the throne of Greece. The emperor eagerly accepted this proposition made by England; and Prince Ernest accepts the throne that is offered him, on condition that he shall continue to hold, so long as he may consider it desirable to do so, his hereditary states. The prince, once proclaimed King of Greece, will propose to the national assembly, as his successor, one of the sons of his cousin Augustus and the Princess Clementine, daughter of Louis Philippe, late King of France. This prince is seventeen years of age, and will be educated in the faith of the orthodox Greek church."

On the 4th, the national assembly of Greece declared the throne to be forfeited by King Otho and his family; and that Prince Alfred had been elected king of the Greeks by 230,000 votes. On the same day, it was stated in the *Coburg Zeitung*, that the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who had been proposed, had finally declined its acceptance. In this dilemma England again commenced a search in favour of a suitable candidate. Nor was it long before one was found. Prince William George of Denmark was elected King of Greece by the national assembly, and on the 30th of March was, with the sanction of England and France, unanimously proclaimed as George I. On the 22nd of April, Prince Christian, of Denmark, announced that, the obstacles being removed, he accepted definitely the throne of Greece for his son. We did all we could to make his new kingship comfortable, and handed over to him the Ionian Islands, which had been placed under our care by the treaty of Vienna. In September, the Ionian assembly declared in favour of uniting the islands to the kingdom of Greece; returned thanks to Great Britain and Queen Victoria for benefits received, and for the realisation of the wishes of the people for a restoration of their nationality; and to the other protecting powers for their ready concurrence in the measure. In the same month the King of Greece, after having visited the Courts of France and England, arrived at Athens, and was enthusiastically received.

In October, 1861, without any expression of public opinion, we were all much surprised at learning that a convention had been signed at Lisbon, by the representatives of England, France, and Spain, for intervention in Mexico, to enforce certain pecuniary claims against the Mexican government. Our troops, as did those of Spain, soon came home again, when it was found that the aim of the French emperor was to establish a new form of government. Left to herself, France conquered Mexico, and placed an Austrian archduke, Maximilian—the only one of the archdukes at all popular, or who had shown any political ability—on the throne of the new empire; which, however, had no vitality. It was maintained alone by the French arms; and, as they were withdrawn, it fell.

We had, at this time, a little squabble with Brazil. The British legation at Rio Janeiro having demanded in vain an indemnity for the plunder of a British vessel wrecked on the coast, and also an apology for the imprisonment of some British naval officers, caused five merchant vessels to be seized. The vessels were

given up on an undertaking to pay the indemnity, to be settled in London; the other question was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians. As we were clearly in the wrong, that sagacious monarch was not long in making up his mind. In his award, made known on the 18th of June, 1863, he said—"That, in the mode in which the laws of Brazil have been applied towards the English officers, there was neither premeditation of offence, nor offence, to the British navy."

In 1863, the aspect of the continent was unpleasant. Germany and Denmark were at loggerheads. Poland was in rebellion against Russia. Austria was, as usual, in financial and political difficulties. In short, there was every prospect of a European war. Under such circumstances, the Emperor of the French addressed the following letter to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date, Paris, November 4th:—

"Madam, my Sister,—In face of the events which daily arise, and press themselves on my attention, I deem it indispensable to impart my whole thoughts to the sovereigns to whom the destiny of nations is confided.

"On all occasions, when great convulsions have shaken the foundations and deranged the limits of states, solemn compacts have followed to reduce to order the new elements, and to recognise, while revising them, the changes that have been effected.

"Such was the object of the treaty of Westphalia in the seventeenth century, and of the negotiations of Vienna, in 1815. It is on this last foundation that the political edifice of Europe now rests; and, nevertheless, your majesty is not ignorant that it is crumbling to pieces on all sides.

"If one considers attentively the situation of the different countries, it is impossible not to admit that on almost all points the treaties of Vienna are destroyed, modified, disregarded, or menaced. Hence there are duties without rule, rights without title, pretensions without restraint—a peril the more formidable, since the improvements produced by civilisation, which has united peoples together by an identity of material interest, would render war still more destructive.

"This is a matter for serious reflection. Let us not delay taking a decision until sudden and irresistible events disturb our judgment, and draw us, in spite of ourselves, in opposite directions. I now, therefore, propose to your majesty to regulate the present, and to secure the future by means of a congress.

"Summoned to the throne by Providence and the will of the French people, but brought up in the school of adversity, it is, perhaps, less allowable for me than for others to ignore the rights of sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of peoples. Thus I am ready, without any preconceived system, to bring to an international council a spirit of moderation and justice, the ordinary portion of those who have undergone so many different trials.

"If I take the initiative in such an overture, I do not yield to an impulse of vanity, but because I am the sovereign to whom ambitious projects have mostly been attributed. I have it at heart to prove, by this frank and loyal overture, that my sole object is to arrive, without convulsion, at the pacification of Europe. If this proposal be agreed to, I beg your majesty to accept Paris as the place of meeting.

"If the princes, allies and friends of France, should think fit to enhance by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them cordial hospitality. Europe will, perhaps, see some advantage in the capital whence the signal of confusion has so often arisen, becoming the seat of conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification.

"I take the opportunity of renewing to you the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am,

"Madam, my Sister,

"Your Majesty's good Brother,

"NAPOLEON."

After the receipt of this important epistle had been acknowledged, the following despatch, dated from the Foreign Office by Earl Russell, November 12th, was sent to Earl Cowley, as a reply:—

“My Lord,—Her majesty the queen having been pleased to refer to her confidential servants a letter of the Emperor Napoleon, addressed to her majesty on the subject of a congress, I proceed to inform you of the view which her majesty's government take of the proposal contained in it.

“The letter invites her majesty to take part in a congress, to be held in Paris, on the affairs of Europe.

“I am commanded, in the first place, to inform your excellency that her majesty's government see in this step a proof of the interest taken by his imperial majesty in the welfare of Europe.

“I will now proceed to remark on the ground stated for this proposal, and then examine the proposal itself.

“His imperial majesty observes, that on all occasions when great convulsions have shaken the foundations and deranged the limits of states, solemn compacts have been entered into, having for their object to reduce to order the new elements, and to recognise, while revising them, the changes that have been effected. Such was the object of the treaty of Westphalia, in the seventeenth century, and of the negotiations of Vienna in 1815. On this last foundation the political edifice of Europe now rests; and nevertheless, his imperial majesty observes, it is crumbling to pieces on all sides.

“The emperor goes on to state that, if the situation of the different countries is attentively considered, it is impossible not to admit that, in almost all points, the treaties of Vienna are destroyed, modified, disregarded, or menaced.

“When so important a proposal as that which the emperor has put forth is made to rest on certain grounds, it is our duty to examine carefully the grounds themselves.

“Nearly half a century has elapsed since the treaties of 1815 were signed. The work was somewhat hurried by the necessity of giving repose to Europe after so many convulsions. Yet the changes made in this period of fifty years, have not been more than might have been expected from the lapse of time, the progress of opinion, the shifting policy of governments, and the varying exigencies of nations. If we take half a century from the peace of Westphalia to 1700, or a similar period from the peace of Utrecht to 1763, we shall find those periods marked by extensive changes, as well as the period which has elapsed between 1815 and 1863.

“Yet it was not thought necessary at the epochs mentioned to proceed to a general revision either of the treaty of Westphalia or the treaty of Utrecht.

“It is the conviction of her majesty's government, that the main provisions of the treaty of 1815 are in full force; that the greater number of these provisions have not been in any way disturbed; and that on these foundations rests the balance of power in Europe.

“If, instead of saying that the treaty of Vienna has ceased to exist, or that it is destroyed, we inquire whether certain portions of it have been modified, disregarded, or menaced, other questions occur. Some of the modifications which have taken place have received the sanction of all the great powers, and now form part of the public law of Europe.

“Is it proposed to give those changes a more general and solemn sanction? Is such a work necessary? Will it contribute to the peace of Europe?

“Other portions of the treaty of Vienna have been disregarded or set aside, and the changes thus made *de facto*, have not been recognised *de jure* by all the powers of Europe.

“Is it proposed to obtain from powers which have not hitherto joined in that recognition a sanction to those changes?

“Lastly come those parts of the treaty of Vienna which are menaced; and

upon those portions the most important questions of all arise. What is the nature of the proposals to be made on this subject by the Emperor Napoleon? In what direction would they tend? And, above all, are they, if agreed to by a majority of the powers, to be enforced by arms?

"When the sovereigns or ministers of Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, met at Verona in 1823, upon the affairs of Spain, the first four of those powers carried into effect their resolutions by means of armed forces, in spite of the protest of Great Britain. Is this example to be followed at the present congress in case of disagreement? Upon all these points her majesty's government must obtain satisfactory explanations before they can come to any decision upon the proposal made by the emperor.

"Her majesty's government would be ready to discuss with France and other powers, by diplomatic correspondence, any specified questions upon which a solution might be attained, and European peace thereby more securely established.

"But they would feel more apprehension than confidence from the meeting of a congress of sovereigns and ministers without fixed objects, ranging over the map of Europe, and exciting hopes and aspirations which they might find themselves unable either to gratify or to quiet.

"Her majesty's government have no reason to doubt that the Emperor Napoleon would bring into such an assembly a spirit of moderation and of justice. They feel confident that his object is to give security to the peace of Europe. The only question is as to the means by which that object is to be attained.

"You are directed to read and give a copy of this despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys."

To this M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied—

"The imperial government have no intention either to apologise for, or to criticise, the treaties of Vienna. The emperor declared, on mounting the throne, that he should consider himself bound by the engagements subscribed to by his predecessors. Lately again, in his letter to the sovereigns, his majesty showed that the diplomatic acts of 1815 were the foundation on which rests to-day the political edifice of Europe. But this is, he considers, an additional reason for examining whether this foundation is not shaken to its base.

"Now, the cabinet of London recognises with us that several of these stipulations have been seriously infringed. Among the modifications which have taken place, some have been consecrated by the sanction of all the great powers, and, at present, constitute a part of international law; others, on the contrary, carried into execution, have not been recognised as law by all the cabinets. As regards the first, we cannot help calling attention to the irresistible power with which they have forced themselves on the acceptance of the governments. The eagerness of England herself to give to them her adhesion proves how little the former combinations answered, according to the expression of Lord Russell, the requirements of the lapse of time, the progress of opinion, the shifting policy of governments, and the varying exigencies of nations; on the other hand, are we not authorised in believing that changes so important have diminished, to some extent, the harmony and equilibrium of the whole? We admit, with Lord Russell, that it is not absolutely necessary to give to these changes a more general and more solemn sanction; but we consider it would be an advantage to clear away the ruins and reunite in a single body all the living members.

"As regards the modifications to which the powers have not given a unanimous assent, they constitute so many causes of dispute, which, at any moment, may divide Europe into two camps. Instead of leaving the decision of these to violence and chance, would it not be better to pursue their equitable solution to a common agreement, and sanction these changes by revising them?

"The third category comprises those parts of the treaty of Vienna which are menaced. 'Upon those portions,' says his excellency, the principal Secretary of

State, 'the most important questions of all arise. What is the nature of the proposals to be made on this subject by the Emperor Napoleon? In what direction would they tend? And, above all, are they, if agreed to by a majority of the powers, to be enforced by arms?'

"The emperor, while he pointed out to Europe the dangers of a situation in deep commotion, indicated the method of averting the dire calamities which he foresees, and at which he, less than others, perhaps, would have reason to take alarm: for the questions out of which, at the present time, war may arise, interest France but indirectly; and it would depend on herself alone whether she would take part in the struggle or stand aloof from it. This he did by addressing all the sovereigns in full confidence, and simultaneously, without previous understanding with any of them, in order the better to testify his sincere impartiality, and to enter upon, free of every engagement, the important deliberations to which he invites them. Himself the youngest of sovereigns, he considers he has no right to assume the part of an arbiter, and to fix beforehand, for the other Courts, the programme of the congress which he proposes. This is the motive of the reserve which he has imposed upon himself. It is, moreover, so difficult to enumerate the questions, not yet solved, which may disturb Europe.

"A deplorable struggle is bathing Poland in blood—is agitating the neighbouring states, and threatening the world with the most serious disturbances. Three powers, with a view to putting a stop to it, invoke in vain the treaties of Vienna, which supply the two sides with contradictory arguments. Is this struggle to last for ever?

"Pretensions opposed to one another are exciting a quarrel between Denmark and Germany. The preservation of peace in the north is at the mercy of an accident. The cabinets have already, by their negotiations, become parties to the dispute. Are they now become indifferent to it?

"Shall anarchy continue to prevail on the lower Danube? And shall it be able, at any moment, to open anew a bloody arena for the dispute of the Eastern question?

"Shall Austria and Italy remain, in presence of each other, in a hostile attitude, ever ready to break the truce which prevents their animosities exploding?

"Shall the occupation of Rome, by the French troops, be prolonged for an indefinite period?

"Lastly, must we renounce, without fresh attempts at conciliation, the hope of lightening the burden imposed on the nations by the disproportionate armaments occasioned by mutual mistrust?

"Such are, sir, in our opinion, the principle questions which the powers would, doubtless, judge it useful to examine and decide.

"Lord Russell surely does not expect us to specify here the mode of solution applicable to each of these problems, nor the kind of sanction which might be given by the decisions of the congress. To the powers there represented would pertain the right of pronouncing upon these various points. We will only add, that it will be in our eyes illusory to pursue their solution through the labyrinth of diplomatic correspondence and separate negotiation; and that the way now proposed, so far from ending in war, is the only one which can lead to a durable pacification.

"At one of the last meetings of the congress at Paris, the Earl of Clarendon, invoking a stipulation of the treaty of peace which had just been signed, and which recommended recourse to the mediation of a friendly state before resorting to force, in the event of dissension arising between the Porte and others of the signatory powers, expressed the opinion 'that this happy innovation might receive a more general application, and thus become a barrier against conflicts which frequently only break forth because it is not always possible to enter into explanation, and to come to an understanding.' The plenipotentiaries of all the Courts concurred unanimously in the intention of their colleague, and did not hesitate to express, in the name of their governments, the wish that states, between which any

serious misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to friendly mediation before appealing to arms.

"The solicitude of the emperor goes further; it does not wait for dissensions to break out, in order to recommend an application to the actual circumstances of the salutary principle engraven on the latest monument of the public law of Europe; and his majesty now invites his allies 'to enter into explanations, and to come to an understanding.'"

Lord Russell, after admitting the benevolent aims of the emperor, and claiming the same for England, proceeded to observe—

"Her majesty's government understand, from the explanation given by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that, in the opinion of the government of the emperor, it is obvious to every one, that there are several questions, not hitherto solved, which may disturb Europe. Of this nature are the following:—

[The noble lord having specified them, and referred to the further proposals of the emperor, which we have printed in the letter of his foreign minister, continues]—

"These, no doubt, are the principal questions which either disturb or threaten the peace of Europe; but there is a further question which her majesty's government considers to lie at the bottom of the whole matter; and that is the following:—

"Is a general congress of European states likely to furnish a peaceful solution of the matters in dispute? This, indeed, is the question which it behoves the governments of the different states to consider seriously and attentively.

"There appears to her majesty's government to be one main consideration which must lead to this conclusion—

"After the war which desolated Germany, from 1619 to 1649, and after the successive wars which afflicted the continent of Europe from 1793 to 1815, it was possible to distribute territories and to define rights by a congress, because the nations of Europe were tired of the slaughter, and exhausted by the burdens of war; and because the powers who met in congress had, by the circumstances of the time, the means of carrying their decisions and arrangements into effect.

"But, at the present moment, after a long continuance of peace, no power is willing to give up any territory to which it has a title by treaty or a claim by possession.

"For example, of the questions mentioned as distinguishing or threatening Europe, two of the most disquieting are those regarding Poland and Italy.

"Let us examine the present state of these questions, and see whether it is probable that a congress would tend to a peaceful settlement of them.

"In the first place, with regard to Poland, the question is not new to France, to Austria, or Great Britain. For several months these powers, while carefully abstaining from any threat, have attempted to obtain from Russia, by friendly representations, the adoption of measures of a healing nature; but have only succeeded in procuring promises often repeated, that, when the insurrection shall have been put down, recourse will be had to clemency and conciliation. Would there be any advantage in repeating, in the name of a congress, representations already made with so little effect?

"Is it probable that a congress would be able to name better terms for Poland, unless by a combined employment of force?

"Considerable progress has been made, by the military preponderance, and unsparing severity of Russia, in subduing the insurgents.

"Is it likely that Russia will grant, in the pride of her strength, what she refused in the early days of her discouragement?

"Would she create an independent Poland at the mere request of congress?

"But if she would not, the prospect becomes one of humiliation for Europe, or of war against Russia; and those powers who are not ready to incur the cost and hazard of war may well desire to avoid the other alternative.

"It may be said truly that the present period is one of transition. If the insurrection shall be subdued, it will then be seen whether the promises of the Emperor of Russia are to be fulfilled. If the insurrection shall not be subdued, or if, in order to subdue it, the Polish population is treated with fresh and, if that be possible, with aggravated rigour, other questions will arise which may require further consideration, but which would hardly receive a solution from a large assembly of representatives of all the powers of Europe.

"Indeed, it is to be apprehended that questions arising from day to day, coloured by the varying events of the hour, would give occasion rather for useless debate than for practical and useful deliberations in a congress of twenty or thirty representatives, not acknowledging any supreme authority, and not guided by any fixed rules of proceeding.

"Passing to the question of Italy, fresh difficulties occur. In the first place, is it intended to sanction, by a new treaty, the present state of possession in Italy? The pope, and the sovereigns related to the dispossessed princes, might, on the one side, object to give a title they have hitherto refused to the King of Italy; and the King of Italy, on the other hand, would probably object to a settlement which would appear to exclude him, by inference at least, from the acquisition of Rome and Venetia.

"But is it intended to ask Austria, in congress, to renounce the possession of Venetia? Her majesty's government have good grounds for believing that no Austrian representative would attend a congress where such a proposition was to be discussed. They are informed that, if such an intention were announced beforehand, Austria would decline to attend the congress; and that, if the question were introduced without notice, the Austrian minister would quit the assembly. Here again, therefore, the deliberations of the congress would soon be brought in sight of the alternative of nullity or war.

"But is it possible to assemble a congress, and to summon an Italian representative to sit in it, without discussing the state of Venetia? The Emperor of the French would be the first person to feel and to admit that such a course would not be possible.

"With regard to Germany and Denmark, it is true that several of the powers of Europe have interested themselves in that question; but the addition of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Turkey to the deliberations, would scarcely improve the prospect of a satisfactory solution. And if, with regard to Poland and Italy, no beneficial result is likely, what," argued his lordship, "would be the good of a congress?"

The idea of the congress was spurned by the Conservatives. In *Blackwood's Magazine*, for instance, appeared such lines as the following, entitled "The Invitation:"—

"Will you walk into my parlour? says the little man so sly;
I cordially can offer you my hospitali-ty:
Some ugly things, I'm certain, could be settled in a trice,
If you and I would only try: and wouldn't that be nice?
Will you, will you, will you, will you, walk in, neighbour dear?
Will you, will you, won't you, won't you, friends and neighbours dear?"

"Sure such a mess was never seen, a chaos so complete,
Where black and white, and wrong and right, in wild confusion meet.
We've rights without a title, and demands without restraint,
And duties where there's nothing due, enough to vex a saint.
Will you, will you, &c.

"A congress is the thing we need, our quiet to insure,
To regulate the present, and the future to secure;
And I'm the man to moot the plan, as all of you must feel,
For well I know, both high and low, each spoke of Fortune's wheel.
Will you, will you, &c.

"It isn't out of vanity I wish to take the lead,
It is because my character's so very bad indeed.
Men call me so ambitious, still to selfish ends awake,
But when they see me frank and free they'll think it a mistake.
Will you, will you, &c.

"Then for our place of meeting, let me hope you all will give
A preference to my house and home, and with me come and live :
The peaceful drama we're to act this well-known scene befits,
From which of old came schemes so bold—to blow you all to bits.
Will you, will you, &c.

"And you, friend Bull, especially, I trust, will not refuse,
Though nothing you may have to gain, and everything to lose :"

And so on.

The Swiss confederacy were almost alone in their approval of the imperial idea. The King of Belgium and the King of Holland were favourable. From the *Moniteur* we reprint the reply of the Emperor of Austria:—

"Monsieur mon Frère,—The letter written to me by your majesty on the 4th of November, directs my attention to the precarious state of Europe, to the dangers which may result therefrom, and proposes to me to regulate the present, and assure the future, in a congress.

"This step is suggested to your majesty by the sincere desire of sparing the world the calamities entailed by war. To preserve and assure to Europe the benefits of peace, at the same time preserving from any attack the honour and dignity of the countries we govern—such should indeed be one of our most constant cares. Such is also my dearest wish ; and, to attain this end, my co-operation will always be secured to your majesty.

"Guided by this sentiment, I have conscientiously examined the proposition which has been made to me. I was bound to ask myself if, in its present form, your majesty's project united all the conditions which would permit me to hope for a result in conformity with your desires and mine ?

"The success of every enterprise depends, in a great measure, upon the manner in which it is undertaken, and the plan which has been marked out. The greater the difficulty of the enterprise, and the more it demands the co-operation of various forces and wills, the more urgent it becomes to have a clear understanding upon the point of departure ; to define the object and means of action held in view ; to determine beforehand, in fact, the line of conduct that will be followed. These conditions appear to me to essentially affect the success of the work that your majesty desires to essay, and to which you invite me.

"Before joining it, I therefore deem it indispensable to be enlightened upon certain preliminary points. In a word, I should wish to know, with some accuracy, the bases and programme of the deliberations of the congress which would assemble.

"In specifying beforehand the questions to be examined by the congress, and agreeing upon the direction to be given to its labours, unforeseen obstacles that might compromise everything would be avoided ; this course would also remove dangerous and almost insolvable problems, which, unexpectedly raised, would only envenom the debates, and give rise to fresh complications, instead of obviating those which already exist.

"These considerations appear to me too important not to deserve all the attention of your majesty. Prince Metternich will be charged, on his side, to state them with greater development. The particular good-will and confidence which your majesty has always been good enough to manifest towards my ambassador, will facilitate, I trust, this preliminary understanding, which it appears to me necessary to establish before offering my support to the plan conceived by your majesty.

“I take this opportunity of renewing the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which

“I am, Monsieur mon Frère,

“Your Majesty's good brother,

“Vienna, Nov. 17.”

“FRANCIS JOSEPH.

“The following is the reply of the King of Prussia:—

“Monsieur mon Frère,—Your majesty, in writing to me the letter which your ambassador presented to me on the 13th of November, must have been convinced that the generous sentiments which inspired you would be responded to with that cordial assent which a sovereign, having at heart the welfare of nations, could not decline joining in the noble object which your majesty proposes to the European powers, by inviting them to a general congress. During the course of the last half century the treaties of 1815 have necessarily undergone modifications, which the irresistible influence of time and events exercises upon human institutions. Nevertheless, those treaties still continue to form the foundation upon which the political edifice of Europe actually rests. It will, therefore, be a task worthy of the efforts of all governments interested in the maintenance of order and of peace to consolidate that foundation, to provide for those portions which have been destroyed, or which will have to be abolished, and to give additional guarantees to such enactments as may be misunderstood or menaced. In such a work I will join with all my heart, and in perfect liberty only to consult my own solicitude for the general interests of Europe; because, as Prussia has never outstepped the limits of treaties, she has no direct interest in provoking or declining the meeting of a congress. Such a position enables my government to lend its impartial and disinterested support to establish between the powers convoked a preliminary understanding, upon the principles of the congress, and to obviate, by prudent negotiation, the difficulties which might cause germs of discord in a work of conciliation and of peace. To this effect my government will be happy to receive any overtures your majesty may think fit to make respecting preliminary views.

“I thank your majesty for the hospitality which you have kindly offered me, and I am sure I should meet with a welcome at Paris, which renders so dear to me the remembrance of my sojourn at Compiègne; but it is rather for our ministers united in council, to enlighten by their discussions, and to prepare for the sanction of the sovereigns the proposals which will be submitted to the congress.

“I take advantage of this opportunity to renew the assurances of the high esteem and special friendship with which I remain, Monsieur mon frère, of your majesty,

“Le bon Frère,

“Berlin, Nov. 18.”

“WILLIAM.

“The following is the reply of the pope to the Emperor Napoleon:—

“Imperial Majesty,—The thought which your majesty expresses of being able to establish, without shock in Europe—with God's blessing elsewhere also!—with the concurrence of the sovereigns, or of their representatives, a system which calms men's minds, and restores peace, tranquillity, and order to the numerous countries where, unhappily, these benefits are lost, is a design which greatly honours your majesty, and which, with the co-operation of all, assisted by Divine grace, would produce the best results. We co-operate, therefore, in so laudable a project in a perfectly cordial spirit, and can now earnestly assure your majesty that all our moral support will be afforded to the congress, in order that the principles of justice, in these days so much misunderstood and trodden under foot, may be re-established to the advantage of society in its present agitated state, that violated rights may be admitted in order to be asserted in favour of those who have had to suffer by their violation, and especially in order that the real pre-eminence which

belongs naturally to the Catholic religion, as being the only true one, may be re-established, especially in Catholic countries.

“Your majesty cannot hesitate to believe that the vicar of Jesus Christ, either from the duties of his sublime representation, or from the conviction he entertains, that in the Catholic faith, in conjunction with practice, is to be found the sole means proper to moralise the peoples, cannot in the midst of congresses, even political ones, fail in his obligation to sustain, with the greatest rigour, the rights of our most august religion, which is one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman.

“The confidence which we express of seeing violated rights vindicated, springs from the conscientious duty imposed upon us by their guardianship. In showing ourselves full of solicitude on the subject of these rights, we do not wish your majesty ever to suppose that we could entertain any doubt with regard to those appertaining to this holy see, since, besides the other motives which militate in its favour, we have also the assurances which your majesty has several times given, and caused to be given publicly—assurances which it would seem to us offensive to doubt, coming from so high and powerful a sovereign.

“After this preliminary explanation, which has seemed to us all the more opportune that we better understand your majesty's views, we are happy to add that we applaud material progress, and desire, besides, that nations should be in a position to enjoy peaceably their property, as much for the profit that they derive therefrom, as for the occupation which it gives them. We could not say as much in the case of our being invited to satisfy certain aspirations of some fractions of these nations—aspirations which cannot be reconciled with the principles above enunciated.

“We entertain the hope that your majesty, with your high perspicacity, will recognise in our frank communication the character of loyalty which always accompanies the acts of this apostolic see, and, at the same time, the evidence of the great esteem which we entertain towards your august person, to whom we have in no way hesitated to speak thus explicitly in a matter of so much importance.

“Hereupon, with the assurance of our paternal affection, we give your majesty, your august consort, and the imperial prince, our apostolic benediction.

“Given in our palace of the Vatican, the 20th of November, 1863.

“PIUS P.P. IX.”

The *Moniteur* also published the answers of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Saxony, and the King of Würtemberg to the letter of invitation to the congress. It appears that the first-named potentate claims for himself the original idea of concert between the sovereigns intrusted with the destinies of nations, as the best means of putting an end to the general disquiet of Europe. In proof of his good intentions, he appeals to all he had already done in reducing his armaments, abolishing compulsory enlistment throughout his empire, and introducing other important reforms. If he suspended these beneficial measures, or reverted to the ancient system, it was owing to the events which menaced the tranquillity and even the integrity of his states. He asks for nothing better than to be allowed to resume the reforms upon which he had entered; and the moment for doing so can only be hastened by the subsidence of agitation in Europe. The assertion of the Emperor Napoleon, that the treaties of 1815 no longer exist, is, perhaps, referred to by the czar when he observes that, while the repose of the world does not consist in immobility, neither is it to be attained by “the instability of political combinations, which each generation would be called upon to undo, and to recommence according to the passions and the interests of the moment, but rather by the practical wisdom which imposes on all respect for established rights.”

The czar would, of course, feel very happy if the Emperor Napoleon's plan led to a frank understanding among the sovereigns; but that can only result from the

assent of the other powers; and that assent depends on his laying before them the precise questions they have to examine, as well as the bases on which the understanding is to be established.

The King of Saxony would be quite delighted to assist in the realisation of the emperor's magnanimous designs if the cabinets of Europe agreed to do the same; if Germany, "and, above all, its two great powers, as the leaders," associated themselves in the work.

The King of Würtemberg is not less profuse in good wishes and compliments. Struck with admiration of the "noble intentions" of his imperial brother, he, too, would endeavour to promote the favourable disposition of the Diet towards the projects of his majesty, "*unless* such of the powers of Europe, whose co-operation must be considered indispensable to the settlement of the questions to be laid before the congress, should, after more precise information from the Tuileries, raise obstacles of a nature to cause the project of a European congress to be abandoned." The king then politely thanks the emperor for his offer of hospitality in Paris, and assures his "good brother" of his high esteem, and his inviolable friendship. Unfortunately, obstacles were raised.

Not many years elapsed, however, before one of the principals had reason to rue the day when they allowed the obstacles to be irresistible. A congress might have saved many a crown that has since been lost.

One bad result of this refusal, on our part, to enter into a congress, was the coolness which grew up between France and England, in consequence of which the little kingdom of Denmark was shorn of Schleswig and Holstein—a disaster that led to the complete ruin of Austria, and placed Prussia at the head of Germany; which would not have been the case had not Austria and Prussia taken Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, and then quarrelled about the division of the spoil. We must devote a short space to the history of the Danish question.

In May, 1852, a treaty was signed in London by the representatives of France, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain; to which, subsequently, Russia, and some of the minor states of Germany, gave their assent. This treaty had been brought about by Frederick VII., of Denmark, who, having no direct heirs, took this step to prevent any difficulty arising as to the succession on his decease. The settlement was rather complicated. The Salic law did not exist in Denmark, but it did in Schleswig and Holstein; then, again, Holstein and Lauenberg were members of the German confederation. It was the aim of the king to unite all these elements in one person. The most direct heirs were the children of the Landgrave of Hesse, by an aunt of the reigning king; but they were excluded by the Salic law. They were bought off (as also, in 1852, were the claims of the Duke of Augustenberg, who, on certain conditions, signed a renunciation of his rights), and the true heir was declared to be Prince Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein-Sönderberg, Glücksburg. If treaties and guarantees were of any avail, Prince Christian had every certainty of a peaceful succession to the throne.

It was otherwise decreed. Frederick VII. died November 15th, 1863; and, on the following day, Christian IX. was proclaimed king. Holstein was dissatisfied; and when the young Duke of Augustenberg claimed his rights, in spite of their previous sale by his father, there was a strong disposition to support him. At the same time, the Duke of Nassau, the King of Bavaria, and some other of the petty German sovereigns, agreed to support him; and the Frankfort Diet, without deciding in his favour, expelled the representative of the King of Denmark, as not being the recognised sovereign of Holstein. German troops were actually sent into Holstein and Lauenberg. On the last day of the year, Earl Russell wrote to the Diet, proposing a conference, and a suspension of action while the conference was sitting. In his despatch, he said—"The powers who signed the treaty of London, together with the Germanic confederation, are those first bound to establish the arrangements and terms of ultimate agreement. Moreover," he added, "that though the individual right of succession was a small question, yet it is of great

importance that the faith of treaties should be upheld; that right and possession should be respected; and that the flames of war should not be spread over Europe through questions which quiet, and timely exercise of reason and justice, might conduct to a peaceful solution."

No sooner had the Federal force, which was furnished by Hanover and Saxony, taken possession of Holstein and Lauenberg, than Austria and Prussia, as the chief powers in Germany, gave notice that they intended to be the executors of the decree of the Frankfort Diet, and that the Federal troops must evacuate the territory; which, accordingly, they did. The demands on Denmark were then renewed by the two great powers; which, being resisted, hostilities commenced in earnest on February 1st, 1864. The Danes retired behind the Eider, believing, after what Lord Palmerston had said, that England and France would, sooner or later, interfere on their behalf. They also trusted to the Dannemarke, an ancient rampart, which had been strengthened since 1859. Alas! as regards the Dannemarke and their allies, the Danes found their hopes were vain. On February 1st, General Von Wrangel, who commanded the Prussian forces, crossed the Schleswig frontier; took possession of Gottorp, the Danish troops retiring; and issued a proclamation to the Schleswigers, telling them that he had come "to protect their rights; and that the governments of Austria and Prussia had determined to abolish the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark." On the 2nd, there was a severe fight between the Prussians and the Danes, in which the latter were worsted. On the 3rd, the Danes fought the Austrians, and were again defeated by numbers, and superior artillery and small-arms. Then commenced for the Danes a disastrous retreat. Schleswig fell, of course. The Austrians took Flensburg after a slight resistance; while the Prussians followed the Danish forces, who had fallen back on Dybbol, or Düppel—a strongly fortified position, opposite the Isle of Alsén. The abandonment of the line of the Dannemarke occasioned much indignation at Copenhagen. The Rigsraad voted high-spirited addresses; but they could provide neither arms nor men. In England, also, there was much anger; and many young men, moved by the beauty of the Princess of Wales, and the extremity of her father, talked of going to fight for the Danes; but they thought better of it. The smaller states of Germany were also vastly indignant at the mode in which Austria and Prussia, for purposes of their own, had superseded the authority of the Diet; and the Federal commissioners issued a proclamation, in which they stated, that the occupation of Altona by the Prussian troops, could only be regarded as "an act of violence, in direct contradiction to declarations very recently made by the high cabinets of Vienna and Berlin;" especially as it was expressly pointed out as self-evident in the instructions of the Diet, forwarded to the commissioners on the 22nd of December, that continuous occupation of the Holstein territory was reserved for the Federal troops alone. No one, however, pitied them. They had been thoroughly duped; and the general opinion in England was, that it served them right. We may be sure that neither the patriotic addresses of the Rigsraad, nor the dissatisfaction of the members of the Diet, nor the censure of Europe, had any effect in stopping the progress of the superior forces of Austria and Prussia. On February 7th, General Von Wrangel announced, that, in future, Austrian and Prussian commissioners would administer the civil government of Schleswig, "the sea surrounded," and that the German language would alone be used in all branches of the administration.

Not satisfied with the successes they had achieved, Marshal Wrangel set down to besiege Düppel; while General Gallenz, who commanded the Austrian troops, undertook the capture of Fredericia, in Jutland, and thus invaded Denmark proper. This step was disapproved of at Vienna when it was made known; but meanwhile, after a bombardment the Danes retired. At Düppel, the Prussians had to wait a few days for their artillery, and then it was all up with the Danes. Indeed, they never had a chance. At Düppel they could only oppose 12,000 men to 30,000, infinitely better armed. On one occasion, a Danish iron-clad, the *Rolf*

Krakl, did good service: but what was a temporary success in the face of tremendous odds? Soon after, the town of Sönderberg, in Alsen, was bombarded; and on April 18th, after a gallant defence, the last remaining bastions were stormed, and the Prussians were masters of the place, the garrison retiring into Jutland. After the fall of Düppel the Prussians entered Jutland, levying heavy contributions on the defenceless inhabitants, in compensation for the damage to property, caused to Prussian, as well as other German subjects, by ships and cargoes captured by the Danes. On June 29th, the Prussians attacked Alsen, and, after a sharp contest, obtained possession of it. The Danish troops, embarking on board their own vessels, were taken to Fünen. Thus beaten, in spite of their gallantry, by superior forces, and deserted by their allies, the Danes were compelled to sue for peace. On the 20th of July, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon for ten days, by which it was agreed that the troops of Austria and Prussia were to remain in Jutland until peace was ratified. On the 30th of October this was done, and Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenberg, and a part of Jutland, were given up to the haughty and exacting conquerors. After these powers had taken possession, Austria gave up Lauenberg to Prussia, on payment of a stipulated sum; the civil administration of Holstein was assigned to Austria, and of Schleswig to Prussia. The next thing was to settle as to the future. Accordingly, the convention of Gastein was held on August 14th, 1865. In that convention, after all that had been said and done to the contrary, Prussia having obtained Austria as her accomplice, found no difficulty in securing her consent to the declaration that the real title to the duchies was in the King of Denmark; and that consequently, by the treaty of October, that right was now vested in the two sovereigns. Prussia then threw off all disguise, and announced her intention to annex them to her own dominions; and offered Austria a pecuniary compensation, which was declined; Austria wanting to get the duchies declared independent, and to have the question settled by the Diet of the confederation, where she expected to have a majority. We must add here that, eventually, Austria and Prussia went to war; that the battle of Königgrätz destroyed Austria as a German power; and that, by the force of the sword, Prussia became lord of all. Thus poetic justice was done to the smaller states of the confederation, who were so eager to rob Denmark of the duchies.

Earl Russell's despatch on the Gastein convention bears date September 14th, 1865; and is as follows:—

"The *chargé d'affaires* of Prussia has communicated to me the substance of a despatch relating to the convention of Gastein, and the newspapers of Berlin have since published the text of that convention.

"Upon the first communication to her majesty's government of the preliminaries of peace signed at Vienna, I stated, at Vienna and Berlin, the views of her majesty's government upon those preliminaries. The present convention has only served to increase the regret her majesty's government thus expressed.

"The treaties of 1815 gave the King of Denmark a seat in the German Diet, as Duke of Holstein.

"The treaty of 1852 recognised the right of succession to the whole Danish monarchy, which the late king had established in the person of the present king.

"That treaty has, in spite of the assurances given in the despatches of January 31st, 1864, been completely set aside by Austria and Prussia, two of the powers who had signed it.

"It might have been expected, that when treaties were thus annulled, the popular feeling of Germany, the wishes of the peoples of the duchies themselves, and the opinions of the majority of the Diet, so explicitly put forth by Austria and Prussia in the sittings of the conference of London, would have been recognised in their place. In this manner, if one order of rights had been overthrown, another title, derived from the assent of the people, would have been set up, and that title might have been received with respect, and maintained with a prospect of permanence.

"But all rights, old and new, whether founded on the solemn compact of sovereigns, or on the clear expression of the popular will, have been set at nought by the convention of Gastein, and the dominion of force is the sole power acknowledged and regarded.

"Violence and conquest are the basis upon which alone the partitioning powers found their agreement.

"Her majesty's government deeply lament the disregard thus shown to the principles of public right, and the legitimate claims of a people to be heard as to the disposal of their own destiny.

"This instruction does not authorise you to address observations on this subject to the Court to which you are accredited, but is intended only to point out, when the opportunity shall arise, what is the language you are expected to hold."

Thus, at last, the Germans, in a rough way, got unity.

Whilst we are writing, a document, drawn up by the late Prince Consort, on the subject of German unity, in the year 1848, when it was felt that things could not remain as they were much longer, is just published. Had it been adopted, the Frankfort Diet would have been still in existence. The prince writes—

"The problem that must be solved is to convert Germany from a confederation of states (*Staatenbund*) into one Federal state (*Bundesstaat*). If the solution is to be salutary and permanent, it must be developed out of the state of affairs at present existing, and becoming the starting-point of entire German history. It must not be a cut-and-dried theory, but the final representation of a position long foreseen and desired by the German people; in which, at one and the same time, all conditions and requirements of the state generally are fulfilled in the most satisfactory way. In Germany we have various individual peoples—states complete in themselves—dynasties and crowns—all which must be united. It would be sinful to reduce to a common level and to obliterate the individualities of the peoples by a centralisation, shaping all after the same pattern: for it is in the peculiarity and legality of such individualities that the many-sided vitality and freshness of life of the German people consists. The crowns and dynasties which are identical with the personality (*persönlichkeit*) of these states, must not be infringed or humiliated, if the personality and executive power of the individual states they represent is not to be destroyed; but both states and peoples should be taken together practically, as a whole, and efficaciously constituted.

"I think the solution should be the following:—The princes of the Germanic confederation, together with the four burgomasters of the free towns, form a conference of princes, and elect, from among this number, a German emperor, either for life, or for a term of years (ten?).

"The estates of the various German states elect from among the members of both their Chambers, a number proportionate to the population and importance of the individual states, and organise therewith a German Diet (*Reichstag*).

"An Austragal court (*Reichsgericht*), presided over by an irremovable chancellor, to form a supreme court, composed of the legal faculties of the German universities, decisive in all questions between the different individual states; between the various governments and their estates; in all German succession and regency questions; also in territorial divisions and cases of heirship.

"The representation of Germany to be incumbent upon the emperor. All imperial business to be carried on in his name. In conjunction with the conference of princes, he is to appoint to public offices. At the head of the said conference, he will, upon each occasion, open the Diet. He is at liberty to reject the propositions of the conference of princes, and a resolution of the Diet can only become valid by his sanction. He may, where he thinks fit, allow himself to be represented by another prince. His ministers to be the minister for foreign affairs, and the two presidents of a Chamber of Commerce and a council of war. These ministers to be responsible to the Diet. The ministry for foreign affairs has to negotiate with foreign ambassadors, and, in extraordinary cases, to send envoys to foreign Courts.

"The German Chamber of Commerce, composed of officials from the various states, to have the management of the German customs, navigation, roads, railways, postal, and traffic systems.

"The German council of war, formed of generals from the various armies, to conduct the organisation of the German army, composed of troops from the different separate states, at the head of which shall be a Federal commander-in-chief in time of war. The German fortresses and the (prospective) German fleet to be also under the management of the council of war.

"The German sovereigns themselves, or princes of their houses representing them, to form the conference of princes. This conference to possess a veto upon the resolutions of the Diet, and upon the appointments to offices by the emperor. Under the emperor's presidency the conference appoints the members of the three imperial Chambers (*Reichskammern*). It has to sanction the propositions to be made by the emperor to the Diet. It votes by majority, yet so that the princes of the larger states have a comparatively larger number of votes. Every prince may vote by proxy. The conference of princes, with the emperor, appoint the Federal commander-in-chief, in the event and pending the duration of a war.

"The Diet (*Reichstag*) to assemble every three years. The deputies (*Reichsboten*) of which it is composed, from both Chambers of the various states, sit and debate together, but vote in two voting bodies (*Curien*) corresponding to those Chambers. Let each member speak from his seat. The Diet votes by majority, so that the agreement of both voting bodies is necessary for decision. Let the number of the members not be too large: not above fifty in the first, nor 150 in the second Chamber—together, 200. A marshal of the Diet, elected by the entire Diet from the first voting body (*Curie*), to act as president.

"Thus we have, then, an emperor as the representative and personification of German unity, and as the supreme officer of the executive power. His worthiness is guaranteed by choice of, and from, twenty-seven crowned heads; upon whom, on the other hand, falls back part of the splendour of the dignity voted from among and by them. Further, as a branch of the executive power, a 'responsible ministry' in the presidents of the three imperial Chambers, and a Federal commander-in-chief, whose ability is guaranteed by his election when his services are required, and for a certain period only. Further, a conference of princes, as the immediate participator, both of the executive power and of the representative importance of the emperor, who, by this necessary participation, perfectly secures the undiminished continuance of the power and sovereignty of all German crowns. Then a Diet, as the expression of the collective will of the whole German nation, yet so composed, that, at the same time, the individuality of every single German people and state is completely represented by the despatch of the delegates of the empire (*Reichsboten*) from its own estates. Lastly, we have a supreme Austragal tribunal, as the expression of entire German legal wisdom, relieved from all external influences by its irremovability.

"The authority of all these tribunals naturally only extends to matters of general German importance—which would have to be more exactly defined—without interfering in the legislative and administrative departments of individual states."

We must now devote a little space to that sad chapter—the wants, and wrongs, and woes of Poland. In 1861 and 1862, the Russian government took it into its head to make the administration of the kingdom entirely Polish; re-establishing the University of Warsaw, trebling the number of gymnasiums in Poland, and founding schools even for the peasantry. Nevertheless discontent existed. In April, 1861, there were popular demonstrations at Warsaw, in consequence of the Russian government dissolving the Polish Agricultural Society, of which Count Andre Zamoyski was president. On the 8th the troops fired on the populace; and the numbers killed and wounded, on that and subsequent days, amounted to about 1,000. The summer passed off, however, peaceably; and the

land was quiet till January, 1863, when the insurrection began. A conscription, it appears, for the Russian army had been carried on for two or three days; and had been submitted to quietly, until it was discovered that, instead of the usual plan, a selection was being made of all the young men of education, and suspected of patriotic feeling. On this being ascertained, the young men left their homes, withdrew to the woods, provided themselves with arms, and prepared for resistance. In many places the Russian soldiers, when in small parties, were massacred; and the insurrection spread rapidly. The insurgents broke up the railways and the telegraphic wires; and, dispersing themselves in small bodies, embarrassed the movements of the Russian military forces, and frequently succeeded in defeating them with considerable loss. The rising was badly timed. The country was not prepared for the insurrection when it broke out. The most influential part of Polish society was opposed to it. Mr. Sutherland Edwards, who went out as the *Times'* commissioner, wrote—"In fact, there were scarcely a dozen men in Poland who wanted a Polish insurrection in January, 1863. The Russian government, the Grand Duke Constantine, and the Marquis Wielopolski, the Polish chief of the civil government in Poland, did not want it at all. The Polish national committee wanted it in the spring. The committee organised by the Polish moderate or aristocratic party, wanted it in two years, or still later; but, at all events, not until full preparation had been made, until the peasant question had been settled definitively, and until the state of affairs in Russia and abroad should seem to give the rising a fair chance of success. The insurrection was not desired by the French government, which was allied with Russia at the time, and which had just proved its Polish sympathies by arresting Polish agents in Paris, and stopping the supplies of arms intended for the future insurgents. As for the English government, its representative at St. Petersburg heartily approved of the system introduced by the Marquis Wielopolski; which, indeed, could only be objected to by the jealousy of the Prussian and Austrian governments, and by such Poles as were resolved, at all hazards, to prevent even a temporary reconciliation between Poland and Russia. The English consul-general and vice-consul at Warsaw were also of opinion that the Poles would best consult their own interests by accepting the reforms introduced by the Marquis Wielopolski."

Desperate was the contest carried on. After two successful engagements with the Russians, on the 16th and 17th of March, Langiewicz was attacked, and, after a severe struggle, the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Langiewicz, with about 900 of his adherents, succeeded in crossing the Austrian border. He was lodged in his castle of Cracow, and his men were disarmed and imprisoned. In April a more serious character was given to the struggle, by the fact that England, France, and Austria sent separate notes to St. Petersburg respecting Poland, remonstrating against Russian cruelties; to which Prince Gortschakoff replied, attributing the revolt to the revolutionary tendencies with which Europe was affected, "which are the curse of our age, and are now concentrated in this country." In his note to England, he complained "of the continual conspiracy which is being organised and armed abroad, to keep up disorder in the kingdom."

The ideas of the English government on the subject may be best learnt from Earl Russell's despatch, dated June the 17th. His lordship writes—

"Her majesty's government have considered with the deepest attention the despatch of Prince Gortschakoff of the 26th of April, which was placed in my hands by Baron Brunnow on the 2nd of May. Her majesty's government are not desirous, any more than Prince Gortschakoff, of continuing a barren discussion. I will therefore pass over all the controversy regarding my previous despatch. I will not endeavour, in the present communication, to fix the precise meaning of the article regarding Poland in the treaty of Vienna; nor will I argue, as Prince Gortschakoff seems to expect I should do, that there is only one form under which good government can be established. Still less will I call in question the

benevolent intentions of the enlightened emperor, who has already, in a short time, effected such marvellous changes in the legal condition of his Russian subjects. Her majesty's government are willing, with the Emperor of Russia, to seek a practical solution of a difficult and most important problem. Baron Brunnow, in presenting to me Prince Gortschakoff's despatch, said—'The imperial cabinet is ready to enter upon an exchange of ideas upon the ground and within the limits of the treaties of 1815.' Her majesty's government are thus invited, by the government of Russia, to an exchange of ideas upon the basis of the treaty of 1815, with a view to the pacification and permanent tranquillity of Poland. Before making any definite proposals, it is essential to point out that there are two leading principles upon which, as it appears to her majesty's government, any future government of Poland ought to rest. The first of these is the establishment of confidence in the government on the part of the governed. The original views of the Emperor Alexander I. are stated by Lord Castlereagh, who had heard from the emperor's own lips, in a long conversation, the plan he contemplated.

"The plan of the emperor is thus described by Lord Castlereagh:—'To retain the whole of the duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the small portion to the westward of Kalisch, which he meant to assign to Prussia, erecting the remainder, together with the Polish provinces formerly dismembered, into a kingdom under the dominion of Russia, with a national administration congenial to the sentiments of the people.'

"The whole force of this plan consists in the latter words. Whether power is retained in the hands of one, as in the old monarchy of France—or divided among a select body of the aristocracy, as in the republic of Venice—or distributed among a sovereign, a House of Peers, and a representative assembly, as in England—its virtue and strength must consist in its being a 'national administration congenial to the sentiments of the people.' The Emperor Alexander II., speaking of the institutions he has given, says—'As to the future, it necessarily depends on the confidence with which these institutions will be received on the part of the kingdom.' Such an administration as Alexander I. intended, such confidence as Alexander II. looked for, unhappily do not exist in Poland. The next principle of order and stability must be found in the supremacy of law over arbitrary will. Where such supremacy exists, the subject or citizen may enjoy his property or exercise his industry in peace; and the security he feels as an individual, will be felt, in its turn, by the government under which he lives. Partial tumults, secret conspiracies, and the interference of cosmopolite strangers, will not shake the firm edifice of such a government. This element of stability is likewise wanting in Poland. The religious liberty guaranteed by the solemn declarations of the Empress Catherine, the political freedom granted by the deliberate charter of the Emperor Alexander I., have alike been abrogated by succeeding governments, and have been only partially revived by the present emperor. It is no easy task to restore the confidence which has been lost, and to regain the peace which is now everywhere broken. Her majesty's government would deem themselves guilty of great presumption if they were to express an assurance that vague declarations of good intentions, or even the enactment of some wise laws, would make such an impression on the minds of the Polish people as to obtain peace, and restore obedience.

"In the present circumstances, it appears to her majesty's government that nothing less than the following outline of measures should be adopted as the basis of pacification:—1. Complete and general amnesty 2. National representation, with powers similar to those which are fixed by the charter of the 15th (27th) November, 1815. 3. Poles to be named to public offices in such a manner as to form a distinct national administration, having the confidence of the country. 4. Full and entire liberty of conscience; repeal of the restrictions imposed on Catholic worship. 5. The Polish language recognised in the kingdom as the

official language, and used as such in the administration of the law, and in education. 6. The establishment of a regular and legal system of recruiting.

"These six points might serve as the indications of measures to be adopted, after calm and full deliberation. But it is difficult, nay, almost impossible, to create the requisite confidence and calm while the passions of men are becoming daily more excited, their hatred more deadly, their determination to succeed or perish more fixed and immovable. Your lordship has sent me an extract from the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, of the 7th (19th) of May. I could send your lordship, in return, extracts from London newspapers, giving accounts of atrocities equally horrible, committed by men acting on behalf of Russian authority. It is not for her majesty's government to discriminate between the real facts and the exaggeration of hostile parties. Many of the allegations of each are probably unfounded; but some must, in all probability, be true. How, then, are we to hope to conduct to any good end a negotiation carried on between parties thus exasperated? In an ordinary war, the successes of fleets and armies who fight with courage, but without hatred, may be balanced in a negotiation carried on in the midst of hostilities. An island more or less to be transferred, a boundary more or less to be extended, might express the value of the latest victory or conquest. But where the object is to attain civil peace, and to induce men to live under those against whom they have fought with rancour and desperation, the case is different. The first thing to be done, therefore, in the opinion of her majesty's government, is to establish a suspension of hostilities. This might be done, in the name of humanity, by a proclamation of the Emperor of Russia, without any derogation of his dignity. The Poles, of course, would not be entitled to the benefit of such an act unless they themselves refrained from hostilities of every kind during the suspension. Tranquillity thus for the moment restored, the next thing is to consult the powers who signed the treaty of Vienna. Prussia, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal must be asked to give their opinion as to the best mode of giving effect to a treaty to which they were contracting parties.

"What her majesty's government propose, therefore, consists in these three propositions:—1st. The adoption of the six points enumerated as bases of negotiation. 2nd. A provisional suspension of arms, to be proclaimed by the Emperor of Russia. 3rd. A conference of the eight powers who signed the treaty of Vienna."

Thus stimulated, the Polish revolution went on apace, and the aristocracy and the moderate party reluctantly were compelled to join it. The only notice Russia took of Earl Russell's despatch was to bid his lordship look at Ireland. In August, the insurgents, under Lelewel, sustained a total defeat, and Lelewel was slain. The contest was then continued by Czachowski, who was defeated in October, and received wounds of which he died in prison a few days after. And thus, once more in vain, had Poland shed her blood, and cried to Europe for help.

The story of the late revolt will never be truly told. It is in the hands of the Russian government; and it knows that, in such a matter, silence is golden. The *Times'* correspondent wrote, after order again reigned in Poland—"The more fully the particulars of the late Polish rebellion come to light, the greater and graver appears the struggle of that unfortunate race. In making up accounts, the Russian government have now discovered the significant fact, that the number of people who left Warsaw to join the insurrectionary bands in 1862 and 1863, amounted to no less than 8,128, out of a population of 216,000. Of these, 83 were children between 10 and 14 years old; 1,902 were between 20 and 25; 1,463 between 25 and 30; 869 between 30 and 35; 568 between 35 and 40; 376 between 40 and 45; 207 between 45 and 50; 110 between 50 and 55; 62 between 55 and 60; 43 between 60 and 65; 18 between 65 and 70; 9 between 70 and 75; 4 between 75 and 80; 3 between 80 and 85. These figures have been ascertained by comparing the evidence of the police registers with the number of the missing, and the facts elicited by the courts of inquiry; and, as must be naturally the case under the

circumstances, are rather below than above the mark. Among the emigrants, forming actually 4 per cent. of the population, were 6,447 unmarried men, 1,233 husbands, 129 widowers, 181 girls, 83 wives, and 54 widows. Classifying them according to their several professions, we find 2,226 artisans and operatives among the number; 1,066 valets and domestic servants (out of a total of 19,004 of both sexes); 197 members of the civil service, 140 public scribes, 173 pupils in the higher educational establishments, when no more than 600 were attending lectures at the time; 82 schoolboys, 42 of their teachers, 185 soldiers on furlough, 27 officers on half-pay, 9 proprietors of landed estates, 7 doctors, 32 priests, 2 rabbis, 3 Jewish teachers; and so on through every rank and condition of life, down to 44 frail followers of *Venus Vulgiva*.³

In 1864, Mr. Cardwell, who had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial Office, found he had enough to do.

First of all, he had to vindicate the conduct of his department in New Zealand. Towards the end of 1863, we received the unwelcome intelligence that the tribes in the northern island had broken out in open revolt, and that we were again at war. The country about Auckland, one of the earliest settled and most flourishing districts of the islands, was the scene of atrocities, which led one to doubt whether a quarter of a century of Christian teaching had had much effect on the cruel and perfidious natives. In the middle of July, Rewi, a chief who had long been the leader of the malcontents, and who is suspected of having instigated some foul murders, began to rouse the Maories in the neighbourhood of Auckland to rebellion. His object was to make a general rising of the northern tribes, particularly the Waikatoes, a warlike race, whose country is close to Auckland; and then, by a sudden movement, to exterminate the settlers. The first act which he contemplated was the murder of some white men on the Waikato River. However, his plot was discovered; the troops were withdrawn from the Taranaki district, where they had been watching some ill-disposed natives; and preparations were made for anticipating the outbreak by a movement against the Waikatoes. While this was taking place, the natives began the struggle by murdering two settlers at a place called Drury, about twenty miles from Auckland. Two days after, an escort was attacked within a short distance of the same place. The soldiers fought with the utmost bravery, driving the natives back into the bush. Finally, the escort made good its retreat to a neighbouring house, where it remained until reinforced; but the loss was no less than four killed and ten wounded. After this, both government and people prepared for war on a large scale. The first military movement was made by General Cameron, with 500 men, advancing against the natives, who, to the number of several hundreds, fought with considerable skill, making a stand at every favourable point, and defending, with the greatest obstinacy, certain positions which they had fortified with lines of rifle-pits. These people belonged to the Waikato tribe, which, from its proximity to Auckland, seemed, at any rate, to have become proficient in the art of warfare. The colony sprang to arms with an alacrity equal to that which the mother country would exhibit if threatened with invasion. It was estimated that in a few weeks there were 4,000 volunteers and militia fully armed. The native warriors were reckoned at 7,500 men. On the 22nd of July, the native settlement of Kizi-Kizi was attacked, and taken, after a vigorous defence, by General Cameron's troops, whose loss was small. From this time the Maories would not meet the British forces in the field, but continued to ravage the province. Then there came disaster, needless and inexcusable, to the British troops, and Sir George Grey was sent to New Zealand, from the Cape. After twelve months of unsatisfactory victories on the part of the British, the long and calamitous warfare with the Maories was brought to a close, in August, 1864, by their almost unconditional submission. The revolt was punished only by a forfeiture of a small part of their lands.

The Colonial Office was rudely assailed on account of an unwise and disastrous

expedition which the governor of Cape Coast Castle had thought fit to organise against the King of Ashantee. In February, 1864, the King of Ashantee, having made war on the Fantees (an African territory under the protection of the British at Cape Coast), who had refused to give up two fugitives claimed by him, Governor Pine ordered a force to be marched, to repel and punish the Ashantees. The wet season set in much earlier than was anticipated; and, without seeing an enemy, or firing a shot, the force of above 1,500 men, chiefly coloured men, officered by Europeans, were prostrated by fever; the loss by death, independent of the suffering, was fearful, and the remains of the expedition were ordered to return. This wretched war was undertaken by Governor Pine with the sanction of the Colonial Office; and we had a war which cost us, so it is said, £1,000 a day. Worse still, it was not till the notice of censure of Sir J. Hay was put on the order-book of the House of Commons, that the *Gladiator* was sent to bring back the wretched survivors.

As an illustration of the way in which matters were managed under Governor Pine, we give the following extract from a letter in the *Times*, August 10th, 1864. The writer describes "a most important post."

"The camp of Swaidroo Akim, situated on an elevation, in the midst of dense forest and underwood, covered about an acre of ground. Its stockading was placed so loosely that I have seen many of the stakes pulled out in a minute by one man. There were four entrances, none of which could be shut in case of attack; any means for doing so having remained unprovided. There was no ditch, neither were there any drawbridges; and the stockading itself, which had, for some time, a gap of fifteen or twenty yards, was partly composed of plantain stems—a material not stronger than cabbage-stalks, and would have afforded an attacking party about the same amount of protection it would to the defendants, owing to there being no loopholes or banquettes to enable the latter to fire on the former. The magazine was within fifteen paces of the best point of attack. It was joined to the store, and could only be entered by that building, which was composed of timber; both were thatched with palm branches, dry and crisp as snuff. There was no tank nor well; nor was there any water within the stockade; neither could any be obtained nearer than a river three-quarters of a mile distant, to which a fatigue party went each day for a daily supply. We had no cannon, nor ordnance of any description, excepting two rocket-tubes, which could only be fired into the air if it was not intended to set fire to the stockading. Will any man believe that such a camp, 120 miles from the base of operations, and which had not an intermediate post, kept our protectorate free from invasion? Its garrison consisted of one small company only; and very often, from disease, not one-half could be relied on. The Ashantees are brave and numerous; and it is well known that, had they desired, they could have brought against the camp an army of 40,000 men, not badly equipped, better adapted, and infinitely better accustomed to bush-fighting than West Indian troops; and that nothing but a precipitate flight could have saved her majesty's soldiers. We have not killed or wounded a single Ashantee; we have not inflicted the slightest chastisement whatever; and we have returned, sick and dirty, to Cape Coast Castle, having destroyed our stores at the two dens."

In 1863, there was great commotion about the burning of Kagosima. It appears, that in spite of the treaty between ourselves and the Japanese, they were very much opposed to the entrance of foreigners into their country; and it was almost impossible to gain redress for the injuries inflicted on them. A Mr. Richardson had been murdered in 1862, under peculiarly atrocious circumstances, by the Prince of Satsuma: and no satisfaction having been obtained from either the richardo or tycoon for it, a British squadron was despatched, under Admiral Kuper, to reduce the fortified town of Kagosima, which was the property of the prince. On August 15th, 1863, a bombardment was commenced, which was vigorously replied to by the forts; but by dusk the town was in flames, and three of the forts silenced. On the following day the attack was renewed; the town was

reduced to a mass of ruins; the palace, arsenal, and three steam-vessels utterly destroyed. The British lost two captains; eleven seamen were killed, and thirty-nine wounded. This vigorous measure led to an animated discussion in the House of Commons. The peace party were indignant. They assumed that an English minister and admiral had not only wantonly burnt a city of 180,000 inhabitants, but that they had also complacently boasted of the proceeding. On fuller information, the population of Kagosima collapsed to 40,000; and it appeared that there had been no loss of life, and but little sacrifice of property.

In 1865, an inexcusable sacrifice of life was perpetrated by certain Indian officers. On the 11th of April, a detachment of 100 men of the Royal Artillery was ordered to march from Mhow to Kirkee. The heats of summer had commenced, and cholera was known to be raging on the line of march. The inevitable consequences followed: the detachment was struck by their terrible enemy after they had been three days on the road; and they were eventually compelled to relinquish their journey, and return to Mhow; but not before twenty-six of their number had been sacrificed, and the remainder had been exposed to the most cruel sufferings. From a parliamentary return, it appears that a grosser story of mere blundering has seldom been told. These unfortunate men belonged to a battery, which it had been determined, at least as early as the 1st of March, to disband, and to distribute among the other batteries of the Bombay army; and it appears to have been the first blunder in the case that, in consequence of some confusion between the adjutant-general's and quartermaster-general's departments, the transfer of the men had been delayed until April. At all events, the quartermaster-general represents himself as "surprised," on his return to headquarters at the beginning of April, at receiving a telegram from General Green, inquiring whether the detachment in question was to be marched to Kirkee. No answer having been sent, the inquiry was repeated on the 10th; and an answer was then despatched the same day, directing the march to take place. The former reports on this part of the subject were so far incorrect, that, in neither of these telegrams from General Green, did he make any protest against the march of the men, or make any allusion to the fact that cholera prevailed on the road. On the very day, however, on which he received the quartermaster-general's telegram, he had occasion to write to head-quarters respecting some deserters who were to be sent up to Mhow for trial. In this communication, which was despatched by post, and not by telegraph, General Green referred, for the first time, to the prevalence of cholera. "I would deprecate," he said, "the men *being sent up at all at this time of the year, if it can possibly be avoided*, for cholera is on the road; great heat has set in; and I would much prefer to await the first fall of rain;" which would have been in June. This letter was not received at headquarters until six days afterwards, or on the 17th of April. Immediately on its receipt, the quartermaster-general telegraphed that he would delay the despatch of the deserters; and he added, that "the same objection seemed equally to apply to the proposed march of the artillery." But this was too late. The blunder had been committed. The detachment had marched, as originally ordered, on the 12th; and by the time the telegram was received, they were dying like sheep on the road.

Far away, in Abyssinia, we had also a very unpleasant entanglement. It appears that the king of that country had thrown an English consul, Mr. Cameron, into gaol; and, more than once, there had been a parliamentary discussion on the subject. For a long time the public considered the consul had been imprudent, and had paid the penalty of his imprudence. Then we learnt that the arrest of Consul Cameron was not in any degree his own fault, but arose from the change of policy in the British government with regard to Abyssinia. That we had any particular policy with regard to Abyssinia, was, to most of us, a matter of astonishment. It appears, then, that our policy towards Abyssinia has been, to countenance her to maintain her independence against the Turks. In

1849, we appear, for this purpose, to have executed a treaty with the then sovereign of Abyssinia; and the Abyssinian pilgrims to Jerusalem were placed under the care of Bishop Gobat; and, in his absence, of the British consul there. The Copts and Armenians in Jerusalem kept up a constant annoyance of the Abyssinians; and finally, making an unhandsome use of the fact that all the Abyssinian monks had died of the plague, destroyed their title-deeds, took possession of their convent, and sold it to the Russians for 60,000 roubles—as it would seem, with the sanction of the Turkish authorities. The Emperor Theodore retaliated for these injuries by ill-treating the Coptic patriarch. The Abyssinians were expelled from Jerusalem, on the ground that they were Turkish subjects; and arrived, in a state of destitution and misery, in their native country, much to the indignation of the emperor. It appeared, also, that we agreed, in 1849, to keep open the avenues of approach betwixt the sea-coast and Abyssinia; whereas we had since consented to the acquisition, by Egypt from Turkey, of the territory of Massorah, which is the only access from Abyssinia to the sea. The emperor claimed to hold Consul Cameron as a hostage for the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia, in accordance with our treaty of 1849; for the repression of Egyptian outrage along the frontier; for the restitution of the Abyssinian church and convent at Jerusalem; and for the reopening of the communication with the sea by Massorah. Other accounts laid the blame of his imprisonment on the government, for neglecting to answer the letter sent by the Emperor Theodore, on the occasion of his accession to his hereditary throne. In the House of Commons, in a debate which took place on the subject in June, 1864, Sir Hugh Cairns contended that the government had neglected Mr. Cameron. Mr. Layard insisted that he had become involved by his own indiscretion, and that the government had done all in its power to obtain his release. The negotiations on the subject were tedious and protracted; but they were not to be regretted if they taught us to withdraw our consuls from places where they cannot be sheltered by the power of England. It was something very much like absurdity to place a man in such a position. Here was a barbarous prince, almost inaccessible to arms, who had got a British agent completely within his power. Negotiating with him for the release of his prisoner, was like coaxing a cat to give up a mouse. Any appearance of violence would have been fatal, as the victim would have been sacrificed before any help could have arrived.

In the North American colonies a desire for union began to express itself, for which we may augur happily as to the future of that great district, peopled with English colonists, and rejoicing under English rule. The domestic troubles in the republic, and the unprotected state of the colonial frontier, led the leading men of all parties to see the propriety—we might write, the necessity—of some such step. A scheme for a confederation was framed by a congress of delegates; and there is reason to hope that, sooner or later, it will be adopted by the various legislatures, with the cordial sanction of the imperial government. It was proposed that a governor-general, appointed by the crown, should preside over a parliament, consisting of a council appointed for life, and a representative body, which adopted the great historical name of the House of Commons. With a wise regard for harmonious action, it was stipulated that the first members of the council should be chosen from the various colonies, in a fair proportion; from the supporters of the actual governments, and from the ranks of the local opposition. The House of Commons, like the lower house of the American Congress, is to represent the whole population, according to the latest census; the basis of calculation consisting in a fixed number of members permanently assigned to Lower Canada. The several colonies, like the states of the American Union, are to manage their domestic affairs by means of provincial assemblies; and their lieutenant-governors are to be appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of the governor-general. The scheme necessarily resembles the constitution of the United States, as it is adapted to a precisely similar condition of society; but some of the defects which experience

has disclosed in the older fabric appear to have been judiciously avoided. Residuary powers, which have not been specifically appropriated, are to be referred to the general government. In the last session of the parliament which met under Lord Palmerston's auspices, the scheme was made matter of prominent notice in the queen's speech. The subject became invested with additional importance in consequence of the action of the United States' government. In March, 1865, Earl Russell laid on the table the formal notice, from that government, of the termination, at the end of a year, of the reciprocity treaty between itself and Canada. At the same time, his lordship expressed his regret that anything should disturb our amicable relations with the government of America; and gave utterance to the hope that, within the twelvemonth, some satisfactory agreement or convention might be made—a hope which does not appear to have been realised at present.

The closing weeks of Lord Palmerston's life were clouded with a great calamity. On the 11th of August, 1865, an insurrection of the negroes broke out in Jamaica, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, near Morant Bay. The outbreak was accompanied by some atrocious murders, burning of property, and plunder; but it was put down in a manner which clearly evinced that Governor Eyre had lost his head, and that the officers under him had acted recklessly and illegally, and had brought lasting disgrace on the British name. Mr. Eyre was recalled, and Sir H. Storks was sent out in his stead. A commission was appointed by the government, to inquire into the whole affair. They agreed to a report, which was published next year. The document was of great length; but its conclusions are brief:—"First, the commissioners say that the disturbances at St. Thomas-in-the-East originated in a planned resistance to lawful authority. 2. That the causes of this insurrection were threefold: (a.) A wish of the negroes to get the land rent-free. (b.) Their want of confidence in the administration of the law. (c.) Personal and political motives. 3. That had the insurgents gained any advantage, there is reason to believe that the whole island would have been in a state of insurrection. 4. That Governor Eyre exhibited skill, promptitude, and vigour during the first part of the insurrection; and that, by that means, he put down the disturbances. 5. That the military and naval operations were prompt and judicious. 6. That martial law was continued too long: and, 7. That the punishments inflicted were excessive." Accompanying this report, is a despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Sir Henry Storks, in which he expresses his concurrence in the conclusions of the commissioners; and goes, at some length, into the case of Mr. Gordon, whose trial and execution are events which the government cannot but deplore and condemn.

In a leader on the subject, the *Times* wrote—"Our readers will be prepared to hear that Gordon's trial and execution occupy a very large space in the report. We cannot but regret that, upon this most important subject of inquiry, as well as upon some others, the commissioners forbear to draw the legitimate inferences from the materials which they have collected. In the 'comment on the case of Mr. Gordon,' there is really nothing to show whether, in their opinion, Mr. Eyre was justified in sending him to Morant Bay at all. They detail, at considerable length, the previous disturbances in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in which Gordon had taken an active part; the evidence bearing on his connection with Paul Bogle; the language and acts imputed to him immediately before and after the massacre; and the circumstances of his trial. Upon the whole, they conclude that no sufficient proof has even yet been adduced—much less was adduced before the court-martial—'either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay, or of his having been party to a general conspiracy against the government.' Now, if 'the evidence, oral and documentary, was wholly insufficient' to prove the guilt of Gordon, it seems to follow that he was unjustly condemned, and that Governor Eyre ought not to have confirmed the sentence; but the commissioners do not explicitly say so, nor is there the slightest allusion to Gordon's case in the 'conclusions' at the end of the report. Here, again, we must refer to Mr. Cardwell's

despatch for an impartial commentary on the facts elicited by the inquiry. After referring to Mr. Eyre's explanation of his own course, Mr. Cardwell observes that, so far from any necessity existing for the summary delivery of Gordon to the jurisdiction of Lieutenant Brand, an obvious alternative suggested itself, and was recommended by Mr. Westmoreland. Once on board the *Wolverene*, he might have been kept there in safe custody until he could be tried by the ordinary process of law; as it was, the formality of his transmission to Morant Bay added nothing to the legality of his execution." If valuable life had not been lost—if disgrace had not been brought on the nation which commits such things, many facts have subsequently appeared, which have placed the conduct of some of the British authorities in the most ridiculous light. For instance: Mr. Eyre wrote to have a ship tried by court-martial, and was highly indignant that the order was not obeyed at once. In England, the Quakers, and the hereditary friends of the blacks—such as Mr. Charles Buxton—were up in arms immediately. A Jamaica committee was formed, of which Mr. John Stuart Mill was one; and it was resolved that the government be urged to bring Mr. Eyre to trial, "as well as his principal coadjutors in the so-called insurrection at Morant Bay: and that, in case Mrs. Gordon should take proceedings against the persons concerned in the illegal execution of her late husband, the committee will render her such assistance as is in their power."

The decision of the "Jamaica committee" to prosecute Mr. Eyre for his share in the death of Mr. Gordon, was not arrived at without a protest from Mr. Charles Buxton. In a very temperate and able letter, Mr. Buxton pointed out, that no one "who has due regard to truth, can deny that Mr. Eyre really shared in the belief, universal, at the moment, among all the white and coloured men of the island, that such a conspiracy had existed, and that Mr. Gordon was, to a great extent, guilty of promoting it." Under the circumstances, no one can regard the course taken by Mr. Eyre as involving him in the guilt of murder. He goes on to show, that not even those who advocated the trial of the late governor, can desire that he should be hanged. In the improbable case of his conviction, he would undoubtedly receive a free pardon; but it is still more likely that he would never be convicted at all. Mr. Buxton adds—"As things stand, we have, at any rate, achieved a considerable amount of success. At any rate, Mr. Eyre has been dismissed with severe censure, thoroughly endorsed by the British public; and it would be impossible for any government again to employ an officer whose misconduct has been so fully exposed. The punishment that has befallen him is not adequate—is, indeed, far from being adequate to his offences; but still it is sufficient to be a serious warning to others. But all the good effect of this example would be done away, were he tried, and deliberately acquitted, or pardoned by the queen, amid the plaudits of the British people." He closes his letter by intimating that, as he cannot hope to carry his views against an overwhelming majority in the committee, he retires from the chairmanship; and, from the wording of his resignation, apparently from all connection with its future proceedings.

Mr. Eyre was not, however, without influential friends. On his return to this country, he was invited to a great banquet at Southampton, with the Earl of Cardigan in the chair; and a committee was formed to aid him in his defence, of which such distinguished men as Professor Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin formed a part. They called upon society to hail Governor Eyre as a saviour, who had struck down a rebellion which threatened indescribable horrors to the white population of Jamaica.

On his way to this country, Colonel Hobbs, one of the most active participants in the suppression of what he deemed rebellion, committed suicide. His brother wrote to the *Times* to vindicate his memory, as he had been charged with wanton and unnecessary cruelty in dealing with the negroes. "Now," says the *Times*, "if the question is to be raised at all, it must not be forgotten that any

unfavourable impressions which have prevailed against Colonel Hobbs were produced originally by his own despatches. When a responsible officer of mature age, engaged in quelling an outbreak, which may either be a riot or a rebellion, writes to head-quarters to say that he regrets the not having shot six unarmed prisoners, 'as they are, no doubt, rebels;' that he has killed between fifteen and twenty negroes, whom he likewise assumed to be rebels, 'at extraordinary long distances,' 'on the hill sides and in trees;' that he has fired all the vacant houses in one locality; that he has 'utterly destroyed' a whole settlement in another; and so forth—there is no harshness in concluding that he has, at least, adopted a very ruthless mode of warfare. When he goes on to inform General O'Connor, in another despatch, that he has ordered eleven prisoners to be shot at once, 'finding their guilt clear, and being unable to either take or leave them,' adding the remark, that 'their countenances were all diabolical, and they never flinched the very slightest,' there is no want of charity in ascribing to the writer—in default of evidence to the contrary—loose ideas of justice, and a culpable indifference to the value of human life. When he affirms, afterwards, that, having in his possession 'the most conclusive proof of Mr. G. W. Gordon being a chief mover in this rebellion,' he has sent an express to Morant Bay, 'requesting him to be sent to me (if there) *for execution*,' and when he follows up this assertion by a minute description of the means whereby he stimulates the intelligence of 'Paul Bogle's valet,' and assists him to identify the ringleaders, it is not altogether unreasonable that he should be taken at his word. Now, these assertions were actually and literally contained in letters written by Colonel Hobbs, and forwarded by Governor Eyre to the Colonial Office—letters which, as the colonel subsequently declared, were never intended to be published; but which, like all other categorical statements on matters of fact, must either have been true or false. Colonel Hobbs himself, when examined before the commission, virtually accepted the latter alternative, and represented some of them to have been false, if not false to his own knowledge; others he explained away, and some he avowed with a justification. For instance, he distinctly retracted the very circumstantial story about Anderson, Paul Bogle's valet, denying, in direct contradiction of his own written words, that any rope was ever attached to his own stirrup, or that of any one else. The fifteen or twenty negroes supposed to have been picked off at long ranges, dwindled down to vanishing point, like the men in buckram, upon close investigation. The troops had fired at them, and boasted of killing them; but the colonel had since ascertained that they 'had merely dropped into the grass without being hurt.' As for the eleven whose guilt was clear, and who, partly on this ground, and partly because it was impossible either to take or leave them, were executed on the spot, no such plea was available. These unfortunate people were past resuscitation; but Colonel Hobbs protested, that in disposing of them in this summary way, he had been mainly influenced by the free and easy note from Colonel Elkington, which deprecated any consignments of prisoners, and dwelt with admiration on the services of two other officers who were 'hanging like fun,' and shooting every black man who could give no account of himself. The most 'conclusive proof' of G. W. Gordon's guilt resolved itself, under the same process, into the asseverations of 'about fifty persons,' that a man named Gordon was connected with the insurrection, coupled with the discovery of a lamp, which Anderson said had been presented by him, in Paul Bogle's chapel."

Undoubtedly, affairs are in a very unsettled state in the West India Islands. More than half the large estates that were growing sugar in 1834, are now thrown up. In 1805, Jamaica had 859 sugar estates in cultivation; and exported 137,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 24,000,000 lbs. of coffee. In 1834, these figures had already declined to 646 estates in cultivation, and export of 79,465 hogsheads of sugar, and 17,859,277 lbs. of coffee. In 1862, the export of sugar had sunk to 33,097 hogsheads; and finally, in 1865, to 23,750 hogsheads, grown on 300 estates. As the hogshead of sugar costs, in wages, about £11, the diminution

of 10,000 hogsheads in four years, shows, in that time, a reduction of wages to the labouring population of £110,000. The population, meanwhile, has, in the last quarter of a century, increased by 100,000 souls; so that a larger population has had a smaller amount of wages to expend; and this at a time when there has been an immense advance in the price of clothing, and other articles of import. Still we are not to gather from this gloomy picture that emancipation has failed, that the islands are going to decay, or that the blacks are worse off than they were.

"My own opinion," writes Governor Eyre himself, in a despatch to Mr. Cardwell, of August 19th, 1865, "is (greatly as I regret being compelled to admit it), that Jamaica, like some of the other smaller West India Islands, is in a state of transition; that it is, in fact, gradually passing into the hands of quite a different class of proprietors from that which held possession some thirty years ago." Now we do not, with Mr. Mill's testimony to the happiness of small peasant proprietors, at all regret this change: nor did that able and wise governor, Sir Charles Darling, a West Indian himself; who, in a despatch of December 26th, 1860, says—"I look upon it as a settled point, that the great mass of the emancipated population, and their descendants, are betaking themselves to the cultivation of the soil on their own account, either as a source of profit, or as the mere means of subsistence. The proportion of those who are settling themselves industriously on their own holdings, and rapidly rising in the social scale, while commanding the respect of all classes of the community (and some of whom are, to a limited extent, themselves the employers of hired labour, paid for either in money or in kind), is, however, I am happy to think, not only steadily increasing, but, at the present moment, is far more extensive than was anticipated by those ignorant of all that took place in this colony in the earlier days of negro freedom. There can be no doubt, in fact, that an independent, respectable, and, I believe, trustworthy middle class is rapidly forming." He concludes the despatch in question as follows:—"Thus it is that Jamaica presents, as I believe, at once the strongest proof of the complete success of the great measure of emancipation, as relates to the capacity of the emancipated race for freedom, and the most unfortunate instance of a descent in the scale of agricultural and commercial importance as a colonial community."

As an illustration of the change referred to, let us take the testimony of Mr. Samuel Rennals, custos of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, in a letter of March 23rd, 1865. He says—"In the district in which I reside for a portion of the year, and in which I possess property, realising a rent-roll from land tenanted by negroes, of between £200 and £250 a year, the population numbers from 5,000 to 6,000 souls, according to the last census of 1861. There are no sugar estates, nor are there any properties of any extent carried on by the owners in the cultivation of coffee, or any other export. The lands are rented out in small lots (generally from one to five acres each) to labourers; and, immediately upon emancipation, they purchased freeholds, now planted with coffee, arrowroot, and the usual ground provisions, as well as Indian corn, to a very considerable extent of acreage. In fact, they are formed into a very numerous middle class; and I do not believe that they would be induced, under any circumstances whatever, to become, in the general acceptance of the term, a labouring class."

Governor Eyre confirms this statement. In a despatch of April 10th, 1865, after speaking of the imports of the last five years, he says, that "the labouring classes, by the cultivation of coffee, honey, beeswax, ginger, and other products, have themselves largely added to the value of the general exports of the colony during the same period." Dr. Hamilton, a member of the executive committee, writes—"Since emancipation, a large number of the then existing coffee plantations have been thrown out of cultivation; and yet, since 1860, the average exports of coffee have not diminished. Had Dr. Underhill, or his correspondents, travelled through the coffee districts, they would have found that this was due to

the number of small settlers who now grow coffee on their little freeholds; and if the exports of ginger, beeswax, honey, &c., are considered (all of which are the produce of the small freeholders), it will be apparent that these branches of industry are not in the deplorable condition Dr. Underhill would have us believe." Mr. Shaw, inspector of prisons, under the date of April 20th, 1865, expresses himself to the same effect. We also gather that, in many cases, the small proprietors are taking to the cultivation of sugar. Dr. Bowerbank, custos of Kingston, writes, March 15th, 1865—"We are assured by those who best know the country, that the cultivation of sugar, on a small scale, and by a middle and better class of labourers, is rapidly increasing. * * * An American workman, in a distant parish, has manufactured and put up forty small sugar-mills, and is now engaged in erecting six more. The rollers and frame are of wood, with iron cogwheels. They can be made and put up for £5 or £6 a set. The demand for mills at this price is more than he can meet; and so pressing is the call for them, that he has at present engaged extra tradesmen in manufacturing them. Hundreds of these small mills are already in operation." Other custodes testify to the same fact. Mr. Lewis Mackinnon writes from Vere—"The island is getting gradually covered with nice cottages and thriving settlements, where not only vegetables, but sugar and coffee are grown to a considerable extent." Another says—"Each year more land is cleared for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, arrowroot, &c." Again, says another—"The peasantry here not only raise ground provisions, but may produce the staples of the colony—sugar and coffee, beeswax, cocoa, arrowroot, starch, tobacco, cotton, and other minor products."

From these facts we can quite understand the value the blacks put on land, and the unfriendly feeling with which the new order of things is received in certain quarters. Our readers will remember that the outbreak at Morant Bay originally resulted from a dispute about the possession of land. Yet this feeling ought not to tinge and colour the conduct of the official class in the way in which it does. It is clear that the days of the great planter are gone; that his reign is over; that a new order of things has arisen; and it is in vain that we kick against pricks, or war with the stars or the course of nature. From the tendency of the people to buy small properties, and cultivate them, there is at present no escape. The larger planters may still talk about assistance by loan from the mother country. General Eyre writes, August 19th, 1865—"I have myself no faith in the resuscitation of the bygone prosperity and still decaying interests of the Jamaica planters, through the instrumentality of any adventitious stimulus, such as a government loan is intended to be." And, if we are wise, instead of regretting the past, we shall encourage the small proprietors all we can, and wait for the dawn of better days in Jamaica—better days which, we fear, the recklessness and cruelty with which the blacks were treated by the panic-struck whites—headed by Governor Eyre—must be postponed for some time to come.

Parliamentary papers, subsequently published, in a remarkable degree illustrate and confirm the suspicions entertained in many quarters as to the wisdom displayed on the occasion of the outbreak. For instance, there is the case of General Lamothe. It appears that the general—an officer in the Haytian service—had left Hayti in consequence of political differences with the dominant party, and had been quietly living at Kingston for many years. A few days before the outbreak, he embarked with his son and three friends on board the schooner *Oracle*, which had been chartered by a house at Kingston, to take a miscellaneous cargo to Hayti. The *Oracle*, having been at sea six days, was driven back by a strong wind, and compelled to take refuge in Port Antonio. But in the meanwhile the outbreak in Jamaica had taken place; and although it had been put down, Port Antonio was under martial law. Governor Eyre had made up his mind that all the Haytian refugees in Jamaica were conspirators against the throne and dignity of the queen, and had had those at Kingston arrested, including the paralytic ex-Emperor Soulouque; so that when the *Oracle* returned, the Haytians on board

would probably have been made prisoners, even if it had not been found that the schooner had powder on board. The fact that the powder had been openly shipped at Kingston, with the observance of all due formality, was overlooked or thought of no consequence. In times of danger and excitement, however, it is better to err on the side of excessive vigilance; and we cannot blame the authorities for taking the *Oracle* in charge for a time. But there was never the least reason for connecting the Haytians with the Jamaica outbreak; and the inquiries which have been made into the complaints of General Lamothe, show that gross and wanton outrages had taken place, which nothing could excuse. The general complained to Earl Russell that he had been robbed and treated with the utmost indignity, and Lord Russell induced the Admiralty to order an official investigation, which has established the main charges. It appears by the evidence that, when a guard was put on board the *Oracle* by Lieutenant Irvine, of the *Aboukir*, he did not place any responsible naval officer in charge. The trunks of the passengers were broken open, no inventories were taken, and the cabin was ransacked and cleared out. These facts are made out to the satisfaction of Admiral Hope, who blames Captain Luke, of the 6th Foot, the officer in command at Port Antonio. On the 25th of October, General Lamothe and his party were embarked on board the *Wolverene*, conveyed to Port Royal, and transferred to the *Aboukir*, where he complains they were "exposed to public derision." On this part of his letter, the Court of Inquiry report:—"We find that, during the time General Lamothe and his party were prisoners on the starboard side of the main deck of the *Aboukir*—viz., from the evening of the 29th, to the afternoon of the 31st October—they were exposed to offensive epithets and jeers from the men on board the *Aboukir*." Commander Smith tells us what was the nature of the insults offered by common seamen to a general officer, who was simply under precautionary detention. In a sentence in which delicacy and frankness are curiously blended, he says—"The jeering was of a nature which referred to the certainty of the Haytians getting a d——d good thrashing, and the probability of General Lamothe and his party getting hanged." Oddly enough, Captain Smith says, elsewhere—"Relative to his treatment, I can only say that, before leaving the ship, General Lamothe thanked me for the attention he had received on board." Of course, when Captain Smith found out what was going on, he stopped the annoyance; but before this was done, a drunken sailor of the *Bulldog* had slapped the general on the mouth, and called him an "old negro." The general's complaints become, moreover, mournfully ludicrous in the impassioned style of his letter:—"Am I among civilised men or among savages? I exclaimed, in the heat of my indignation. Why do you not kill me at once?" The letters which describe these transactions are very sorrowful reading. Of course, an apology will be made to General Lamothe; and he will be compensated for the ill-usage he has received. But the individual grievance is nothing compared with the damage done to the character of the public service, when such outrages are shown to be possible on board a British man-of-war. "If we had read first in any foreign paper," says a writer in the *Daily News*, "the statements which now come to us, confirmed by the most authentic evidence, we should have denounced them as foul libels, which could by no possibility be true."

We can only add, that the events recorded here will, we hope, teach a lesson, needed in certain quarters. In George III.'s time, Governor Wall was hung for cruelty, after an interval of twenty years had elapsed. We have no wish to see a similar fate overtake Governor Eyre. But we have it in evidence that 1,000 houses were wantonly burnt; and that the "total number of deaths, caused by those engaged in the suppression, amounted to 439."

CHAPTER XXIII.

DE MORTUIS.

WE have incidentally described the deaths of many of the great men who illustrated and adorned the Palmerston era. Some of them had been his contemporaries and rivals in the political arena; some he had followed to the grave; with most of them he had been, more or less, mixed up in the free intercourse of poetical life. We must note here, briefly, a few of the representative men who pre-deceased his lordship.

One of these was the late Mr. Assheton Smith, who died in 1858. He was a denizen of the same county as Lord Palmerston; and, like him, a mighty hunter. He was exactly half a century a master and owner of hounds. "Of iron nerve and constitution, he was," says his biographer, Sir Eardley Wilmot, "the best, as he was the foremost rider of the day. Fox-hunting, however, though his chief, was not his only pursuit. As a most useful country gentleman, a good classical scholar, an excellent man of business, warmly devoted to science, and a generous distributor of his wealth, he turned to a good and useful account those mental, and physical, and worldly advantages wherewith Providence had liberally endowed him." This is high praise—perhaps a little too high—for Mr. Smith was in parliament for a time, and he was a Tory of the old school; and we know if the Tories of the old school had had their way, England, long ere this, would have been irretrievably ruined. Neither can we think Mr. Smith's piety was of the deepest, if we are to judge by his biographer's arguments in its behalf. "Mr. Smith had," he tells us, "a most simple and devout faith, his favourite motto being—'Whatever happens, all is for the best;' and whenever he saw any one in sorrow or distress, he always said—'We must submit to God's will, whatever it is.'" In a man born to £45,000 a year—for his landed estates brought him in £15,000 a year; and his slate quarries near Carnarvon, yielded £30,000 a year—resignation to his lot, if it was a virtue, was not one of a very trying character. But to return to Mr. Assheton Smith. He was born in Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, on the 2nd of August, 1776. As a boy he was inflexible and stubborn in his resolutions. At Eton, to which school he was sent when seven years old, he excelled in cricket. Boating was also one of his favourite diversions; but his Eton career was principally rendered remarkable by his battle with Jack Musters—the Musters who married Lord Byron's beautiful Mary Chaworth—still spoken of by Etonians as one of the most hard-fought and severe contests ever recorded in the annals of youthful pugilism. At Nottingham, when standing in opposition to the Radical candidate in 1818, this pugilistic prowess stood him in good stead. He was the unpopular candidate, and no one would listen to him. At length, with a stentorian voice, heard above the uproar, he cried out, "Gentlemen, as you refuse to hear the exposition of my political principles, at least be so kind as to listen to these few words:—I will fight any man, little or big, directly I leave the hustings, and will have a round with him now for love." The effect was electric—he had touched a sympathetic chord: instead of yells and groans, there were rounds of cheers; and though he was beaten, no further opposition was offered him. In 1794, young Smith became a gentleman commoner at Christchurch, Oxford. Already he had become distinguished as a rider; and, in 1800, we find him signalised in song as a most daring and successful horseman. In 1806, he succeeded Lord Foley at Quorn: here, with a fine stud and splendid hounds, he kept the game alive for ten years. In 1816, Mr. Smith took his stud to Lincoln to work the Burton Hunt. He held this capital country for eight years, until 1824, when he was succeeded by Sir Richard Sutton; and, after an interval of ten years, during which

he hunted chiefly at Belvoir, went into Hampshire. In 1827 he married; and in the following year, on the death of his father, he removed his hunting establishment, and soon after set about making extensive alterations: the old house was pulled down; but the chief improvement effected was the metamorphosis of that formerly intractable woodland country about Tedworth, into a fine fox-hunting district. His stables and kennels were built on his own plans. In 1845, Sir Eardley saw there fifty horses in the stables, including hunters, carriage-horses, and hacks, all in first-rate condition, and each apparently as familiar with the squire as a pet dog. The summer months were generally passed by Mr. Smith on his property in Carnarvon, where he had ample scope for indulging in his sea-going propensities. In 1829, Mr. Smith practically turned his attention to the building of steam-vessels; and it is a moot point whether to himself or Mr. Scott Russell is to be given the credit of discovering the hollow water-lines. Mr. Smith was also the first to recommend to the Duke of Wellington, when on a visit to Tedworth, the formation of a fleet of gun-boats. At the instance of his grace the idea was made known to the First Lord of the Admiralty. Some time after, when walking down Regent Street, Mr. Smith met the gentleman in question, of whom he asked if his letter had been received. The First Lord replied that it had, but that the Admiralty could not pay attention to all the recommendations made to them. Upon this Mr. Smith took off his hat, and, turning away from him with a stately bow, observed—"What his grace the Duke of Wellington considered worthy of attention, I think your lordship might at least have condescended to notice." Until Mr. Smith had reached his eightieth year he showed no sign of physical or mental decay. His head was as clear, and his hand as firm as they had been twenty years before. If he felt himself not quite well of a morning, he used to plunge his head into cold water, and hold it there as long as he could. His end was peaceful. Teetotallers will be glad to learn that, in his mode of living, Mr. Smith was peculiarly abstemious as regarded drinking; but in eating he indulged more freely, and his appetite was surprising. The immense exercise which he was daily in the habit of taking, and his early hours in the morning, required an adequate supply of nourishment; and after his severest day's work he was never "off his feed." His well-knit and manly frame, combined with great activity in the use of his limbs, rendered him successful in all athletic sports. In his youth he was a first-rate swimmer, rower, cricketer, and shot; as a player of billiards he had obtained eminence; as a landlord he was kind and judicious; as the village squire, while he feasted all the great, he never forgot the small. His charities seem to have been many; but then he was rich, and had no children. His chief fame, however, is as a fox-hunter. The Emperor Napoleon addressed him as *Le Premier Chasseur d'Angleterre*. The Parisians knew him as *Le Grand Chasseur Smit*. There has not been a book published that does not allot to him the highest place as a master of hounds, a huntsman, and a rider. Such a man, it is true, did not play a high part in the world's drama. To live for fox-hunting seems somewhat ignoble: but Mr. Smith did what he undertook to do thoroughly; he lived on his estates, and he promoted the prosperity of all around him. He was a public benefactor, by sustaining those field-sports which do so much to invigorate our national character. He may not have been a model man altogether; but few men in his time lived more honourable and manly lives.—Nor must we forget Sir Tatton Sykes, the great Yorkshire baronet—famed in the annals of the turf—who died at an extreme old age; and who kept up his enjoyment of life almost to the very last. Then there was Viscount Combermere, better known as Sir Willoughby Cotton, a companion-in-arms, in India and the Peninsula, of Arthur, Duke of Wellington—a hero of whose memory the British army may well be proud. And here, also, we must record the name of Charles Waterton, the great naturalist, of Waterton Hall, who had travelled in pursuit of his favourite studies in many lands; and who had ridden on the back of an alligator—a feat justly considered unparalleled in his time. We must also add to the list Sir James Outram, of

Indian fame; Sir James Clark Ross, the Arctic navigator; General Sir Howard Douglas, the military engineer, who lived to be eighty-six; and the great Earl of Dundonald, who, in the year 1860, and at the age of eighty-two, departed this life, after he had vindicated his fair fame, cruelly sacrificed to party animosities in his youth; and had won the honours—late, but not too late—from his sovereign to which his courage, his sailor-like daring, and his great sagacity, undoubtedly gave him the most righteous claim. Lord Palmerston had seen that family of warriors—Sir C. Napier, the conqueror of Scinde; Sir William, the historian of the Peninsular war; Sir Charles, the admiral—all gathered to their fathers. The soldiers and sailors; the hunters and sportsmen; the mighty men of war, who had won victories, and been recorded in *Gazettes*; who had blazed in the full sunshine of London life and gaiety—the men who had been the fashion—the proud beauties who had been the rage—had, one after another, passed away; and it was left to Lord Palmerston to connect with the new age these great men and lovely women of the past.

In his own particular sphere as a leader of society, and a parliamentary chief, what food for reflection must he have had in thinking of those who had gone before. He had outlived Crockford's, the members of which included, writes Captain Gronow, all the celebrities of England, from the Duke of Wellington to the youngest ensign of the Guards; and at whose gay and festive board, "which was constantly replenished from midnight to early dawn, the most brilliant sallies of wit, the most agreeable conversation, the most interesting anecdotes, interspersed with grave political discussions and acute logical reasoning, proceeded from the soldiers, scholars, statesmen, poets, and men of pleasure, who, when the House was up, and balls and parties at an end, delighted to finish their evening with a little supper, and a good deal of hazard, at old Crockey's." In 1843, died old Lord Allen, one of the last of the prince-regent set. He, writes Captain Gronow, greatly resembled, in later life, an ancient grey parrot, both in the aquiline outline of his features, and his peculiar mode of walking with one foot crossed over the other, in a slow and easy manner. He was a regular cockney, and very seldom left London; but, on one occasion, when he had gone down to Dover, for the sake of his health, and complained to his facetious friend that he could get no sleep, Alvanley ordered a coach to drive up and down in front of the windows all night, and made the "boots" call out, in imitation of the London watchman of that day—"Half-past two, and a stormy night." The well-known rumble of the wheels, and the dulcet tones of the boots, had the desired effect. The "King," as he was termed, passed excellent nights, and was soon able to return to his little house in South Street, with renewed health and spirits. Another great dandy, who died only so lately as 1861, was Ball Hughes, in his youth considered a good match by all the women in London; and who made a great sensation by marrying a beautiful Spanish *danseuse*, named Mercandotti (who had been engaged for the season for £1,800, at the King's Theatre), to the intense disappointment of fashionable society. Captain Gronow writes—

"One night, March 1st, 1823, the house was enormously crowded by an audience eager to see the favourite in the then popular ballet by Auber, *Alfred*; when, just before the curtain drew up, the manager came forward, and expressed his regret that Mademoiselle Mercandotti had disappeared, and that he had been unable to discover whither she had gone. Knowing ones, however, guessed that she had been carried off by the golden Ball, whose advances had been very favourably received, and who had evidently made a strong impression on the damsel; and a few days after, the *Morning Post* announced that a marriage had taken place between a young man of large fortune, and one of the most remarkable dancers of the age. The persons present at the marriage were, the mother of the bride, Mr. Ebers, and Lord Fife. The honeymoon was passed at Oatlands, which the happy bridegroom had shortly purchased before from the Duke of York."

Ainsworth wrote the following epigram on this event—

“The fair damsel is gone; and no wonder at all,
That, bred to the dance, she is gone to a Ball.”

It is needless to observe that the golden Ball died, comparatively speaking, a poor man. His love of gaming was such that, at one period of his life, he would rather play at pitch and toss than be without his favourite excitement. He told Gronow that at one time he had lost considerable sums at battledoor and shuttlecock. On one occasion, immediately after dinner, he and the eccentric Lord Petersham commenced playing with these toys, and continued hard at work during the whole of the night; next morning he was found by his valet lying on the ground, fast asleep, but ready for any species of speculation. Another of the set was Scrope Davies, the friend of Byron and Moore. Deserted by fortune and friends, as all gamblers, sooner or later, are, Davies retired to the continent. Having heard that Brummell had obtained a consulship when Lord Melbourne came into office, Scrope went over to London, and had an interview with the noble lord; but he told his friends—“Lamb looked so sheepish when I was ushered into his presence, that I asked him for nothing; indeed, there were so many nibbling at his grass, that I felt I ought not to jump over the fence into the meadow upon which such animals were feeding.”

Lord Palmerston also outlived, not merely the Four-in-hand Club—consisting originally of Lord Sefton, Lord Barrymore, Colonel Berkeley (afterwards Earl Fitzhardinge), Mr. Akers, Sir Bellingham Graham, Sir Henry Peyton, Mr. Clutterbuck, Mr. Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal; Sir John Lade, Mr. Fenwick, Lord Worcester, and the Hon. Major Forrester—but the second club of the same sort, revived in 1838, by Lord Chesterfield and others. His lordship must have been familiar with the black carriage and black horses of Lord Onslow, too eccentric to obtain the suffrages of any of the Four-in-hand Club, and whose memory is embalmed in four lines, which posterity will not willingly let die. They are as follows:—

“What can Tommy Onslow do?
He can drive a currie and two.
Can Tommy Onslow do no more?
Yes, he can drive a phaeton and four.”

Another of these worthies, whose turn-out always made a sensation from its excessive elegance, was a man named Richards, better known by the cognomen of Tom Pipes, from the following circumstance. Having run through an enormous fortune, he was compelled to borrow money at an exorbitant interest; and a well-known tobacconist, in Oxford Street, lent him large sums on condition that Richards should take one-half the amount in tobacco-pipes, and other such commodities; and the needy man was always inviting his friends to take off his hands a portion of this stock in trade. He, of course, like all other borrowers upon *post obit* bonds, became completely ruined; and one kind friend obtained for him what was, in those days, a refuge of the destitute—a consulship. It was to Nantes he went; but his pecuniary difficulties hung about him, and he got into scrapes, and lost his appointment.

In the gossiping pages of Captain Gronow we hear of names now having no meaning, but full of the gay world in which Viscount Palmerston shone. There was the beautiful soldier's daughter, Kate North, who, in her poverty and despair, had accepted the protection of the Duke of York. One summer morning a friend of the duke's called upon her, and told her that his royal highness would be under the necessity of giving up his connexion with her; for he had promised the king, his father, that if his debts were paid, he would never more see the object of his affection. Poor Kate's heart was full: she could not reply to the messenger; but, bursting into tears, hid her face, and flew out of the room. The sting which had been inflicted was more than she could bear, and she was seized with brain fever; but, with much care and quiet, in course of time, the poor creature recovered her

health and composure of mind. There was no woman so much admired in London at the time as Kate North: her bewitching manners, the charm and grace of her conversation, brought to her pretty house in Green Street innumerable admirers. Among those anxious to woo her, a noble Scotch lord was most assiduous in his attention; and he at length succeeded in prevailing upon her to accept the offer of his protection. She lived with him several years, and bore him a daughter, who is now the wife of a baronet, and the mother of a numerous family. But the canker in Kate's mind was all this while corroding her life. She visited Paris for change of air and scene; but there her senses left her; she became raving mad, and died in a foreign land, without a friend to close her eyes.

Then there was Sally Brooke, the daughter of a beneficed clergyman, who had agreeable manners, was highly educated, and always moved in the best men's circles. She was most particularly noticed by the Prince of Wales, and, consequently, well received by those who basked in princely favour. Not a word, however, was ever breathed against her honour, and she was always looked upon as a model of unimpeachable morality. Her beauty was such that she became the object of general admiration, and her portrait was taken by the first painters of the day. The *Hebé*, by Stroeling, engraved by Heath, remains to enable the world to form some idea of the matchless charms of the original. Her figure was perfection, and the sculptor would have been delighted to obtain such a model. From whence she derived her income was always a mystery. A silly story was for a moment circulated, that a person of the name of Bouverie, commonly called the Commissioner, had succeeded in captivating her; this, however, soon died away. Whatever may have been her resources, she kept up a good establishment, and lived always like a lady, but without much show. Her house was the rendezvous of the first men in London; but to her own sex she was distant and reserved, never admitting any female to her familiarity. On one occasion Miss Brooke dined at the house of a noble marquis, where some of the fashionable young men of the day were invited to meet her. Mr. Christopher Nugent, a nephew of the celebrated Burke, was most assiduous in his attentions, and begged permission to pay her a visit. The request was granted, and a day and hour named. Some of the party present incidentally mentioned this engagement in the presence of the widow of a Mr. Harrison, a lady who had access to the best circles in consequence of her remarkable beauty, and who had some right to place Mr. Nugent on the list of her admirers. Jealous of her rival, the widow dressed herself as a boy, knocked at the door in Green Street, and was admitted into the presence of Miss Brooke, who was reclining on a sofa, while Nugent was on his knees before her. The widow, finding her lover in such a position, rushed upon him, seized a knife, and plunged it into his breast, fortunately without inflicting a mortal wound. The anger of the lady was, however, soon over, as Nugent and the lovely widow were soon after seen walking together in Hyde Park. After being the admiration of the world of fashion for several seasons, Miss Brooke, seeing wrinkles coming, retired to Baden. There she was robbed of all she possessed, and died of dropsy at Strasburg—"the world forgetting, by the world forgot."

Mademoiselle Duthie, the most renowned of her class, lived in great splendour and magnificence at Paris before the first revolution. The old Lord Egremont and the Count d'Artois were rivals for her favours. Her carriage was covered with gold, and drawn by eight cream-coloured horses. She emigrated to England, and at once became the idol of the young men of fashion. In London her principal admirers were Bob Byng, brother of the M.P. for Middlesex; Perregaux, the rich banker, who had emigrated; and Mr. Lee. The younger brother of the latter gentleman acted the part of master of the ceremonies to the fair Frenchwoman; gave her his arm in all the public promenades, and escorted her to the play and opera on all occasions. The elder Lee, her favoured *inamorata*, though dotingly fond of her, would never appear with her in public. The Duke of Queensberry, a great friend of the ladies, as of all persons of her persuasion, asked

her the meaning of her conduct with respect to the two brothers. She replied, with unblushing effrontery, "The younger Lee is *mon lit de parade*; the elder *mon lit de repos*." Mr. Lee, whose fortune was much injured by her extravagance, bade her farewell in a single Latin line, which, he told her, her friend the Duke of Queensberry, of whom he was rather jealous, would translate. It was "*Non possum te cum vivere nec sine te*." Of such mercenary beauties there were more than enough in London. Happily, Lord Palmerston appears to have had more self-respect and good sense than to be connected with such. He had warning, too, in the poverty and misery of many of his cotemporaries in London life, of the ruinous character of such connections. The sums of money such men as Lord Fife would spend on a single charmer were enormous; and the impudence of the class was insufferable. Harriet Wilson actually succeeded in almost getting a promise of marriage from the Duke of Beaufort. The lady in question was one of the most notorious *traviatas* of the day; had written her memoirs, and become the scandal of the metropolis. One of her sisters had married a peer of the realm; and another a famous harpist, of very doubtful character, who had been one of the most licentious men of the day, and afterwards carried off the wife of a distinguished English composer.

Perhaps, if English wives had shown the spirit of a Duchess of Montmorency in Louis XV.'s time, more decorum would have characterised English society. The duke was married to a lady of great beauty, and ancient family; nevertheless he led a sadly improper life. He even went so far as to appear in public with the celebrated dancer, Mademoiselle Guimard, about whom all the young men of the day were raving. One night, on the duchess entering her box at the opera, with several friends, she beheld, to her horror and amazement, the duke, her husband, seated at the back of the pit box, along with the charming dancer. This was an outrage which the duchess could not endure. She sent one of the gentlemen who were with her to request her husband's immediate presence, and thus addressed the astonished culprit—"I have always been a faithful and devoted wife; but let me warn you in time. If you ever again commit such an outrage, remember this—that you cannot make Montmorencys without me; and I *can* make them without your assistance." The duke's fear and pride were roused by this very broad hint, and it is said he, from that period, reformed.

Time and space would fail to tell of the stars of the opera, that shone brightly for awhile, and then went out in utter darkness, during the Palmerston era: what triumphs were created by the singing or acting of such artists as Malibran, Grisi, Rubini and Tamburini, Pasta, Catalini; by the *tragedienne* Rachel, who was, from all accounts, off the stage a very different person to what she was on; Lablache, Catherine Hayes, Taglioni, Madame Vestris, Fanny Ellsler, Madame Schröder Duverney, Mrs. Siddons, and many more; of whom men raved, but whose charms and names call up no excitement, flush no faces now.

In 1851, died at Hampstead, in her eighty-ninth year, Miss Joanna Baillie, authoress of numerous tragedies, and one of the many distinguished literary women of the time. With some of them Lord Palmerston was on friendly terms. In the *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, there is more than one intimation of considerable intimacy with the Palmerston family. Miss Berry, writes the editor, the late Lady Theresa Lewis, has more than ordinary claims to live in the memory of those to whom she was personally known. For an unusually lengthened period of years she formed a centre, round which beauty, rank, wealth, power, fashion, learning, and science were gathered; merit and distinction of every degree were blended, by her hospitality, in social ease and familiar intercourse, encouraged by her kindness, and enlivened by her presence. She was not only the friend of literature, and of literary people, but she assiduously cultivated the acquaintance of intellectual excellence in whatever form it might appear; and, to the close of her existence, she maintained her interest in all the important affairs of life, whether social, literary, or political. Without any remarkable talent for conversation

herself, she promoted conversation amongst others, and shed an air of home-like ease over the society which met under her roof, that will long be remembered by those who had the opportunity of witnessing it, and who saw the consequent readiness and frequency with which the guests of her unpremeditated parties availed themselves of her general invitation. From the age of seventeen or eighteen, to that of nearly ninety, Miss Berry, and her sister Agnes (one year younger than herself), lived constantly in society, both at home and abroad: they had seen Marie Antoinette in all her pride and beauty; and they lived to regret the fall of Louis Philippe, for whose prudence and abilities Miss Berry had, for many years, conceived a high respect, and with whom she was personally acquainted. Born in the third year after the accession of George III., she lived to be privately presented to Queen Victoria a few months before her death. In her early youth she gained the respect of her elders, and was well known to have engaged the devoted affection of one already far in the decline of life. In her old age, the loved and admired of the fastidious Horace Walpole won the hearts of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the friends of her youth, and will be affectionately remembered by some who still lingered in childhood at the time of her death. Miss Berry's first literary effort was in assisting, or rather executing for her father, the work of editor to the various MSS. left jointly to him and his daughters, by Lord Orford. In May, 1802, a comedy in five acts, entitled *Fashionable Friends*, by Miss Berry, was brought out at Drury Lane. It was afterwards published by Miss Berry, in the complete edition of her works, with her own explanation of the cause of its failure on the stage. Her next work was to edit the letters of Madame du Deffaud, in 1810. In 1815, Miss Berry published the original letters of Rachael, Lady Russell, with some account of her life. In 1828, Miss Berry brought out the first volume of her most considerable work, entitled *A Comparative View of Social Life in England and France, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Present Time*. The second volume followed three years later; and both volumes were republished in the complete edition of her works, which appeared in 1844. Her last publication, dated 1840, was a defence of Lord Orford, whose character had been roughly handled by Lord Macaulay, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*.

In January, 1852, Miss Agnes Berry died; and at the end of the year, Miss Berry. She was buried by the side of her sister at Petersham. The chief mourners were Mr. Crauford, the Hon. Frederick Byng, Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's; and, amongst the numerous friends who voluntarily paid this last tribute of respect, were Sir H. Ferguson Davie, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Mr. Charles Greville, Mr. John Abel Smith, &c., &c. The day after the funeral, a poem appeared in the *Times* on the subject, from the pen of Mr. M. Milnes, now Lord Houghton. We give the first and second verses:—

“Two friends within one grave we place,
 United in our tears;
 Sisters scarce parted for the space
 Of more than eighty years:
 And she whose bier is borne to-day—
 The one the last to go—
 Bears with her thoughts that force their way
 Above the moment's woe.

“Thoughts of the varied human life
 Spread o'er that field of time;
 The toil, the passion, and the strife,
 The virtue and the crime:
 Yet, 'mid this long tumultuous scene,
 The image on our mind
 Of these dear women rests serene,
 In happy bounds confined.”

Of Mrs. Hemans, and of unhappy Letitia Landon, and other lady writers, we

can give but the names. Maria Edgeworth died in 1848, aged eighty-three; Mary Wollstonecroft Shelly in 1851, aged fifty-three; Mrs. Marcet, famed for her educational and scientific works, lived to be eighty-nine; Mrs. Gore, the charming painter of fashionable life and manners, died in 1861; Mrs. Jameson, the accomplished critic, in 1859; Lady Sydney Morgan in 1858; Mrs. Trollope, the novelist and American caricaturist, lived to the age of eighty-four, and departed this life in 1862; Lucy Aikin, a writer of history, of no mean reputation in her day, lived to be eighty-three, and died in 1863.

One of the brightest songsters of the later period of Lord Palmerston's life was Elizabeth Barrett Browning. She was a born poet. Regard being had merely to the artistic qualities of her works, it would be difficult to name any one of her sex who has equalled, or even approached her. Never did a bosom beat with nobler instincts towards humanity and freedom than her's. In the *Literary Recollections of Miss Mitford*—herself a genial and pleasing writer—we read—“My first acquaintance with Elizabeth Barrett commenced fifteen years ago; and she was then certainly one of the most interesting persons I had ever seen. Of a slight, delicate figure, with a shower of dark curls falling on either side of a most expressive face; large, tender eyes, fringed with dark lashes; a smile like a sunbeam, and such a look of youthfulness, that I had some difficulty in persuading a friend, in whose carriage we went to Chiswick, that the translatress of the *Prometheus of Æschylus*, the author of the *Essay on Mind*, was, in technical language, ‘out.’ During my stay in town we met frequently; and after my return to the country, we corresponded very regularly; her letters being just what letters ought to be—her own talk put upon paper. The next year was a painful one to herself and all who loved her; she broke a blood-vessel in the lungs. If there had been consumption in the family, that disease would have supervened; but, happily, she escaped this fatal English malady. The vessel, however, refused to heal; and after attending her for a year at her father's house in Wimpole Street, Dr. Chambers, on the approach of winter, ordered her to a milder climate. Her eldest brother—a brother in heart and talent worthy of such a sister—together with other affectionate relatives, accompanied her to Torquay; and there occurred that fatal event which saddened her bloom of youth, and gave a deeper hue of thought and feeling, especially devotional feeling, to her poetry. Nearly a year had passed, and the invalid, still attended by her companions, had derived much benefit from the mild sea-breezes of Devonshire. One fine summer morning, her favourite brother, together with two other fine young men, his friends, embarked on board a small sailing vessel for a trip of a few hours. Excellent sailors all, and familiar with the coast, they sent back the boatman, and undertook themselves the management of their little craft. Danger was not dreamt of by any one: indeed, after the catastrophe no one could divine the cause; but in a few minutes after their embarkation, and in sight of their very windows, and just as they were crossing the bar, the boat went down, and all who were in her perished. Even the bodies were never found. This tragedy nearly killed Miss Barrett; she was utterly prostrated by the horror and grief, and a natural, but most unjust feeling, that she had been in some sort the cause of this great misery. It was not until the following year that she could be removed in an invalid carriage, and, by journeys of twenty miles a day, to her afflicted family and her London home. On her return began the life which she continued for so many years, confined to one large and commodious, but darkened chamber, to which only her own family and a few devoted friends were admitted—reading, meanwhile, almost every book worth reading, in almost every language; studying, with ever-fresh delight, the great classic authors in the original, and giving herself heart and soul to that poetry of which she seemed born to be the priestess.” We learn from the source whence the above remarks are derived, that Miss Barrett's vocation displayed itself very early in life; that she wrote largely at ten years old, and well at fifteen. Her first important essay in authorship was

a translation of the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, published anonymously in 1833: her own maturer judgment pronounced this attempt a failure, and it was therefore replaced in the collected edition of her works by an entirely new version. Five years later appeared *The Seraphim*, a poem, holding, as it were, an intermediate position between an ancient Greek tragedy and a Christian mystery; the idea of which had suggested itself during the progress of her labours on the *Prometheus Bound*. With it were associated some miscellaneous poems, a portion of which had already appeared in the pages of periodicals, where they had won (in spite of some obscurity of manner and expression) high appreciation for their poetic beauty and earnest tone of feeling. Though chiefly known to the multitude by these productions, Miss Barrett also wrote many admirable and erudite prose articles on the Greek Christian poets and other subjects, which were considered to afford evidence of unusually keen insight and extended intellectual attainments. After a long continuance of that secluded life which has been referred to in the words of her intimate friend, a gradual improvement took place in her state of health; and the beauties and pleasures of the external world, from which she had been debarred for years, once more became accessible to her. Several years ago she became the wife of Robert Browning, the poet; and, immediately after her marriage, accompanied him to Pisa. They subsequently removed to Florence, which continued to be their permanent home (and where she died); although occasional visits to England afforded opportunity to Mrs. Browning's friends of rejoicing with her in the possession of a lovely boy, and a renewed measure of health and strength. The publication, in 1850, of her collected poems, in two volumes, gave a great impetus to her reputation, and obtained very general acknowledgment of her title to rank, in many points of view, as the first female poet of the age. A small number of unpublished poems appeared in this edition; and among them was *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, which has been cited as one of her happiest inspirations. An inspiration it might indeed be called, inasmuch as it was written in twelve hours, having been required, at the last moment, to complete the uniformity of her volumes; and composed in haste to save the packet which was to convey the proof-sheets to America. In 1851, appeared *Casa Guidi Windows*, a poem, the theme of which was the repeated struggle for liberty which she had opportunities of witnessing from the windows of the Casa Guidi, her own Florentine residence. Although critics have not failed to do full justice to the generous impulse, fine imagination, and social and political wisdom of this production, the fantastic and rugged forms in which the ideas are frequently clothed, would be likely to render it only partially acceptable. It is, probably, by such poems as the *Poet's Vow*, *Catharina to Camoens*, *Bertha in the Lane*, *Cowper's Grave*, and a host of others which throng upon the memory, that Mrs. Browning will touch the hearts of her readers most closely; and it will be from them, therefore, that she will derive her most enduring renown. In 1856, Mrs. Browning published *Aurora Leigh*.

Since *Aurora Leigh*, the only published work of Mrs. Browning's, we believe, is a small volume, entitled *Poems before Congress*. One or two little pieces of her's have occasionally adorned the pages of the *Cornhill Magazine*. In her later poems, curious and loving students of her verse fancied they could detect some unconscious reflection—very pleasant to see—of her gifted husband's thought and style. It is less doubtful that her love of Italy, and her desire for its freedom and independence, were intensified by his well-known passionate strength of sympathy for that country and that cause. It takes away something from the pain which those who love and honour her memory must feel at her loss, to remember that she lived to witness the regeneration, and breathed her last on the enfranchised soil, of the nation whose redemption had been one of the strongest aspirations of her noble heart.

What poets and schools of the poets did Lord Palmerston outlive! In 1800,

the sensitive, melancholy, yet humorous and pathetic William Cowper fell asleep, and was buried in an obscure provincial town. In 1784, all that was mortal of Robert Burns ceased to exist. Shelley and Keats just sparkled, and then vanished from the horizon, while Lord Palmerston was in the War Office. To Byron, to Coleridge, to Wordsworth, to Southey, and Tom Moore, a longer lease of life was given. Thomas Campbell died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in 1844; while Samuel Rogers, Esq., poet and banker, seemed immortal. Let us pause on a few names. Perhaps never did a man do so much good with a small poem as did Tom Hood with his "Song of the Shirt." The story of his life is soon told. He was born in the Poultry, London, where his father was a publisher and bookseller, in 1799. Of his education but little is known. He was articled young to his uncle, who was an engraver, and, in his employment, learned much of that facility of drawing which afterwards distinguished him. He was compelled to end his engagement, and to proceed to Scotland, where he remained two years, gathering strength, and where he made his first essay in authorship in the columns of a Dundee newspaper. Returning to town, and, apparently, resuming his work as an engraver, he got a more congenial appointment, in 1821, as sub-editor of the *London Magazine*. Hood was thus at once launched upon the literary world of London, and gradually acquired a public reputation. In 1824, he married a lady admirably suited for him, and who was at once his idol and his butt. Early in 1835, he removed with his family to Coblenz; and he remained abroad five years, working hard all the time at *Comic Annuals*, and various other well-known publications, such as *Up the Rhine*. From the period of his going abroad is dated the commencement of his illness, against which he bravely struggled till 1845, when the foe triumphed, and ended his useful and laborious career. It was at this closing period of his life that he wrote the "Song of the Shirt," and the "Bridge of Sighs." In those poems he astonished all by the new vein which he opened up; and in them he did what he wished to do—helped to bridge over the gulf between Dives and Lazarus, between rich and poor. As a punster, Hood was unrivalled. "Three such men," said a writer in the *Times*, "in succession, as Theodore Hook, Thomas Hood, and Douglas Jerrold, of whom, it is almost needless to add, that our hero was comparatively the greatest, have exerted such an influence on London society by the brilliancy of their power, that punning has obtained an eminence in quarters where, at one time, it would have been deemed the height of vulgarity to venture on any species of word-play." The same writer adds—"It will be found that nearly all the most successful puns depend on this fact—the jumble of Saxon, Danish, Celtic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew roots in the English language, so that the same syllable has different meanings, according as it has been derived from Saxon or from French, from Danish or from Hebrew." Hood was, no doubt, wonderfully successful in his puns, even without overstepping the limits of pure Saxon roots: as thus, in referring to the death of Sally Brown's sweetheart:—

"His death, which happened in his berth,
At forty odd befel:
They went and told the sexton, and
The sexton tolled the bell."

Or, again, with regard to Ben Battle:—

"Ben Battle was a soldier bold,
And used to war's alarms;
But a cannon-ball took off his legs,
So he laid down his arms!

"Now, as they bore him off the field,
Says he, 'Let others shoot,
For here I leave my second leg,
And the Forty-second Foot.'"

But, in general, the most successful puns are due to the variety of elements in

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the English language. The wit of Jerrold's comparison between *puppy-ism* and *dog-matism*, or of Hood's contrast between *piety* and *mag-piety*, depends upon this law. Sir Charles Napier's celebrated despatch, after one of his great battles, is another good instance :—"Peccavi"—*I have Scinde* : and all the more clever from his adopting a third language to be the envelope, mask, and domino of the pun. Sometimes, when the pun is not due to a comparison of two different languages, it is obtained by a comparison of dialectical varieties, and especially by the recognition of slang. As, for example :—

"The death of kings is easily explained ;
And thus upon a tomb it might be chiselled :—
'As long as George the Fourth could rain, he rained,
And then he mizzled.'"

Hood punned, and wrote comic verses, because he was compelled to—because the public preferred rather to laugh than to weep : nevertheless, his serious verse is deeply touching ; and it was as perfect and complete in his earlier as well as his later years. As an illustration, we add a little poem on his sister's death.

"We watched her breathing thro' the night,
Her breathing soft and low,
As in her breast the wave of life
Kept heaving to and fro.

"So silently we seemed to speak,
So slowly moved about,
As we had lent her half our powers
To eke her living out.

"Our very hopes belied our fears,
Our fears our hopes belied,
We thought her dying when she slept,
And sleeping when she died.

"For when the morn came dim and sad,
And chill with early showers,
Her quiet eyelids closed—she had
Another morn than ours."

Of another poet and scholar, and man of the world, more famed since his death than before, we would speak a little. Winthrop Mackworth Praed (for it is to him that we allude) was the third and youngest son of William Mackworth Praed, sergeant-at-law, and for many years chairman of the Audit Board. He was born in John Street, Bedford Row. As a child, he was tender and delicate. He delighted in reading of a more profitable kind than is common with young people : *Plutarch's Lives* being one of his chief favourites. Shakespeare he would read aloud to his sisters. Young as he was, he already took much pleasure in chess, of which he continued fond during the whole of his life, and soon became a very good player. He also amused himself with the composition of dramas, too unripe, as may well be supposed, for publication ; but in which he already displayed that talent for drollery which he afterwards exhibited in so refined and elegant a form. At Eton, to which he was sent before he had completed his twelfth year, his intellectual superiority was fully recognised, and received the fullest and most appropriate encouragement. Here he took a principal part in carrying on *The Etonian*. It was Praed's genius that impressed upon it its distinctive character, and that chiefly contributed to obtain for it the reputation which it still retained above all other juvenile periodicals. To Cambridge Praed went with a reputation which no Etonian had carried thither since the days of Canning. It was, however, soon apparent that neither his time nor talents would be devoted exclusively, or even mainly, to the pursuit of university distinction. His disposition was eminently social—his company gladly welcomed wherever he pleased to bestow it, whether by his immediate contemporaries, or by men of brighter

standing. His scholarship was elegant, refined, and tasteful. Many were his university successes. At the Union Debating Society, Praed soon gained high rank. "It was here that Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay first became known as an orator, many of his speeches in this mimic arena being little inferior, in rhetorical skill or in force of argument, to his most splendid achievements in parliament. Scarcely less remarkable, in a different style, was the clear and commanding eloquence of Mr. Charles Austin, then equipping himself for the very high position which he afterwards obtained as an advocate and parliamentary lawyer. After these and a large number of promising speakers, destined to obtain celebrity either at the bar or in the senate, there was no third name that could be put in competition with that of Praed." When Knight's *Quarterly Magazine* was established Praed became one of its principal contributors. In 1825, we find him again at Eton, as private tutor to Lord Ernest Bruce, a younger son of the Marquis of Aylesbury. During this period he was a constant contributor to the magazines and annuals of the day. In 1829, he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. He went the Norfolk circuit, and was rapidly rising in reputation and practice; but statesmanship had been his aim all through life, and the time had come when that aim was to be realised. He was first returned to parliament for St. Germans, in 1830, and again for the same place at the general election of 1831. In 1832, he contested unsuccessfully the borough of St. Ives; but in 1834, he was returned, with Mr. T. Baring, for Yarmouth. The exertions which he used to secure his seat overtasked the powers of his constitution; and, it is believed, first developed—if they did not lay—the foundation of that fatal disease, to which a few years afterwards he fell a victim. His success in the House of Commons was sufficient to induce Sir Robert Peel to offer him the office of Secretary to the Board of Control, which offer he accepted. In 1837, Praed retired from Yarmouth, and became M.P. for Aylesbury, which post he held till the day of his death. During the latter years of his life he held the office of Deputy High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and looked forward, at some future time, to representing in parliament the university itself. This, however, was not to be. In 1838, Mr. Praed was engaged, with Mr. T. D. Acland, Mr. Matheson, Mr. H. W. Coleridge, and other friends in and out of parliament, in preparing a scheme of education for the children of the labouring classes, to be carried out under the auspices of the National Society. In 1839 he died, and was buried at Kensal Green. He left two daughters, under whose authority, a few years after, their father's poems were given to the public; and by means of them the name and fame of Praed will live for many years.

And now what must the verdict be as to Praed's claim to immortality? We have two volumes of verse, melodious, refined, tender, sparkling, and full of pathos and fun. He is not of the school of to-day: Praed wrote before Tennyson. He wrote when the reaction against Byronism had set in, and when society required in its poet that he should be a gentleman, and full to overflowing of refinement and wit. His were the days of annuals and *Books of Beauty*. People then had not come to believe in missions, or woman's destiny, or in her equality with man. She was then to be wooed and won in the old knightly style, as something almost too bright or good for human nature's daily food. She had not then made the frightful mistake of being jolly and fast, and of aping the tone, in morals and fashions, of the *Anonymas* of her time. And of such a society Praed was the poet-laureate. He was more. He had a humour which rivalled that of Hood, or of the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*. We take it that Wordsworth was pre-eminently the poet of his time; yet Praed was no imitator of Wordsworth. Praed's poems are worth reprinting, and are really poems, not themes in verse; and his charades and enigmas are quite an art in themselves. "The character," writes a friend, "of Praed's Latin and Greek verse is peculiar. It is the exact translation, for the most part, of the same style and diction which he wielded with hardly greater ease in his native language. The same sparkling antitheses, the same minute elaboration of fancy, whether employed in depicting natural or

mental objects, and the same ever-present under-current of melancholy, are found in both. Of a certain kind of Greek, adapted to the curious production called at Cambridge a Sapphic Ode, and of a certain degree of Latin scholarship competent to express all the ideas necessary to his verse, but not to sound the depth or expand the capacities of the language, he was master. His epigrams are, perhaps, the most scholarlike of his productions."

But we must not only chronicle ladies and poets. A few further notices will give the reader a better idea of the literature, and learning, and art of Lord Palmerston's time. In the course of our work we have referred to most of the distinguished men of his day; but still there are other names yet to be recorded. Horace Twiss, author of the *Life of Lord Eldon*, died in 1849; as also did Horace Smith, the author of *Rejected Addresses*; and Etty, the artist. Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy, died in 1850. The dissenting religious world lost a great man in 1851—Dr. Pye Smith, the principal of Homerton College, and author of a very learned work, called *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*. Dr. Lingard, the great Roman Catholic historian, died at about the age of eighty-two, in the same year. Robert Dale Owen, the socialist, died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1858. As we have recorded our opinion of him already, it is only fair that we add that of his admirers. Mr. Sargent, in his *Robert Owen, and his Philosophy*, writes—"Those, however, who think of the old man with a contemptuous pity, have need to be reminded how important was the position he once occupied, and how great was the good he effected. As a young man, he was the munificent supporter of Lancaster and of Bell in their early efforts; and the liberal friend of Fulton, in his various mechanical projects. It was Owen's publications which recommended to the Prussian government its scheme of national education, and a system of pauper management to the Dutch. The establishment of infant schools is his work, and followed inevitably from his studious care to place the people in circumstances favourable to their development. By his persevering efforts, first at Manchester, and then at New Lanark, he showed, in practice, that much might be done to improve the condition and the character of factory workers; and the various plans since carried out are traceable to him as their originator. The first Sir Robert Peel had the honour of being the prime mover, in parliament, of the measures for restraining, by law, the abuses of the factory system; but it was at the instigation of Owen that the movement of 1819 commenced."

In 1859, died Frank Stone, the artist; and De Quincy, the author of *Confessions of an Opium Eater*. Sir Charles Barry, the architect; Albert Smith, whose ascent of Mont Blanc was a great source of profit to the narrator, and amusement to the hearer; Sir Charles Ross, the far-famed miniature painter; G. P. R. James, the novelist; and Dr. Croly, poet and divine, died in 1860. Sir Peter Fairbairn died in 1861; as did Richard Oastler, who had fought bitterly against political economists for the rights of labour, in Yorkshire factories more especially. Henry Thomas Buckle, the author of the *History of Civilisation*, died in 1862, at the age of forty, and left his great work, to the grief of many, but half done. The great surgeon, Sir Benjamin Brodie, also died that year. Nor must we omit the names of Henry Hallam, the great historian; of Turner, the artist, rightly buried in St. Paul's Cathedral; or of Leigh Hunt, who was sent to gaol for calling George the Fourth an "Adonis of fifty;" nor Mulready, the artist. In 1864, died Dyce, the historical painter; T. P. Cooke, the popular hero of *Black-eyed Susan*; Lance, whose fruit and flowers, as displayed in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, were perfection; and John Leech, to whose delightful cartoons *Punch* owes its immortality. Never before had the caricaturist been so graceful, so true to nature, or displayed such thorough acquaintance with all that was best and manliest in English life. Sir Joseph Paxton, for whom we are indebted for improved landscape gardening, and crystal palaces for all sorts and conditions of men, died in 1865. In the same year, also, died Cardinal Wiseman—a man who

requires more than a passing line. Cardinal Wiseman was the son of the late Mr. J. Wiseman, merchant, of Waterford and of Seville, in which latter city the late cardinal was born on the 2nd of August, 1802. When little more than five years old, young Nicholas Wiseman was sent to England, and placed at a boarding-school at Waterford. In 1810 he was transferred thence to the Roman Catholic College of St. Cuthbert, at Ushaw, near Durham, where he remained until 1818. In that year he obtained leave to quit Ushaw for Rome, where he became one of the first members of the English College, then recently founded at Rome. In the next year he had the honour of preaching before the then Pope Pius VII., and was created a Doctor of Divinity in 1824, shortly before the completion of his twenty-second year. In the following spring he received holy orders, and in 1827 was nominated Professor of Oriental Languages in the Roman University, being at that time vice-rector of the English College, to the rectorship of which he was promoted in the year 1829. Dr. Wiseman returned to England in 1835; and in the Lent of the following year, he delivered, at St. Mary's, Moorfields, a course of lectures, in which he vindicated, at considerable length, the principal doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic church, and with such success, that the Roman Catholics of the metropolis presented him with a gold medal, commemorative of their gratitude and of their high regard for his talents and acquirements. In 1840, the late Pope Gregory XVI. increased the number of his vicars-apostolic in England from four to eight; and Dr. Wiseman was appointed coadjutor to the late Bishop Walsh, then vicar-apostolic of the midland district, being at the same time elevated to the presidency of St. Mary's College, Oscott. In 1848, on the death of Bishop Griffiths, Dr. Wiseman became pro-vicar-apostolic of the London district, and subsequently was again coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, then moved to London. On his death, in 1849, Bishop Wiseman succeeded as vicar-apostolic. The next stage in Dr. Wiseman's life is that which, as it has been more controverted than any other, so also is it that by which his name will be longest remembered. In August, 1850, Bishop Wiseman was summoned to Rome, to the "threshold of the apostles," by his holiness Pope Pius IX., who, on the 29th of the following September, issued his celebrated "Apostolical Letter," re-establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, at the same time issuing a "brief," elevating Dr. Wiseman to the archbishopric of Westminster. In a private consistory held the following day, the new "archbishop" was raised by the sovereign pontiff to the dignity of a cardinal priest, the ancient church of St. Pudenzia, at Rome, in conformity with the ecclesiastical custom, being selected by him as his title. His eminence was the seventh Englishman who has been elevated to the hat of a cardinal since the Reformation, his predecessors in this respect having been Cardinal Pole, Cardinal Allen, Cardinal Howard, Cardinal York, Cardinal Weld, and Cardinal Acton. The name of Cardinal Wiseman was well known in that portion of the literary world which interests itself in controversy, as one of the most frequent and able contributors to the *Dublin Review*, of which he was for some years the joint editor. To the London world, and to the public at large, Cardinal Wiseman's name was rendered most familiar by his frequent appearance upon the platform as a public lecturer upon a wide range of subjects connected with education, history, art, and science; and in this capacity his eminence always found an attentive and eager audience, even among those who were most conscientiously opposed to his spiritual claims and pretensions, and who most thoroughly ignored him as "Archbishop of Westminster." The cardinal had been suffering for about twelve years from diabetes. In 1860, whilst in Rome, he suffered severely from carbuncle. His last illness was erysipelas of the head and face. It was followed by a carbuncle on the scalp. To the great grief of his friends, he gradually sank, exhausted by this accumulation of maladies.

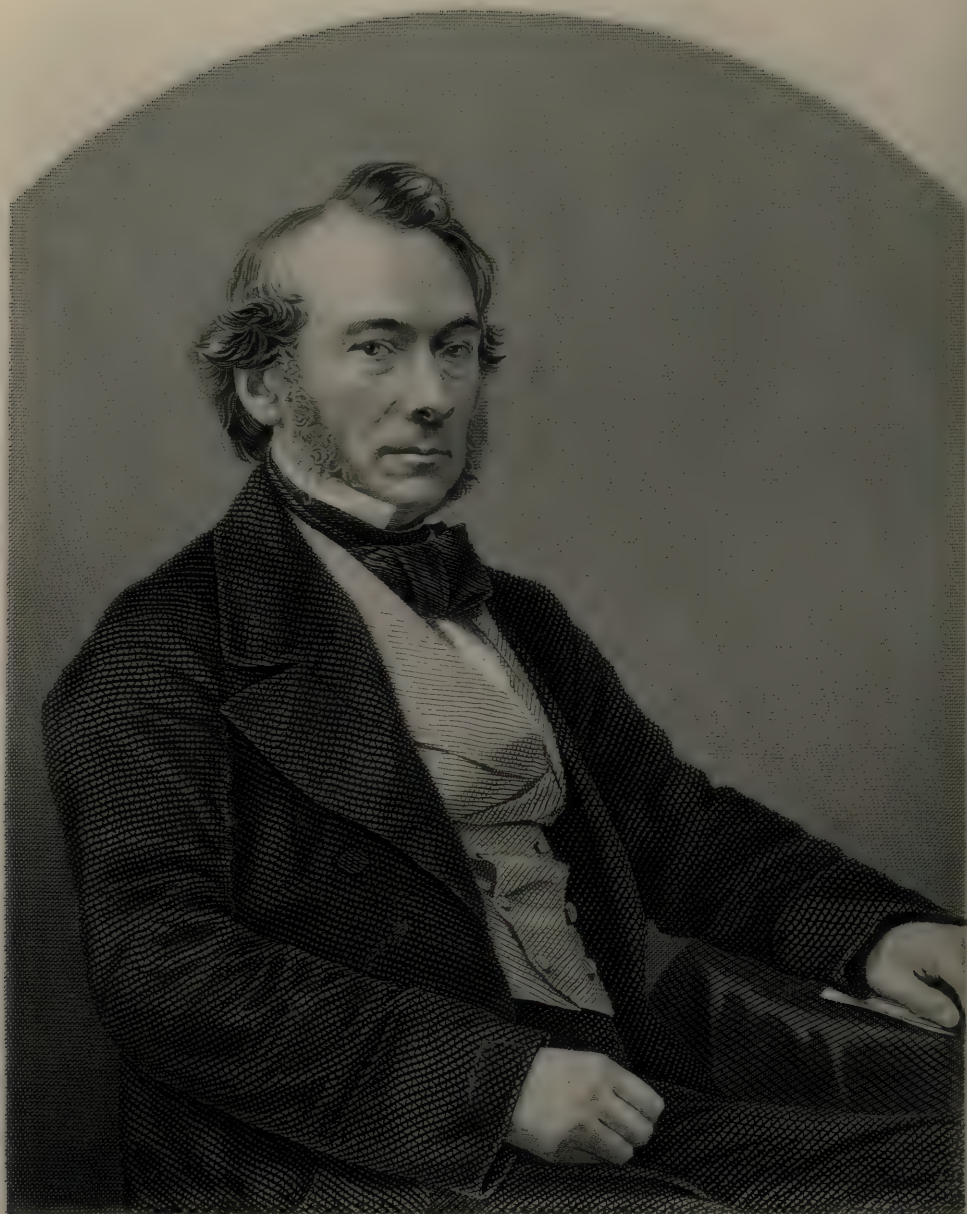
Suddenly, in the fulness of his fame, England's greatest novelist, or keenest social satirist, at any rate—William Makepiece Thackeray—was borne away by death. On December 24th, 1863, the news circulated through London that the

author of *Vanity Fair* was dead. It was only two days before that he had been seen at his club, radiant and buoyant with glee. His medical attendants attributed his death to effusion on the brain. It appeared that he had a very large brain, weighing enormously. For many years his large frame and silvered head had been conspicuous in society. The prominent incidents of a literary man's life are not numerous; and there have been published so many memoirs of Mr. Thackeray, in biographical dictionaries and other works, that we need not go much into detail in recording dates. He belonged to a Yorkshire family, and was descended from that Dr. Thackeray who was for some time head-master at Harrow, and who introduced there the Eton system. His father was in the civil service of the East India Company; and he was born at Calcutta in 1811. He was educated at the Charterhouse, which he loved to describe in his novels. Then he went to Cambridge; but he left the university without taking a degree, and went to the continent with a view of studying art. He might in those days be seen at Rome, at Weimar, and at Paris, enjoying every kind of society, chiefly that of the artists. He has described this sort of life abundantly in his tales. It was some years after this that he turned his attention to literature. He had begun life with what might be considered a good fortune; but he lost his money, and had to work. "He began," says the *Times*' critic, "as a writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, in the days when Maginn was its ruling spirit; and, under the name of Michael Angelo Titmarsh, wrote scores of essays, reviews, tales, sketches, poems of very unequal merit, which brought him little renown, and not much emolument. He contributed to other periodicals, wrote various books of travel, and worked for the publishers—any that came to him—as a barrister takes his brief from any respectable attorney. The mass of work which he got through in this way was very great; but much of it is interesting only as the early practice of one who, before long, rose to be a master of English. On the whole, as we look back upon these writings, we do not think that if his fame at that time was unequal to his merits, the public were much to blame. The very high opinion which his friends entertained of him must have been due more to personal intercourse than to his published works. It was not until 1846 that Mr. Thackeray fairly showed to the world what was in him. Then began to be published, in monthly numbers, the story of *Vanity Fair*. It took London by surprise—the picture was so true, the satire was so trenchant, the style was so finished. It is difficult to say which of these three works is the best—*Vanity Fair*, *Henry Esmond*, or *The Newcomes*. Men of letters may give their preference to the second of these, which is, indeed, the most finished of all his works. But there is a vigour in the first-mentioned, and a matured beauty in the last, which, to the throng of readers, will be more attractive. At first reading, *Vanity Fair* has given to many an impression that the author is too cynical. There was no man less ill-natured than Mr. Thackeray; and, if anybody doubts this, we refer him to *The Newcomes*, and ask whether that book could be written by any but a most kind-hearted man? We believe that one of the greatest miseries which Mr. Thackeray had to endure, grew out of the sense that he, one of the kindest of men, was regarded as an ill-natured cynic. He produced many works besides those which we have mentioned; and among them, perhaps, *Pendennis* ought to be named as standing on a nearly equal level. Over and above this, some of his minor works are perfect in their way. There is a little tale of his—*Barry Lyndon*—which the more ardent lovers of Thackeray's writing regard as his masterpiece. We have mentioned enough, however, to justify the opinion that, except Mr. Dickens, no modern English novelist ranks higher than William Makepeace Thackeray. As studies of human nature, and as specimens of pure idiomatic English, perhaps nothing better has been written than that which we have under Thackeray's name. There is a rich humour, too, in his writing which is very amusing. For humour and play of fancy what can be better than his poems? They are among the cleverest things in the language."

In the House of Commons, in addition to those we have already mentioned,

what hosts of his contemporaries had Lord Palmerston outlived. In 1848 died Charles Buller, a promising statesman and political writer. He had long outlived his *quondam* friend, and, subsequently, political opponent, Wilson Croker—the Mr. Rigsby of *Coningsby*. Lord Palmerston had seen the Radical M.P.'s—Cobbett; Sharman Crawford; Wakley, of the *Lancet*; Tom Duncombe, the gay and agreeable sinner, so dear to Finsbury; Lord Dudley Stuart, the friend of the Poles—all gathered to their fathers. About the same time there passed away a man well known in his day—Daniel Whittle Harvey, the fervent Radical M.P. and newspaper proprietor of a time when political life was something real, something earnest; but who, latterly, was known as a terror to evil-doers, and especially cabmen, in the city. In the opinion of the latter, the “V. R.” on the badge was supposed to stand for Vittle 'Arvey, as the comic literature of that day still testifies. To the last Mr. Harvey was a wonderfully active man; and only a few days previous to his death, he ran up-stairs as if he were a mere lad. As an instance of what talent and perseverance may do, he deserves remembering. While a boy, he used to write his name on his desk, “Daniel Whittle Harvey, M.P. for Colchester;” and M.P. for Colchester he became. In 1837, he was considered, by Mr. James Grant, as one of the most gifted men in parliament. Mr. Grant describes him as “one of the speakers in the House whom no one would ever tire of hearing. His ideas always strike you as excellent, and his illustrations are usually of the most felicitous kind. You are often surprised, as well as pleased, by the brilliant things he says. His language is elegant to a fault. At refined sarcasm,” Mr. Grant adds, “he has few equals. No man can cut an opponent more delicately, and at the same time so deeply. Some of his efforts in this way have been the happiest that ever met my notice, either in speeches I have heard delivered, or in the course of my reading.” Such is fame. Of the late Daniel Whittle Harvey as an M.P., and elegant, eloquent, and sarcastic speaker, the present generation knows nought. In life how soon one is pushed off the stage. Of other members who, like Harvey, had risen from the ranks, let us note W. J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham; Herbert Ingram, who, as a boy, had blacked the shoes of one of his constituents; Mr. Brotherton (famed for his annual motion to the effect that the House do adjourn at twelve o'clock), who had been a poor factory lad; William Schaw Lindsay, who had been a cabin-boy, and undergone more suffering than usually falls to the lot of such. Old Colonel Sibthorp, whose invectives against foreigners, and against Whigs and Tories, always created roars of laughter, died in 1861. Mr. Muntz, the bearded Birmingham M.P.; Mr. Attwood, the leader of the unionists during the reform agitation era; Mr. George Byng, so long the father of the House, must also be enumerated here. The latter gentleman not only had the honour of being considered as the father of the House, but he had also the additional fame of having been, for the long period of half a century, not only a representative of the people, but the representative of the same constituency—a circumstance, we believe, unparalleled in the history of the House of Commons.

In April, 1865, all England was startled by hearing of the death of Richard Cobden. It was known that he was ill; but, it was hoped, not seriously so. For four years Mr. Cobden had suffered from asthma, and, under the advice of his physicians, abstained as much as possible from any active duty during winter. A few months before his death he transgressed this rule so far as to address his constituents at Rochdale, in one of those great speeches which have done so much to educate the nation, and to put to flight the pernicious errors in political science to which the ruling class of this country has clung with so much pertinacity. But the consequence of his speaking at Rochdale was to warn him once again that he could not be too careful during an English winter. Accordingly, in reply to a letter from Mr. Bright, he invited that statesman to meet him at Midhurst, as he did not contemplate resuming his seat in parliament till a more advanced period of the session. In the course of their conversation, he recalled the fact that his only son was buried in Lavington churchyard, and that there, too, he would be buried.



RICHARD COBDEN.

O.B. 1865.

The reference to his death was not, indeed, caused by any presentiment of his own approaching decease, for he was then deeply engrossed with public affairs; and so engrossed, that as the time for the Canada debate drew nigh, he was seized with an uncontrollable desire to unfold his views upon the whole question in parliament. On the 21st of March he accordingly came up to London on one of those bitter days when even men of robust strength felt the necessity of caution. Immediately on arriving at his residence in Suffolk Street he was seized with an attack of asthma, which was so far relieved on Wednesday that he was able to see some of his friends. On Wednesday, between five and six in the afternoon, the attack returned with great severity. Dr. Roberts, of Grosvenor Street, was consulted; and we need not say that every attention was bestowed by that gentleman to save for the country a life so precious. Indeed, for some days it was hoped Mr. Cobden would recover from the attack. On Friday the symptoms were not favourable, but on Saturday morning he was thought to be a little better. Throughout Saturday the disease continued; it had ripened into that form of the distemper known as congestive asthma, followed by an attack of bronchitis. In the course of Saturday he made his will, appointing Mr. Thomasson, of Bolton, Mr. Thomasson, jun., and Mrs. Cobden, his executors. He also subscribed a letter to Mr. Bazley, M.P., Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Bolton, and Mr. John Slagg, of Manchester, who hold some funds in trust for Mr. Cobden's children. He rallied about midnight, and conversed a little. Mr. Bright was then in the house; Mr. Moffat, M.P.; Mr. Fisher, of Midhurst; and Mr. Fisher, jun., in addition to Mrs. Cobden and her second daughter. But the insidious disease was too busy with its fatal mission to permit of longer hope. Gradually, without suffering, and with the same tranquillity of mind as had distinguished him throughout life, the great reformer passed away. He died at a quarter past eleven on Sunday morning, being only in his sixty-first year.

Mr. Cobden evidently regarded the emancipation of the industry of the people as the great work of his life. Although he took part in many movements for various kinds of reform, he never assumed to place himself in the same relation to any great public question as that in which he had stood to free trade. His was a practical nature. He had no idea of playing with politics; and, for the class of whom Lord Palmerston was the type—a class, however, without which, under present circumstances, government is an impossibility—he had little sympathy. “These peculiarities,” says a writer in the *Daily News*, “these infirmities, as some would call them, unfitted him for many positions which he only wanted a certain elasticity to fill with distinction. His simplicity, and the dislike with which he could not but look on political trifling, threw him out of *rapprochement* with a large class of politicians, who mistook for weakness of temper an impatience which was entirely moral. The service which he rendered to the country as the negotiator of the French treaty is too recent to be forgotten, or the indifference to honour which he showed when offered some mark of distinction at its conclusion. The benefits of the great commercial reforms, which it had been his privilege to bring about, increase year by year; and in them he possesses the best of titles to his country's lasting remembrance.”

A writer in the *Star*, the organ of his party, asked—“Why did this eminent public servant never serve his sovereign and his country in any of the first offices of state? Why was it that he who has done more to make England greater, and her people more contented and prosperous, than all the warriors whose tombs encumber Westminster Abbey, went down to his grave unennobled by the crown, not honourable by any patent of heraldry, not distinguished from the common crowd by any title of precedence or acknowledgment of his pre-eminent worth? The answer, we are afraid, must be that Richard Cobden despised those vulgar rewards which the ordinary politician regards as the appropriate termination of his career; and that, during his time, there has been no ministry in England which had his unreserved confidence and approval. It has not been because the sove-

reign sought to withhold from him some mark of her esteem ; not because Premiers have not sought the honour of his assistance at the Board of the Privy Council ; and not because the ruling classes would not gladly have counted Richard Cobden as one of their own order. It is true there was a time when it was said representatives for agricultural constituencies, who felt themselves obliged to vote with Sir Robert Peel, gravely represented that they had to follow the Premier in his new career, lest the calamity should happen of Mr. Cobden being made a minister, and called upon by his sovereign to inaugurate the new *régime* which he had been instrumental in bringing about. Some have also said, that the true reason for the conversion of the Duke of Wellington to a free-trade policy, was the statement made to him by Sir Robert Peel, that, unless they continued in office, the queen would have no resource but to send for Mr. Cobden. If that contemptible feeling ever did exist to any great extent, it was not lasting ; for it was at this very time, after Sir Robert Peel was defeated on his Irish policy, and the Whigs had succeeded to office, that the first direct approach was made with a view of inducing Mr. Cobden to join the cabinet. He had resolved to spend some months in foreign travel ; and on the fact becoming generally known, Lord John Russell wrote to him to express his regret, as he had hoped that he might be induced to join the cabinet which was then being formed. At this time, also, the *Times*, believing, no doubt, that a man who had accomplished so much, and who was publicly hailed in parliament by the Premier of England as one who, by his unadorned eloquence, had revolutionised the policy of his country, was endeavouring, by all manner of fulsome eulogy, to detach Mr. Cobden from his co-workers in the great cause. The praise of that organ, we need not say, was valued by the illustrious statesman at the same worth as the virulent abuse with which it had more consistently followed his career. If the great free-trader, however, had been less sternly patriotic—had his principles been more flexible, and his ambition rather for his own personal success than the public good—there can be little doubt that he might, as he stated to his Rochdale constituents, have been Prime Minister of England. A more definite proposal was made to him in 1859. When the ministry of the day came into power on the strength of their professions of reform, and sustained by the united Liberal party on the basis of the union publicly adopted at Willis's Rooms, Mr. Cobden was in America. The presidency of the Board of Trade was reserved for his acceptance ; and on his return he waited, by appointment, on Lord Palmerston. There never was any hesitation in his own mind as to the course he should adopt ; and he did not disguise from his more intimate friends that his only possible answer must be a refusal. Nothing transpired publicly of the nature of the interview—memorable in many respects—except that the post reserved for him had been courteously declined. We may now state, however, that the conversation which took place was as frank and direct, on the part of Mr. Cobden, as his speeches in the House of Commons. He told Lord Palmerston, in answer to remonstrances against his decision to decline the honour, that he had always regarded his lordship as one of the most dangerous ministers England could possibly have, and that his views had not undergone the slightest change. He felt that it would be doing violence to his own sense of duty, and injuring his own character for consistency in the eyes of his countrymen, to profess to act with a minister to whom he had all along been opposed on public grounds. This frank avowal of opinion did not prevent the minister making the offer of a baronetcy, and a seat in the Privy Council, to Mr. Cobden, after the successful negotiation of the French treaty. This offer Mr. Cobden, of course, declined. The same uncompromising adherence to his views was displayed still more recently. In January, 1865, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Cobden, wishing him to accept the chairmanship of the Board of Audit, with a salary of £2,000 per annum. The answer of the true economist was, that he must decline ; and, in declining, express the feeling that, if he had been induced to accept, he would have had, in the performance of his duties, a constant sense of disgust at the scandalous

and unnecessary expenditure of the government. Thus it is that Richard Cobden's name was, to the end, as unadorned as his eloquence; that his integrity was proof against the blandishments of honour; and that place had for him no temptation, when the acceptance of place meant the abandonment of his principles."

We have referred to Lord Palmerston's speech when the news of Mr. Cobden's death reached the House of Commons; and now give the generous utterances of the leader of the Conservatives on the same occasion.

Mr. Disraeli said—"Sir, having been a member of this House when Mr. Cobden first took his seat in it, and having, indeed, remained in this House during the whole time of his somewhat lengthened parliamentary career, I cannot reconcile myself to silence on this occasion, when we have to deplore the loss of one so eminent, and one, too, in the full ripeness of his manhood, and the full vigour of his intellect. Although it was the fortune of Mr. Cobden to enter public life at a time when passions were roused, still, when the strife was over, there was soon observed in him a moderation and temperateness of expression that intimated a large intellectual capacity, and high statesmanlike qualities. There was, in his character, a peculiar vein of reverence for tradition, which often, unconsciously to himself, subdued and softened the severity of the conclusions to which he may have arrived. That, sir, in my mind, is a quality which, in some degree, must be possessed by any man who attempts or aspires to sway this assembly. Notwithstanding the rapid changes in which we live, and the improvements which we anticipate, this country is still Old England. What the qualities of Mr. Cobden were in this House, all now present are able to judge. I think I may say that, as a debater, he had few equals; as a logician, he was close and compact; and, I would say, adroit, acute, and, perhaps, even subtle. Yet, at the same time, he was gifted with that degree of imagination, that he never lost sight of the sympathies of those whom he addressed; and so generally avoiding to drive his arguments to an extremity, he became, as a speaker, both practical and persuasive. The noble lord, who is far more competent than myself to deal with such subjects, has referred to his career as an administrator. It seemed to be destined, notwithstanding the eminent position which he had achieved and occupied, and the various opportunities which offered for the ambition which he might legitimately possess, that his life should pass without the opportunity of showing that he possessed those talents and qualities so valuable in the council and in the management of public affairs. But still, it fortunately happened that, before he quitted us, he had one of the greatest opportunities which a public man could enjoy; and, in the transaction of great affairs, obtained the consideration of the two leading countries of the world. There is something mournful in the history of this parliament, when we remember how many of our most valuable and eminent public men have been removed from among us. I cannot refer to the history of any parliament that will bear down to posterity so fatal a record. But, sir, there is this consolation remaining to us, when we remember our unequalled and irreparable losses—that those great men are not altogether lost to us; that their words will often be quoted in this House; that their examples will be often referred to and appealed to; and that even their expressions may form a part of our discussions. There are indeed, I may say, some members of parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this House, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprice of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden was one of those men. I believe that, when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that, looking to his expressions and his deeds, he was, without doubt, the greatest political character that the pure middle class of this country has as yet produced; that he was an ornament to the House of Commons, and an honour to England."

Far and near were these mournful utterances caught up and re-echoed. In Paris, amongst the wisest and best, there was as much readiness to do honour to Cobden's memory as in his native land. The Foreign Minister of France,

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, introducing an admirable innovation in diplomatic intercourse, sent a despatch on the all-engrossing theme to the French ambassador in London. In the *Corps Legislatif* the subject of Cobden's death was introduced by its vice-president, M. Forcade la Roquette; and his warm expressions of esteem were applauded and repeated on every hand. "The death of Richard Cobden," he said—"and I feel convinced that the Chamber will cordially join in the sentiment—is not alone a misfortune for England, but a cause of mourning for France and humanity." The emperor, in a similar spirit, declared his intention to place a bust of the great free-trader in his palace of Versailles. In the Prussian Chambers there was a sympathetic allusion to the subject; nay, more—on the distant Danube, when Prince Milosch, of Servia, heard of the mournful event, he decreed that services in honour of Cobden's memory, and for the peace of his soul, should be held in the cathedral of Belgrade, and the other churches of the Greek communion in his principality. In his native land, in all quarters, of course, many were the touching tributes to his memory. Eliza Cook's welcome verse spoke the language of the people. The poetess writes—

- "Cobden ! proud English yeoman name !
 I offer unto thee
 The earnest meed that all should claim
 Who toil midst slander, doubt, and blame,
 To make the free more free.
- "Thy voice has been among the few
 That plead for human right :
 It asked for justice ; and it grew
 Still louder, when the fair and true
 Were trampled down by might.
- "Thy heart was warm ; thy brain was clear ;
 Thy wisdom prompt in thought ;
 Thy manly spirit knew not fear,
 But held its country's good most dear,
 Unwarped, unbribed, unbought.
- "An open foe, a changeless friend,
 Thy gauntlet pen was flung,
 More ready, in thy zeal, to lend
 A shield to others, than defend
 Thyself from traitor's tongue.
- "A homebred Cæsar thou hast been,
 Whose bold and bright career
 Leaves on thy brow the wreath of green,
 On which no crimson drop is seen,
 No widow's bitter tear."

In 1854, died one of the extreme Tories, the Marquis of Londonderry. No man had been more unpopular in his day. During the reform agitation he had been mobbed, and had his windows shattered ; and, again, when he was nominated ambassador to the Court of Russia, such a dead set was made against him in the House of Commons, that Sir Robert Peel had to cancel the appointment. The Duke of Buckingham thus comments on the latter act :—"Thus, most unjustly, as well as most impolitically, a nobleman of the highest character and abilities was deprived of the opportunity of serving his country effectually, at a period when a good understanding between the Courts of London and St. Petersburg was essential to the interests of both countries, to gratify private spite and public prejudice. There is reason to believe that the anti-British policy of the Russian government—which, under the management of English diplomacy, a few years later, produced that discreditable climax of official blundering, the Crimean war—commenced from this date ; and that the blood and treasure it cost England would have been saved, and the ill-feeling it created throughout Russia prevented, had Lord Londonderry been permitted to fulfil the duties of the important post in which he had been

placed." Such is the opinion of an eminent nobleman: it is not the one, however, generally entertained. In 1861, a monument to his lordship's memory was erected in Durham. At the inauguration Mr. Disraeli assisted. After the ceremony was terminated, lunch was held in the Town Hall; and, in reply to the toast of "Mr. Disraeli and the House of Commons," the distinguished Conservative leader, amongst other things, said that he had been bound to the late marquis by powerful ties for a quarter of a century.

"I knew him well; and I am fain to believe that I rightly appreciated the qualities of his mind and character. He was an individual of the greatest energy that I ever was acquainted with; but there was this characteristic about the late Lord Londonderry—that he combined the greatest energy of character with a singular softness of heart. He was, above all men, a faithful friend. It has sometimes been said that he, as all other public characters, was occasionally deficient in that judgment which is necessary to a perfect character; but this must be said of Lord Londonderry—that he succeeded in everything that he undertook; and when I find general and signal success, I am not prepared to admit that there has been deficiency of judgment. As a soldier, no one will deny his eminence. At one of the most important crises of modern times—in an age celebrated for its warriors and commanders—in an age which produced Murat and Anglesey, Charles Stewart was second to no one. But I say that he was not only a successful soldier; he was an extremely able and adroit diplomatist. The political records of the important age of the revolutionary wars, which are now irregularly unfolding their secrets to the generation of which we are members, only bring forth fresh evidence of the great abilities of the late Lord Londonderry. Why, in the work of Sir Robert Wilson, who was opposed to him in politics (which has recently been published), we find there frequent, abounding, and indubitable evidence of the great services which Lord Londonderry—then Lord Stewart—accomplished for his country, many of which, until this publication, were unknown; and his services, when he was at the head-quarters of the King of Sweden, have taken their place in history with his humane virtues, which considerably contributed to the great result which crowned that long revolutionary war. What his character was in private life, how he dealt with those great accidents of fortune which he partly inherited, and which he otherwise in a still more interesting manner acquired, you who sit in this hall are better judges than I am, having had much communication with him upon public affairs; but I can truly say that Lord Londonderry was, although a party man, more superior to prejudice than many individuals that you encounter. He was a man of a very enlightened mind—a man who thoroughly understood the characteristics, and necessities, and wants of his age; and a man who truly understood that, in a commercial country like England, the aristocracy of the country should place themselves at the head of that great commercial interest, and sympathise with it. In all this we find Lord Londonderry was not wanting; but, on the contrary, I think I am only speaking the language of accurate truth, when I say that he, individually, gave no mean impulse to the enterprise of the county of Durham. Well, then, I say that a man who has done these things; who, in his youth, was a successful warrior; who, in his middle age, was entrusted with the diplomatic interests of his country—representing them at foreign Courts, or conducting negotiations on the field of battle even, with signal success; who, in private life, and in the more contracted sphere of the counties of Ireland and England, with which he was connected, showed himself possessed of all the qualities of an eminent citizen, was no mean character. He was one that deserved to be recollected in the affections of his country; and I think that it is equally to the honour of himself and his family, and to the county of Durham, that you, in so public a manner, record your sense of his character and services; and, in doing so, encourage those who come after him to remember his great example, and to retain, by the utmost efforts of their nature, the affection of this great community."

In legal circles the mortality had been almost as favourable to Lord Palmer-

ston as in ecclesiastical ones. Many were the vacancies which occurred while he held the reins of office; and great, consequently, was the patronage which was placed in his hands. When, in the month of February, 1855, Lord Palmerston constructed a government upon the ruins of the fallen administration of Lord Aberdeen, he retained Lord Cranworth in his place upon the woolsack. In like manner, Sir Alexander Cockburn and Sir Richard Bethell (who, with the Lord Chancellor, had been appointed, in 1852, by the Earl of Aberdeen) were continued in their respective posts of Attorney and Solicitor-general. At that time the Lord Chief Justice of England was Lord Campbell; and the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, were Justices Coleridge, Wightman, Erle, and Crompton. Her majesty's Court of Common Pleas was presided over by Lord Chief Justice Jervis; the puisne judges being Justices Cresswell, Williams, Maule, and Crowder. The year 1855 witnessed a vacancy in the Common Pleas, when, by the death of Mr. Justice Maule, Mr. James Shaw Willes was elevated to the judicial bench. In November, 1856, Lord Chief Justice Jervis died, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Attorney-general (whose defence of Lord Palmerston, on the last night of the Pacifico debate, was not forgotten), was placed in the vacant seat. In 1857, the death of Baron Alderson occasioned another vacancy, which was filled up by the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Channell. In 1859, Mr. Justice Crowder died, and his judgeship was given to Sir H. S. Keating. In March, 1860, Mr. Baron Watson died suddenly, whilst on circuit; and Mr. James Plaisted Wilde, Q.C., was appointed in his stead. Then, in 1861, Lord Campbell died suddenly. The next death was that of Mr. Justice Cresswell; and then the death of Mr. Justice Wightman placed another seat at Lord Palmerston's disposal: and thus the old men moved off, and the new ones rose up to occupy their vacant places. The ancients tell us, those whom the gods love die young. According to the poet Wordsworth, those whose hearts are dry as dust, burn to the socket. Are we to imagine, then, that bishops and judges are not favoured of heaven? At any rate, it must be confessed they cling to life, and die very hard. Nevertheless they had all to join in the dance of death, and to go the way along which the loved, and the beautiful, and the young, upheld by a living faith, have gone before them, rejoicing. It is oftentimes very astonishing how old people, for whom one would think the world had few charms, shrink from parting with it. Old Madame Rothschild, mother of the mighty capitalists, attained the age of ninety-eight: her wit, which was very remarkable, and her intellectual faculties, which were of no common order, were preserved to the end. In her last illness, when surrounded by her family, her physician being present, she said, in a suppliant tone, to the latter—"Dear doctor, try to do something for me." "Madame, what can I do? I can't make you young again." "No, doctor, I don't want to be young again, but I want to continue to grow old." And this is the way with them all. To continue to grow old is a pleasure of which the young and vigorous can, however, form but a poor idea.

When Lord Palmerston was a baby, the great struggle for place and power, between Pitt and Fox, had but scarce begun. On he lived, as the men of George the Third's time, and of the Regency, and of the fourth George, and of the sailing, were, one by one, summoned to the silent land: and now for him, at length, the end draws near—

"The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks;
The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep
Moans round with many voices."

CHAPTER XXIV.

MORE ABOUT IRELAND.

If a certain historian be correct, she is the happiest woman about whom nothing can be said. There is a great deal of truth in this remark, if applied to nations. Those most talked of are not always in the happiest condition. For instance, there is Ireland. In parliament, no part of the kingdom creates such discussion; and yet, on all sides, it is admitted that no part of the kingdom is so unhappy; and not a year passes but the government and the people of this country have some cause for uneasiness respecting Ireland.

In 1858, several persons were arrested in Belfast, on the charge of being members of a private society.

In 1859, there were serious riots at Galway, on account of Signor Gavazzi (or Father Gavazzi, as he was sometimes called) visiting that town, and delivering a lecture there against popery. The same year a man named Daniel Sullivan was arrested on the charge of being a member of the Phoenix Secret Society. After a trial, which lasted three days, Sullivan was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

In 1860, Mr. Pope Hennesy obtained leave to bring a bill into the House of Commons, embodying the principle of tenant-right; which, however, does not appear to have got much further. In England there are no complicated questions about tenant-rights. The law and the custom of the country are equally clear. In Ireland the tenant and the landlord are always at loggerheads. On one occasion, in 1861, Mr. Scully endeavoured to get the House to inquire into the conduct of a landlord—Mr. J. G. Adair—one of the justices of the peace for the county of Donegal, who had recently ejected nearly all the inhabitants from a tract of land on his estate in that county; but the motion was negatived. In that year the queen and Prince Albert visited the camp at Curragh, and the lakes of Killarney, and were received with an enthusiasm which showed how loyal the Irish were at heart, and how easy it would be to gain their affections if the English nation really cared to do so.

Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston's Irish Secretary, was always getting into scrapes with the Irish members. In 1862, he brought in a bill for the registration of births and deaths in Ireland; the plan proposed in which, was to entrust the registration to the constabulary in Ireland—a body of officers who were stated to be very efficient. A few days after, Lord Palmerston informed the Speaker that a breach of privilege had been committed by O'Donoghue, the member for Tipperary, who had sent a hostile message to Sir Robert Peel, on account of expressions used in the course of debate. After some explanations had passed, the honourable member for Tipperary, on the call of the Speaker, gave an assurance to the House that the matter would be carried no further.

In 1863, the lawlessness of the Irish was still further illustrated in very high quarters. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in a progress through Galway, was shot at from an hotel at Maam, by direction of the Earl of Leitrim. Fortunately no harm was done; but the earl was very properly, shortly after, dismissed from the commission of the peace in the counties of Leitrim, Donegal, and Galway.

In 1864, the outrages in Ireland were of no ordinary character. In the August of that year there was an immense demonstration in Dublin, in honour of Daniel O'Connell, by laying the foundation-stone of a monument to his fame. The *Times* thus relates the affair:—

"The great day for Ireland has passed, and the monster procession went through the city without doing any mischief, except the serious loss inflicted by the

suspension of business. Nearly all the shop-windows were closed, and the town wore the aspect of a holiday. In almost every house along the line of the procession, groups of ladies and gentlemen were looking from the windows; but they had, in many cases, more of the manner of people enduring a privation than enjoying a triumph. The 8th of August might be called the greenest day that Dublin has ever seen. Green in profusion met the eye in every direction. The horses, the carriages, the drivers were all adorned with green—green in every shape in which it could be used. Those who could not afford to buy rosettes, or sashes, or scarfs, got leaves or boughs. With the native colour were blended white, yellow, and gold. These colours were all laid thickly on the immense standards of the trades, many of which had emblematic figures, and greatly delighted the crowds of men, women, and children in the streets, who presented one continued mass of human beings as far as the eye could reach along the line of procession in every direction. They had to wait long beyond the appointed time for the procession; but their conduct was marked with good order and good-humour throughout. The police had little else to do beyond sending vehicles in the right direction. Every section of the procession had its own chief and subordinate officers; and the whole moved according to a system of discipline which they had established. Ten o'clock was the hour mentioned for starting; but it was not till near one o'clock that the old state coach, drawn by six horses, was seen moving from the Mansion-house. The procession was formed in the order laid down in the programme; but there were gaps caused by the absence of classes that were expected to be represented. It was made up principally of the trades, the corporations, the schools, and the religious fraternities. Numerous bands played at different places as the procession advanced. It occupied one or two hours in passing each point, which shows to what a length it must have extended; but it was sometimes delayed by restive horses. There was not much enthusiasm manifested anywhere; but the fact that so much trouble had been taken, and so much money had been spent, to make the demonstration respectable and successful, shows that there is a deep feeling connected with the memory of O'Connell among the lower classes, and, to a great extent, among the middle class. Those who got up the demonstration have every reason to congratulate themselves with the result. It was, undoubtedly, a magnificent display; and none of O'Connell's monster meetings was more orderly or more peaceably disposed. There was no manifestation of sectarian feeling on the part of the most ignorant—no disposition to molest any one on account of his religion or politics. There may have been isolated cases of rudeness out of the range of the procession, but they must have been very rare. It is impossible to calculate the number of people attracted by the show; but, in Dame Street alone, there could not be less than 50,000; while many other streets were filled in the same way.

"The procession arrived at the site of the monument in Sackville Street, where the hordes filed off. Within the enclosure Sir John Gray read an address to the Lord Mayor, eulogising O'Connell, recording his achievements for Ireland, and, in the name of the monument committee, of which he is chairman, requesting him, as chief magistrate of the city, to lay the first stone. His lordship read a suitable reply, after which the ceremony was performed. The trowel, of solid silver, was presented to the Lord Mayor; and the mallet, of ornamented bog-oak, to Sir John Gray, to mark the committee's sense of 'the vast services rendered by him in originating, promoting, and carrying out to the advent of its completion this great national monument of Ireland's gratitude to her greatest son, the immortal Liberator.'

"It was near six o'clock before the ceremony was over. It was almost immediately followed by a banquet in the round room of the Rotunda, the whole area of which was covered with tables, and still it was said many failed to obtain accommodation. About 400 gentlemen sat down to dinner. The Lord Mayor presided. 'The Pope' was not in the list of toasts. 'The Queen,' 'the Prince and Princess of Wales,' &c., were received with warm demonstrations of loyalty; Mr.

Levey's band adding much to the entertainment; while one gentleman sang 'God save the Queen,' and some other songs. On 'the Memory of O'Connell' being given, the most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, delivered an eloquent speech. Able speeches were also delivered by Mr. Kavanagh, Sir Colman O'Loughlen, M.P., Mr. Dillon, Sir John Gray, and especially by Mr. Maguire, M.P. Mr. Kavanagh, one of the secretaries, complained that the higher classes, whom O'Connell had emancipated, were not represented there that day; it was a people's demonstration, and the people had not yet got the benefit of emancipation. 'No peers, no judges; none but the people honoured the immortal memory of the great Liberator.' Mr. Maguire, replying for 'the House of Commons,' paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of O'Connell, dwelling on his services in parliament to the cause of freedom and humanity, and urging the necessity of union among the Irish representatives. Emancipation had done everything for the rich—nothing for the poor; and it was their duty to see it carried out on behalf of the people. Sir John Gray complained strongly of the absence of the bar, which owed so much to O'Connell; yet it was represented only by Sir Colman O'Loughlen and Mr. Dillon. Sir Colman made an able speech. He was there as O'Connell's friend, and one of his counsel—as the son of the first Roman Catholic elevated to the bench, as the result of emancipation—as member for Clare, where the victory was won. He described the Roman Catholic party as O'Connell found it, and the position to which he had raised it. Mr. Dillon made a powerful speech; but rather strong against England, and 'the rule of the stranger.' The proceedings were harmonious, and the meeting enthusiastic. It did not break up till midnight."

Such a demonstration as this was too much for the bigoted Orangemen and advocates of Protestant ascendancy in Belfast. Accordingly, they met in vast numbers; burnt O'Connell's effigy in that town, and, on the following day, buried the ashes with much solemnity. This gave, as it was intended that it should, great offence to the Roman Catholics. Irritable feelings were excited, which resulted in an attack on the party forming the procession, the breaking of the windows of Protestant chapels, and the wrecking of the houses inhabited by Protestants. On succeeding days the riot became more violent, as the anti-Catholics banded themselves in fight against their adversaries. The police were powerless, were pelted with stones, and driven away. As these combats continued, a military force was sent for, and additional policemen; but though these came to the number of 3,000 soldiers and 1,000 of the police, they were ineffectual to stop the rioting, though many of the ringleaders were apprehended, the mob fired upon, several killed, and many wounded; and, as is usually the case, some children and others who had taken no part in the riots. These disgraceful proceedings were continued till Saturday, the 13th, when a cessation took place. They were, however, renewed on the 16th, and continued till the 19th. The town authorities seemed quite to have lost their heads, or else were strangely indifferent to the preservation of peace. Any community, however uncivilised, would have been disgraced by such an outrageous defiance of law; but Belfast was a superior town: indeed, on the whole, one of the most flourishing and well-behaved in Ireland. For more than ten days Belfast was engaged in a quarrel which might have obtained the dimensions of a civil war, if it had not been, comparatively speaking, bloodless. Before the riots had ended there were nine killed and 176 wounded, in the general hospital, besides many who were treated at their homes privately. The repetition of the scandal will probably be prevented by a better organisation of the police; but the occurrence forcibly illustrated the difficulty of governing Ireland, where national character intensifies sectarian bitterness and hate. In the House of Commons, the events we have recorded gave rise to considerable discussion. Yet, if well-meaning were sufficient to ensure peace in Ireland, she should have been content. Her Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, was one of the most amiable and well-meaning men in the world. According to him, better days were always coming—the Irish millennium was always near. He was succeeded by Lord Wodehouse,

a younger and more active man, who had the good fortune to find the country recovering slowly from severe and long-continued distress. But till the English parliament dare boldly face the church question, it is in vain to hope that time or prosperity, or emigration, will abate the discontent and the propensity to internal discord which still interrupt the social regeneration of Ireland. The population, in 1861, was returned as 5,793,967. This total is made up as follows:—

Established church	693,357
Roman Catholics	4,505,265
Presbyterians	523,291
Other Protestant denominations	72,054
	<hr/>
	5,793,967

According to these figures there had been a decrease in the number of church-goers, since 1834, of 158,707, in spite of the fact that, within the same period of time, nearly 300 new churches had been built. The total of parishes in Ireland is 2,428. Nearly two-thirds of this number consist of parishes in which the members of the church of Ireland are less than 100; yet this is the church which we endow and support. In the good old times we did a great deal to convert the Irish. All Catholics were excluded from the upper and lower houses in the Irish parliament; Catholics were forbidden from acting as guardians to their own children, or the children of other persons. By becoming a Protestant, any child could secure the estate of a Catholic father; marriages between Catholics and Protestants were strictly forbidden; no papist was to be the purchaser of land, or even to hold a lease of it for more than thirty-one years. Catholics could not hold an advowson, nor any civil or military office; could not vote at elections; could not reside in Limerick or Galway, except upon certain conditions. Such was the benignity of the English policy towards Ireland in 1704; and five years later this affection became still more intense. From that time no papist was to distrust the care of Providence so far as to be the holder of an annuity for life; while greater inducements than ever were held out to such persons as might be disposed to profess themselves Protestants, and to such as might choose to employ themselves in detecting popish delinquents. The papist wife, who coveted an increase to her jointure, had only to renounce papistry, and the law granted her desire. The papist son, who wished to obtain an immediate and separate means from his father's estate, had only to certify to the Court of Chancery his conversion to Protestantism, and the thing was done at once. According to the same act, every priest, professing to be converted, was entitled to receive £30 a year; and any papist schoolmaster, practising his vocation, might be transported to the plantations. Any papist above eighteen years of age might be compelled, by any two magistrates, upon pain of imprisonment for twelve calendar months, to disclose what he knew about popish priests, the celebration of the mass, Catholic schools, or any such matters. In all trials having respect to those statutes, the juries were to be exclusively Protestant. No Catholic was to serve, on any occasion, on a grand jury. Papists were not only excluded from acting for members of parliament, but from voting at parish vestries, or from filling the important and lucrative offices of constable or watchman. In this posture of affairs it can be no wonder to find the gown and wig among the things forbidden to the Irish Roman Catholic; but it did seem like verging upon excess, says a writer in a quarterly review, even in those insurrectionist days, to enact that a Protestant barrister marrying a papist wife, should be judged in law as having become a papist, and subjected to the usual penalties. Nor was this all—the priest who officiated on such an occasion ran the chance of being hung. It was further decreed by the legislative wisdom of those days, that, during war with a popish power, persons who suffered loss by privateers were to make their presentment of loss to a grand jury, and the said jury were to

levy an impost exclusively upon Catholics, that the sufferers might be indemnified. It is true those acts have long since been repealed; but it is equally true that the bitterness which they created still remains, and that the church which they were to foster and protect is as hateful to the people as ever.

In 1844, Mr. Disraeli said—"That dense population, in extreme distress, inhabited an island where there was an established church, which was not their church; and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom lived in distant capitals. Thus they had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien church; and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world. Well, then, what would honourable gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, the remedy is revolution. But the Irish could not have a revolution; and why? Because Ireland was connected with another and more powerful country. Then what was the consequence? The connection with England thus became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution were the only remedy, England, logically, was in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English minister? To effect, by policy, all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That was the Irish question in its integrity." And, we may add, that was the policy which neither Mr. Disraeli nor Lord Palmerston had the moral courage to recommend or carry out.

Left to themselves, the Irish did what most Englishmen would have done. In the last week of December, 1864, an "aggregate meeting," convened by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, "for the purpose of forming an association for the following objects—1. A reform of the law of landlord and tenant, securing to the tenant full compensation for valuable improvements; 2. The abolition of the Irish church establishment; 3. The perfect freedom of education in all its branches"—was held in the round room of the Rotunda. It was (says the *Freeman's Journal*) a most important demonstration in every respect, well calculated, from its numbers, and the rank and position of those who attended, to exert a powerful and wide-spread influence, and entitled to the utmost weight and consideration. The requisition for the meeting, presented to the Lord Mayor, was most numerously and influentially signed. It included the signatures of twenty-three members of the Catholic hierarchy, the names of several hundreds of the other dignitaries, parish priests and curates, members of parliament, magistrates, landed gentry, professional men, merchants, traders, municipal representatives, &c. The meeting was called for twelve o'clock; but long before that hour, the round room, and the approaches to it, were densely thronged. The platform and the reserved seats and gallery were crowded by Catholic prelates, clergy, and laymen, representing every class and interest of the country; and we learn from the papers, that the meeting, which was very enthusiastic, passed off with great success. Now, it is not creditable to the government of the people of this country that such a meeting as this should have taken place. It is a disgrace to the statesmanship of our time, that even now, after Ireland has been united (?) to England for ages, it should be left to any class of men to prepare a new Irish agitation; and that the requisition, calling upon the Lord Mayor of Dublin to inaugurate it, should have been signed by twenty-three Roman Catholic bishops, 200 priests, and some thousands of laymen; and certainly no facts can be well more disgraceful, or more tend to alienate the Irish from the English, than those embodied in the resolution moved by Archbishop Cullen—that "we demand the disendowment of the established church in Ireland, as the sole condition on which social peace and stability, general respect for the laws, unity of sentiment and of action for national objects, can ever prevail in Ireland. And, in making this demand, we emphatically disown any intention to interfere in the vested rights, or to injure or offend any portion of our fellow-countrymen; our desire being rather to remove a most prolific source of discord, by placing all religious denominations on a footing of perfect equality, and of

leaving each church to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of its members." And stating that the entire ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, amounting to upwards of £580,000 annually, are appropriated to the maintenance of a church which counts among its members only 691,872 persons, or less than one-seventh of the entire population.

Englishmen talk of their love of justice and fair play; but it seems utterly ignored where Ireland is concerned. No questions are so exciting as religious ones. Of all bitterness there is no such bitterness as that created by theological controversy; yet, age after age, we have left this perpetual root of bitterness in Ireland. And what has been the consequence?—that the Irishman is, and ever has been, the enemy of the Englishman; that, wherever he goes, he carries with him hatred of England and its institutions; that our government, even now that Ireland has been decimated by famine and emigration—now that the population and the resources of Ireland have dwindled down under English rule—are afraid to sanction a volunteer force in Ireland; and that when our Foreign Secretary lectures the Russian czar or the Austrian emperor, in accordance with the traditions of the Foreign Office, he is generally reminded of Ireland. Thus it is that Ireland is everywhere supposed ready to throw off the hated yoke of England, and to be only united to her by main force. In the coming war with which the American Irish threatened us, when the southern confederacy should have been broken up, Ireland was to be the land in which a friendly welcome was to be given to an invading foe. Frenchmen are to be met with by thousands imbued with a similar idea. Rightly or wrongly, such seems to be the opinion held in all quarters of the globe. Thoughtful men have in vain endeavoured to arouse Englishmen to the dangers of the present state of things. The church in Ireland, wrote Dr. Arnold years and years ago, no human power can save; and Professor Goldwin Smith—a man whom no less an authority than John Stuart Mill declares to be the first political philosopher of the day—is equally emphatic. Yet no one dares to touch the question; and when the Whigs carried the appropriation clause, the nation was more ready for a fair settlement of the difficulty than now. We write as Englishmen. We cannot see that Protestantism gains by force. We believe it is the church question which keeps Ireland Roman Catholic and anti-English. In doing justice there can be no danger. Scotland is a case in point. At one time our English statesmen were foolish enough to attempt to force an episcopalian church establishment on presbyterian Scotland. How that attempt failed—how the force invoked recoiled upon the heads of those who invoked it—how Wentworth, and Laud, and Charles I., all perished miserably on the scaffold in consequence;—all these things are matters of history. But the case of Ireland is still stronger. There must be more sympathy between episcopalian and presbyterian than there can be between episcopalian and Roman Catholic. Historically, as Dr. Cullen observes, the re-establishment of our episcopalian church in Ireland had no pretence whatever to national sanction or support. The body which adopted Henry VIII. as head of the church in Ireland was not, properly speaking, a parliament of Ireland, as a great part of the country at that time had not acknowledged the dominion of England, and did not therefore send representatives to her parliament; and we all know that the legislation, by means of which it was sought to compel Catholics to become Protestants, was of the most atrocious character. To do to others as we would wish others would do to us, is the golden rule. No Englishman would like to see the church of the minority established in these realms; nor can we expect an Irishman to think otherwise. Ireland may have other grievances; but the church question is the one which has made Ireland England's difficulty, and which has neutralised all the advantages resulting from the union. It is one which English people must learn to face—one on which English statesmen must be prepared to legislate. Ireland must be made prosperous and contented as the rest of the empire; then the Protestant in Ireland will have reason to rejoice when the bitter feeling with which he is regarded by the majority of his countrymen shall have passed away.

In vain, however, were such considerations urged upon our ruling classes. The British nation went one way, and the Irish another. Towards the autumn of 1865, the Irish executive began to be alarmed. The towns were filled with Yankee Irish with a military air, and with money in their pockets. Inflammatory writing and language abounded on all sides. There were rumours of nightly drillings, and of a wide-spread conspiracy. In September, the Dublin police took possession of the office of the *Irish People* newspaper, and seized the persons found on the premises, charged with being members of the Fenian brotherhood, and engaged in treasonable attempts against the government. On the same day numerous arrests were made in Cork, the persons arrested being charged with the like offence; but, in their cases, bail was taken for their appearance at a subsequent investigation; while, at Dublin, the persons charged were remanded to prison till another hearing. Other arrests followed; and, on September 20th, some persons were apprehended in Manchester and Sheffield, and conveyed to Dublin, charged with conspiracy. A few days after Lord Palmerston's decease, Stephens, *alias* Power, the reported Chief Centre of Ireland, was apprehended, examined, and committed for trial—a trial which he managed to elude by escaping from his cell, and since which he has contrived to retain his freedom, in spite of the efforts of the police, and of the attraction of enormous government rewards.

The Fenian madness is a cause of some uneasiness among all classes in England. It is popular nowhere save in Ireland, among the shopmen and peasantry. The gentry, clergy, middle classes, and press, have not among them, it appears, a single sympathiser for the association; but still there are as many in connection with it as may do some mischief. The *Saunders' News-Letter's* "own correspondent" had a letter on "the social aspect of the south of Ireland;" in which he takes a present view of Fenianism, the result of his inquiries, and a retrospective glance at the secret societies of the past. He says—

"Having, in my former letter, adverted to the favourable changes that have taken place in the condition of the people of the south of Ireland within the last twelve or fifteen years—the improvement in their dress, their cottages, and their personal habits, and the facilities given to those living in the remotest districts of finding a market for anything edible which they may have to sell—I propose giving the result of minute and careful inquiries on two or three matters of general interest at the present juncture; and perhaps, as 'Fenianism' is so much spoken of, a few truthful observations as to the movements may not be inapposite. It is not a little singular that, among the humbler classes of the peasantry and small farmers, though they are much better off than hitherto as a class, there is a strong feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction with the English government, and yet founded upon no one specific ground of complaint. The fortunes realised by some of their friends and acquaintances in America, the insecurity of the tenure of land, the narrow limits of the frontier ground interposed between independence and absolute penury, exercise their disturbing influences; but the principal cause is to be traced in the extensive circulation of seditious publications, dwelling for ever on the same theme, and inculcating undying hatred to the 'Saxon.' At fairs and markets, in the very hearing of the police, the largest audience is sure to be collected round the two scarecrows who yell most loudly treasonable appeals to the passions and prejudices of their hearers; and then, again, the forge, or some other place of meeting, or the hill-side, is chosen on Sunday, and crowds listen with an attention only to be equalled by Arabs when gathered round their best story-teller, to abuse of the government, of landlords, of the stranger, and to every narrative of alleged oppression and wrong, until interest deepens into excitement, and sympathy with the oppressed into revengeful feelings against their alleged oppressors. Week after week this ceaseless 'drip' keeps falling; and, hearing only the one side, what wonder if a serious impression is at last made? They attribute something of a mysterious veracity to anything which is in print; and the expression, 'Sure I seen it on the paper,' is considered a conclusive answer to any further cavil or doubt as

to the accuracy of any statement, however startling. The writings of the *Press* newspaper, vigorous and impassioned, heralded the rebellion of 1798. The *Felon* and other journals, of a congenial class, urged on the outbreak of 1848; and similar agencies are still at work, and with a zeal and an ability deserving of a better cause. Since the middle of the last century, secret societies and associations and factions have had their centres of union and their affiliated members; and while 'Shanavests' and 'Caravats,' 'Three-year-olds' and 'Four-year-olds,' 'Magpies' and 'Black Hens,' owe their origin rather to personal feuds, perpetuated from one generation to another with Corsican fidelity, than to sectarian prejudices, 'Ribandism' has always had politics mixed with its other objects; and, while widely spread in Dublin, Meath, Longford, Louth, Cavan, Donegal, Antrim, Westmeath, Fermanagh, Sligo, &c., it is a remarkable fact that it did not succeed to any very material extent in the south of Ireland; and when, in 1840 or 1841, the whole correspondence of the society became known to the authorities by the arrest of one of the principal secretaries, it was ascertained that a single lodge did not exist in the county of Tipperary, save one on the confines of the county Galway. Any one who desires to read some very interesting details as to the way in which the people are organised for an insurrectionary movement, ought to turn to the report of the secret committee of both Houses of parliament, made in 1798; and then, as since, one of the great objects has been to give the general members as little insight as possible into the acts of the confederacy, or of the heads of each department, but merely to inform them that, when called upon, they are to exercise a blind and an implicit obedience. To give an example. At the summer assizes of 1840, a man named Clark was indicted at Cavan for taking an unlawful oath, and an approver, Andrew Brien, gave this evidence:—'*Court.*—What was the object of the society? *Witness.*—I cannot well tell, but we were bound to obey. Obey whom?—The heads of the people. And did you not understand the society's object?—I could not tell except by hearsay; but I always heard that we were to be ready here if any attack or insurrection should break out in England.' The Riband Society drew within its circle very many by fear, but more by the knowledge that a member who supposed he was injured could call upon others to assist him, even to the extent of murder; and the decrees of the German 'Secret Tribunal' were not executed with more terrible certainty, as 'Wild Goose Lodge,' and other well-known scenes of slaughter on a larger scale, can attest. And now, as respects the 'Fenians,' what are their objects?—what are their resources and organisation? and what repressive measures ought to be adopted in reference to them? Their objects are avowed, and with a candour that would make a diplomatist doubt they were speaking the truth, and raise an unfounded suspicion they were trying to mislead—a separation from England—a republic in Ireland—the repulsion of all who either oppose them or don't assist them—a redistribution of the land; and, in fact, wholesale confiscation. That there are sincere and genuine enthusiasts among the society may be fairly conceded—men who think Ireland has been treated as a step-sister; and that from almost the sovereign down to the humblest English official, there has been a long-continued neglect of the country, and a slighting tone adopted in speaking of the people; but the great majority of the enrolled consist of the youth who are fired with martial ardour—of those in towns who think their condition ought to be superior, or have nothing to do, and of farming lands and servants; while there are others to whom the emphatic line of Crabbe will apply individually—

'Who call the wants of knaves the rights of man.'

"From inquiries made in various quarters, it appears that the present 'Fenian' movement is met by the most strenuous opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy: the people are warned against its folly and its impolicy; and in most instances the rites of the church are denied to those who persist in remaining members of the confederacy: but with all the veneration attached by the peasantry to the priestly

office, the instances are not unfrequent in which even this ban has lost its influence. The respectable and comfortable farmers have no sympathy with the conspiracy, but speak of it with either contempt or dislike; and if any have joined it, it is in order to secure immunity from annoyance or violence, believing that the whole affair will blow over when thoroughly friendly relations are established with the American government. The principal districts in which 'Fenianism' prevails to a marked extent, are Dublin, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Sligo; and 'drilling' at night, and at pretended hurling-matches, is carried on to a great extent. The instructors are easily procured, for the militia always comprises among its members idle fellows who are ever ready for mischief, with something of the knowledge of soldiers, without the fidelity which always springs from discipline; and when, at the end of a month, they are flung out upon the country—neither civilians nor soldiers—it is easy to get some to act as instructors in the newly-organised corps. The constabulary have not been very successful in making arrests; and if, instead of going in uniform, they were to assume a disguise, their military carriage and air—their moustaches and general appearance—would at once expose them to detection. A good many arms are being got together by the affiliated members; but their drilling is as yet very inefficient, as the men do not venture together in any large bodies. However, their organisation is becoming better every day; and without there being the least ground for alarm, in mercy to the people themselves, those who have made them their dupes ought to be proceeded against without delay. In many places men from America have returned with the ostensible view of seeing their friends, and well supplied with gold, not greenbacks. I may add, that a most intelligent gentleman, who has just returned from Chicago, after being absent from Ireland for eighteen years, informed me that a very strong conviction of the feasibility of an invasion of this country exists across the Atlantic; that money to a very large amount is available, but that the American government is most sincere in its efforts to discourage the whole affair; that every opposition is given to it by the officials, and not without already producing a good effect."

After Lord Palmerston's death Fenianism became more outrageous. In America, Canada was invaded; and in Ireland the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The land was overrun with soldiers and armed constables, and spies and informers reaped golden gains.

Government is, of course, blamed by both parties. According to the Conservatives, too much deference is paid to the Roman Catholics. According to the latter, the Protestant party have been petted up till they feel themselves above all law.

The Whigs are very unhappy, and much to be pitied. They have laboured for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities: their greatest men were excluded from office for years on that account. Whenever they have endeavoured to benefit their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, or confer honour on any of them, all the Irish Protestant newspapers have been in a rage, and wrote bitter things concerning them. And yet the Irish will return Tory M.P.'s—will leave their native land—will emigrate to America—will there cherish the deadliest hate against British rule—and will plot and plan for Irish independence, and for the day when the French tricolour and the stars and stripes shall wave harmoniously over the green isle.

Nor are the Tories much better off: their own party charge them with disloyalty to their principles—with truckling to the Roman Catholics—with damaging the Protestant ascendancy, which they consider the bulwark of Ireland; and thus, amidst the discordant utterances of faction, the voice of the nation is never heard.

The want of Ireland, said the social reformers, is temperance societies. Certainly, at one time, the Irish were not the soberest people in the world. Well, Father Mathew paraded the land. His converts, who took the pledge from him, were numbered by tens of thousands. He led a blameless life, and died almost a

martyr to his zeal. But a sober conspirator is rather more dangerous than a drunken one. Lodge such a man comfortably; give him good wages; take the tax off his inflammatory newspaper, and teach him to read it, and he becomes more of an enemy to England and its institutions than ever.

The clergy of the established churches of England and Ireland have also their remedy—more churches, more money, more power. Their demand is natural: unfortunately, it is not statesmanlike.

In the meanwhile Ireland arms and conspires; and with a basis of operations in America, threatens to be more dangerous to the peace of the empire than even of old. If the national leaders of the people, the country gentry and the clergy, do not head this movement, it matters little if America can send over hundreds of Irishmen, rich in gold, in political warfare, in military experience.

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD PALMERSTON ON THE PLATFORM.

IN this country there are many ways of acquiring popularity; indeed, our natural reverence for aristocracy is so great, that it is wonderful indeed if any of them ever become unpopular. John Bull loves a lord; and the sight of one presiding at a Bible meeting, or on the platform of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or uttering a few unconnected sentences about the conversion of the Jews or the coming of the millennium, is very precious in the eyes of old women of either sex. It is seldom that a lord can do wrong; and, if he does, his admirers and apologists have a great deal to say on his behalf. Exeter Hall was an institution which sprung into existence as if for the purpose of placing the middle classes of this country more and more under the influence of the peerage; and one of the latter class had only to appear on that platform, and he was received with thunders of applause. City men are almost as bad as the religious public. A railway, or a financial company, that can secure the services of a lord as chairman, has great reason to rejoice. If it goes to the dogs, and ruins all the shareholders, no fault will be found with the noble lord in the chair, in whose favour a unanimous vote of thanks is sure to be passed. Human nature is much the same now as it was when Pope wrote—

“What woful stuff this madrigal would be
In some starved hackney sonnetter or me;
But let a lord once own the happy lines,
How the wit brightens! how the style refines!
Before his sacred name flies every fault,
And each exalted stanza teems with thought.”

And it is this feeling which has made the reputation of so many statesmen, and has handed names down to posterity, of which otherwise we should never have heard.

Poor Brough wrote—

“My lord Tom Noddy’s the son of an earl,
His hair is straight, but his whiskers curl;
His lordship’s forehead is far from wide;
But there’s plenty of room for the brains inside.
He writes his name with indifferent ease,
He’s rather uncertain about the d’s;
But what does it matter if three or one
To the Earl of Fitzdottrel’s eldest son?”

In any circle, amongst any set of men, Lord Palmerston would have won his way: less than any man living did he trade on his rank and title. He never pushed himself before the public by presiding at public meetings, or taking any part in them, except in his own immediate locality, and amongst those who had a legitimate claim upon his services; or when his position was such that it would have looked like affectation to refuse to appear upon certain platforms—as when he visited Manchester and the north, and was received with joyful acclamations in what he deemed the head-quarters of the enemy. But the House of Commons was his place; and he was content to rely upon the power he acquired there, without adding to his popularity by talking Buncumb in Freemasons' Tavern or Exeter Hall. As a neighbour, he was always ready to be present on public occasions—as the opening of the Hartley Institute, at Southampton; or on the occasion of an international banquet. But it was at Romsey that he was most at home; and it was that little town—called Romsey-in-the-mud by its neighbours—that he most delighted to honour. And on such occasions as those of agricultural meetings and ploughing-matches, what sensible truths he uttered, and what wholesome advice he gave to farmers and their labourers! How steadily did he set his face against the workman's bane, beer and tobacco; and how strongly did he urge upon the farmers the need to them of a better education, and of more enterprising habits! At such times all England was delighted to look on and listen. Let us give one special illustration of his lordship's neighbourly character. In 1860, Dr. Beddome, his lordship's country medical attendant, died, at a good old age. The doctor was a consistent and most respected dissenter. He had been more than once mayor of Romsey; and he was, besides, the senior deacon of the congregational chapel in that town. Lord Palmerston attended at his funeral, and followed as a mourner at it, even though it took place in a dissenting chapel. This was a kindly thing to do: but how few noblemen would have done the same; and how easily could his lordship have pleaded as an excuse (if excuse had been needed), the want of time, occasioned by the heavy burden of state affairs. It was this genial nature that made his lordship popular everywhere, as much on the platform as in the House of Commons.

Let us chronicle a few of his utterances on such occasions.

In October, 1855, the mayor, town council, and inhabitants of Romsey presented a congratulatory address to him on the capture of Sebastopol, on his return to his seat at Broadlands. In reply, his lordship said—"The occasion which has assembled us together to exchange congratulations, is one of the most important which has happened in recent times. I mean the capture of Sebastopol. It is an event of which our allies the French, the Sardinian, and the Turkish nation may be proud, and which must inspire joy and exultation in the breast of every generous freeman on the surface of the globe. We have been told that the commander of the Russian army has left nothing to the allies but 'blood-stained ruins;' and no doubt, so far as depended on him, as far as time allowed, as far as his means of destruction extended, it was his intention to leave nothing else to the victorious enemy. But although, in retiring, he destroyed everything that could be burned within the time allowed for his remaining stay, the allies, on entering the town, found among the blood-stained ruins no less than 4,000 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of powder, an enormous amount of cannon-balls, and materials of various kinds, necessary for the prosecution of the war. Well, what does this teach us? Does it not show us the vast importance attached by Russia to that stronghold of Russian power in the Black Sea? Why was that vast accumulation of warlike material made—more than could be required for the prolonged defence of the place? It was because they felt that Sebastopol was the stronghold of their power in the East; and that from that centre was to radiate the extensive powers which would lead to the conquest of Constantinople, and from that centre of empire to sway the destinies of Europe. That, I think, affords satisfactory evidence of the judgment of our government in directing against Sebastopol the

great power of our army and navy in the Black Sea. We have been contending with an army of what they call a million of men, but which may be set down at 600,000, or even 800,000 men. Well, admit the whole of the greater portion of that force was set free from the Baltic to the Euxine, by the neutral position of those powers which border the European frontier of Russia. Russia had nothing to fear from either Austria or Prussia. She was, therefore, at liberty to send down to the Crimea and defend Sebastopol, and drive our armies, as she *naïvely* boasted she could do, into the sea. She had nothing to prevent her sending army after army, division after division, the garrison of Poland and the garrison of St. Petersburg—in fact, every man whom she could feed at so distant a place. Well, gentlemen, every war is a calamity; but this war has brought its evils as little home to the people of this country as was possible, consistently with the nature of things. Our enemy has seen his arsenals in the Baltic blazing to the sky. Our enemy has seen that great fleet of twenty-eight or thirty sail of the line, on which the revenues of the country were squandered, and for which crews were conscribed—and, to make those crews efficient, they were taught, during the icy rigours of winter, to mount fictitious masts erected in their barrack-yard, and to imagine that they were climbing up the rigging of their fleet—they have seen that fleet cooped up ignominiously in its harbour, not daring to face the allied squadrons, which never were superior in number to the Russians, however superior they might be in other respects on which victory depends. In the Black Sea they have seen a fleet which, not long ago, proudly swaggered over the waves of the Euxine, and whose most glorious achievement was the barbarous outrage at Sinope; they have seen that fleet, not captured in open battle after a brave resistance, but sinking under the hand of its own commander, and leaving nothing but the topmasts sticking out of the water as marks of the degradation to which they have been subjected. They have seen the great arsenal, and the grand capital of which they were so proud, but of which they were so chary as to allow no prying stranger to enter its walls, so that the only Englishman that has ever given any account of it was compelled to find his way within the gates disguised as a peasant, and covered up in a cartful of hay; they have seen the arsenal so studiously concealed from the eyes of jealous strangers, in the possession of an enemy, after having vainly endeavoured for twelve months to defend it. It would ill become any man, in the situation which I have the honour to hold, to talk of the future, or to advert to prospective measures; but this, I think, I am well warranted in saying. Viewing the manly spirit which animates the people of this country—viewing the general support which parliament has given to the government in every measure connected with the prosecution of the war—viewing the perfect good faith and undeviating constancy of purpose which animates our great ally the Emperor of the French—viewing the sympathy which our cause excites among the people of every free country in the world, even in places where mistaken views of interest lead their governments to a different course—viewing, also, the justice of our cause, I am confident we may look to such a result of the contest in which we are engaged, as may place the future liberties of Europe—as may place the interests, the main and permanent interests of the countries which are now allied—upon a sure and lasting foundation.”

In November, 1860, Lord Palmerston paid a visit to Yorkshire. The original programme extended over two days only; but invitations to take part in many public ceremonies poured in upon him, and he was unable to get away. One day he attended a conference in the Royal Reception-room, Town Hall, Leeds, on the subject of the amendment and consolidation of the bankruptcy law. In the evening he presided at a *soirée* of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society. The next day the Leeds corporation presented a congratulatory address; and again in the Victoria Hall, to which no less than 1,800 tickets had been issued: which event was celebrated by all the state and ceremony that the corporation could employ. His lordship also presided at the annual

meeting of the Leeds Ragged School and Shoeblack Society, at the Music Hall, in Albion Street. Shortly after, Lord Palmerston became the guest of R. M. Milnes, Esq., M.P., at Fryston Hall, near Pontefract, where he received an address from the corporation, and opened the new market-place which they have recently built. During his stay he met the tenantry of his Fairbairn estate, who invited him to luncheon at the vicarage, Ledsham. An interesting incident occurred at Fairbairn. His lordship noticed a dirty-looking, miserable little building, used as a lock-up, and remarked that it was as bad as one of the prisons in Naples. On inquiring to whom it belonged, he was rather surprised to find that he was the owner of it himself. He instantly gave orders that it should be pulled down. Leaving Fairbairn, the noble lord gave a piece of land to enlarge the burial-ground attached to the chapel of ease there. He also inspected the schools in the village, of which he is the principal supporter.

On the 29th of March, 1863, Lord Palmerston was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. In consequence of the eager throng of the citizens, the ceremony was removed from the old College Hall to the neighbouring church of St. John's, which was filled from an early hour by an excited crowd of students and ticket-holders, who whiled away the tedious hours of waiting (says the writer of the account in the *Annual Register*) by strains of melody of a character rather different from those which are wont to rise within those walls. On the appearance of Lord Palmerston he was loudly cheered. After thanking the students for the honour they had conferred upon him, in electing him to the office of Lord Rector, he gave them an address, which was admitted by all to be a masterpiece of sound and earnest reasoning, founded upon the maxim that education is the art which teaches men how to live. Lord Palmerston warned his hearers that there must be a moral foundation to knowledge; that self-discipline and self-control are necessary to successful culture; and that, moreover, they must be acquired early; for, as a general rule, they are unattainable by those who have passed a youth without fixity of purpose. But, of learning proper, the best language must be sought in the classic books of Greece and Rome, and in the best productions of British genius. Mathematics, too, as the most perfect of sciences, and the most useful form of logic, should form part of the student's course. History is to be read as far as is consistent with application to a particular line of study; and he strongly dwelt on the necessity of cultivating the study of chemistry, geology, and physiology. These sciences he passed in review, and urged his hearers to look upon them not merely as means to success in life, but as completing the culture of an English gentleman; enabling him to judge of his place and scope in the world—in short, teaching him how to live.

In the evening a grand banquet was given to Lord Palmerston in the City Hall, where covers were laid for upwards of 900. Here, again, the Premier delivered an excellent speech. From that part of it which was political we make the following extract:—"It has been, no doubt, the great object and aim of those who have been engaged in the conduct of public affairs, to maintain the honour and dignity of the country; but, at the same time, to preserve it in peace. And, gentlemen, that is not so difficult as at first sight it may appear; for so long as those who are charged with the responsible management of the public affairs know that they are watched, on the one hand by an intelligent and careful nation, who would, by interposition, prevent them from engaging rashly in unwarrantable enterprises; they know, on the other hand, that there is a determined spirit in the British nation, which will not suffer itself to be wronged—which will not brook insult—which is ever ready to repel aggression; and, by maintaining within itself the means of an adequate defence, will teach other nations of the world that we refrain from aggression, while we are determined to commit no wilful injury; while we are resolved to infringe on no right belonging to others, on the other hand, *Noli me tangere*. Let others be careful how they give us cause to resent anything that would give us just reason to deem it provocation: but I am glad to

say there never was a period when this country was upon better terms of friendship with all the nations of the earth. I advert not to those contending parties in America, who sue us like rivals who sue a fair damsel, each party wanting us to take up her cause, and each feeling some little resentment on account of that neutrality which we preserve, and which they, both of them, in some degree, characterise as unfriendliness. But, setting aside these feelings, which create no irritation in our mind, and do not in any degree diminish that friendly feeling which ought to prevail between kindred races, as they and we are—I say, barring that, we may fairly congratulate ourselves that there is no nation, no government with whom we have political or commercial intercourse, with whom we are not upon terms of the most satisfactory friendship.”

The next day his lordship went to Greenock, being taken down the river with a distinguished party. At the Town Hall he received addresses from the provost, and other authorities of Greenock; after which he sat down to a handsome entertainment, and, on his health being drank, made a complimentary and interesting speech. Returning to Glasgow, he was present, in the evening, at a crowded *soirée* of the working-men, given in the City Hall. In his reply to an address presented by them, Lord Palmerston said, in reference to the civil war in America—“It is not fitting or becoming, that the British nation, as a nation, should take part in that contest. It is a lamentable event in the history of mankind; and, depend upon it, that war, under any circumstances, is a great affliction to a country: that of all wars that most afflict a nation, a civil war is the one most to be deplored; for there you have brother fighting against brother, relations arrayed against relations. You have a contest scattered over the wide surface of the country, and desolation marking the track of the contending armies, perhaps even greater than that inflicted by the invasion of a foreign force. We lament that state of things; we should be most happy if it had been in the power of this country, by any available interposition, to reconcile those conflicting parties; but we felt, and we know, that any attempt of that kind, in the existing state of things, would have an effect the reverse of that we intended—would not accomplish the purpose we had in view, and would render it difficult, if not impossible. If a different state of things should arise—that the friendly counsels of England should be listened to with success—I am persuaded that you, and the rest of the people of this country, will think that we acted rightly in taking this decision. That war has, indeed, inflicted deep suffering and privation upon large portions of the working classes of this country—less, perhaps, in point of extent here, in Glasgow, than in Manchester and other manufacturing districts; but even here it must have been grievously felt; and many might have felt that we, by taking part in that contest, and declaring ourselves on the one side or the other, might have put an end to that privation and hardship: but that would have been a short-sighted course; and, depend upon it, if we had taken that course, we should have failed in our object, and increased, instead of diminishing, the sufferings we intended to alleviate.”

On the following day Lord Palmerston was present at a breakfast given to Admiral Sir James Hope by the president of the Garter Club, and was then elected an honorary member, on which occasion he made a brief but humorous speech. He then proceeded with a large party to Edinburgh, to receive the freedom of the Scottish metropolis. In returning thanks, his lordship reverted to the three precious years he had spent in early youth at the Edinburgh University, and was glad to find that the citizens remembered him for “auld lang syne.” His lordship spoke strongly of the advantages arising from municipal institutions, in the preservation of the liberties of the people, and in the education of men to take part in the larger affairs of life. Lord Palmerston then proceeded to the university, where a large assemblage had collected, in order to receive the honorary distinction of LL.D. The ceremony took place in the Library Hall. His lordship’s reply consisted chiefly of a sketch of his own experience at the Edinburgh

University, and of laudatory remarks upon the university systems of England and Scotland. He dwelt, with a natural warmth of feeling, upon the associations called up by a sight of those walls; within which, some sixty years ago, he listened, with a goodly array of young men who have long since become famous, to the prelections of Dugald Stewart and Playfair. In his honour a grand banquet was given in the evening at the Music Hall. Lord Palmerston, after his health had been drank, in reply, said that the kindness he had received in Scotland had made the deepest impression on his heart. He spoke of the encouragement such honours held out to public men. He referred to his former residence in Edinburgh, and said that he looked back to that period with the most affectionate remembrance; and the association and friendships which were there contracted he should ever regard as the most valuable of his life. His lordship then spoke of the assistance he had derived, in public life, from the counsel of men distinguished for their ability and talent. Reference was made to the satisfactory state of our army and navy, and to the existence of our volunteer forces. His lordship dwelt, long and eloquently, upon the moral influence of Great Britain upon other nations. There was hardly a single country in Europe, he said, that had not, in some particular shape, with some modification or other, institutions formed after the pattern, or, at least, upon the principles, of her constitution; and he was proud to say that some of those nations were greatly indebted, for the benefits they enjoy, to the assistance and countenance which they receive from the government of England. Warm sympathy was expressed for the Poles; and his lordship deeply deplored the unhappy war raging in America. In the former case, diplomatic interposition was, however, all that the government or the nation at large, he thought, considered advisable; and, in the latter case, notwithstanding the sufferings among large masses of our artisans consequent thereupon, we had no alternative but to pursue a strict neutrality between the contending parties.

Lord Palmerston's next visit was to Leith, where he spoke on the subject of free trade, and its great development, of late years, in the neighbouring towns he had come to visit. Years had done wonders, combined with free trade, to increase the happiness and wealth of the community amongst whom he was then sojourning. Scotch philosophers had been the first to investigate into, and explain, the causes of national prosperity. In Scotland his lordship had learnt the elements of that science; and it was but right and proper that he should return to Scotland to see how, in the increase of its population, in their growth in wealth and education, and civilisation, free trade had blessed the land. The Scotch are said to be a sober and more hard-headed people than the English; not so easily led away by cant; but their reception, nevertheless, of the Premier was all that his best friends could desire, while his lordship's speeches on the occasion were wise and weighty, worthy of his station and himself.

In 1864, the new Lord Mayor of London had the pleasure of inviting to the annual dinner at the Guildhall two of the most distinguished men of the day. In his speech on the occasion, Lord Palmerston gracefully alluded to it. He said—"I congratulate you, my Lord Mayor, that you have, on the present occasion, among the vast number of distinguished guests, two men eminent in their respective countries for their great intellectual attainments, and for the services which they have rendered to mankind. One is our fellow-countryman; the other is a native of that great country, and a member of that great nation, which lies but a short distance from our shores. It is needless that I should say that the first I allude to is a man well known to this city as in all countries—I mean Lord Brougham. He is a man who has distinguished himself in every career of intellectual display; whether as an advocate, most eloquent and successful—whether as a parliamentary orator, with eloquence and power never excelled—whether as having distinguished himself in literature—whether as having trodden successfully all the various paths of science—or whether, not content with his own attainments, but anxious to spread the blessings of learning and instruction

throughout the land, as the promoter of the diffusion of the knowledge and education of all classes of the community. But you have also a most distinguished foreigner. You have Monsieur Berryer, a man who has attained the greatest eminence in his own country; whose name is known throughout the nations of Europe as being unrivalled in eloquence at the bar, and respected and esteemed for that dignity of character, for that elevation of mind, and for that nobleness of sentiment, which are essential, when combined with eloquence and talent, to make the perfection of legal or any other character. I am glad, my Lord Mayor, that you have had the opportunity of doing homage to the ability and talent of France, by inviting to your table the man who is the most worthy representative of the intellect and, I will say, the industry of his country. I trust, my Lord Mayor, that this banquet may add another link to that bond which ought to unite, and which, I trust, does unite, two nations neighbours to each other—nations which are capable of inflicting on each other immense injuries as enemies; but which are, on the other hand, able to confer the greatest benefit as friends."

In the same year, the memorial statue, erected in the city of Hereford, to Sir Cornewall Lewis, was publicly unveiled by Lord Palmerston. There was, of course, an immense assemblage of people. His lordship paid a cordial tribute, on the occasion, to the memory of Sir G. Lewis, dilating on his vast learning, his great talent, his wonderful aptitude for business, his genial friendship, and his amiable disposition. In 1864, Lord Palmerston worked very hard as a speech-maker, and made exertions that would have been very trying to many a younger man. In August, that year, Lord Palmerston visited his old constituents at Tiverton. He had not done so for many years, having been obliged, on several occasions during that period, to disappoint them, after all arrangements had been made, owing either to the exigencies of public business or temporary illness. A short time previously, Lord Palmerston intimated that he would pay his long-deferred visit on the occasion of Tiverton races; and the mayor and corporation determined to invite him to a public banquet the previous evening. The Premier, who looked remarkably well, and was in excellent spirits, arrived on Tuesday, August the 23rd, from London. At Tiverton junction he was heartily welcomed by the mayor, and a considerable number of the chief inhabitants of the borough; but when the train arrived at Tiverton, the station and its approaches were densely crowded, and his lordship, having entered his carriage, was escorted, amid enthusiastic cheers, to his hotel, the Three Tuns. Lord Palmerston, on presenting himself at the window of the hotel, was received with loud cheering. When silence was restored, his lordship said—"Ladies and gentlemen, young and old, my good friends all,—I thank you most heartily for the kind reception which I have just met with from you. I am accustomed to be warmly received in this town of Tiverton; but I must fairly own that I never met with a more general and cordial reception than that which has awaited me to-day. I am always glad to come to this town, and this beautiful neighbourhood, whenever I am able to do so. I regretted very much, upon a late occasion, I was tied by the leg, unable to leave; and I think that a man who is tied by the leg and foot to London, cannot hope to make his way to Tiverton. I am glad, however, to meet so many of you to-day; and I trust that, during the two days that I mean to pass here, I shall have an opportunity of seeing all those good friends to whom I am so much indebted. If I can augur of the future increase and prosperity of Tiverton from what I now see before me, I must say that the great numbers and good looks of the rising generation, augur well and fairly for the increasing prosperity of Tiverton. It is a proof that the people have good employment; and the appearance of the younger part of them shows that due care is taken of their education and manners, and that the good and healthy air of this town has its due effect upon the constitution and looks of the young. We all know that those who are past their childhood—especially those of the fair sex—retain their good looks to a later period of life here than is often their lot in other

parts of the world. I can only repeat that it has given me the greatest pleasure to be so well received; and that, from the bottom of my heart, I thank you for the kind demonstration which you have made. I am glad I have the pleasure of meeting you in such magnificent weather. It has sometimes occurred, when I have been here, that there has been a little dewy fall from the skies. You are, I believe, panting for rain; but I trust it will not come down for the next two or three days, so as to injure the attendance at your races." Three cheers were then given for the ladies, three for the mayor, and three for Mr. Hole; and Lord Palmerston retired.

In the evening there was, of course, a banquet, under the presidency of the mayor. After his lordship's health had been drunk, Lord Palmerston, who was received, according to the report in the *Times*, with several rounds of most tremendous cheering, replied as follows:—

"Mr. Mayor and gentlemen,—I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the kind manner in which this toast has been proposed and received; and I can assure you that a testimony of good-will from the people of Tiverton must always be most grateful to me. I feel under most peculiar obligations to the people of this town. I came here first a stranger—an entire stranger—to you; and if, as you did, you accepted me as your member, it could only be from your thinking that my conduct in public life had been such as to deserve your approbation. From time to time it has been a source of great pride and gratification to me to find, on every occasion of my revisiting this town, that the cordiality of my reception may be accepted as a proof that the good opinion which originally led to your taking me as your member has not been diminished, but increased. I can assure you that I feel a most hearty pride at being, and, I trust, continuing to be, your member. The reverend gentleman who returned thanks for the clergy, did me the honour to allude to matters which are the personal acts of the minister who fills the office that I do—I mean the choice of the persons who are to fill the high dignities of the church. Well, I am glad that the selections which I have thought it to be my duty to make, have met with general approval. I hold the task of making those selections to be one of the most important duties that can devolve upon the person who holds the office which I have the honour to fill, because there are many things which depend upon a good choice. These are, in the first place, the moral and religious training of the country—of those who are members of the church of which these persons are chosen to be high dignitaries; but there is a further bearing on a good selection in these cases; because, in a free country like this, where every man is entitled to hold his own opinions, where men are accustomed to investigate the grounds of the opinions which they entertain, or which they may intend to adopt, there must necessarily be great differences on religious subjects. No doubt we might all wish that the whole nation could be of one creed. That is impossible in a free country; but what can be done, and what ought to be done, is, that those who hold high office, and those who are at the head of the established church, should, by their bearing towards those who differ from them in religious opinions, mitigate those acerbities which are, perhaps, inherent in the diversities of opinion on so important a matter, both here and hereafter; that they should, by their manner and bearing towards those of different opinions, render those differences as little perceptible as possible, and endeavour to inculcate that charity which is the basis of our common religion. I trust and believe that the choice which it has been my lot to make, has been made in this direction, and that those who have been elevated to fill high positions in the established church, will, by their bearing towards different communions, continue to prove that, although each may be sincere in holding opinions at variance with one another, nevertheless all feel that there are common feelings, common interests, and common obligations which pervade the mass, and that those feelings, interests, and obligations ought not to be embittered by any asperities between different sects. We have, most unhappily, seen very recently proofs that, in the sister kingdom, those

differences of religion have led to most disastrous and lamentable outbreaks ; but let us not ascribe events entirely to difference of religious opinion ; they are rather connected with long-established feuds, and should be looked upon rather as political demonstrations than as uncharitable feelings, in regard to the religions of the two parties who come in contact. Notice was also taken of the circumstance, that it has fallen to the lot of the government of which I am a member, to preserve to this country the blessings of peace. Now, gentlemen, no doubt the preservation of peace, with honour, with consistency, with the interests and dignity of the country, with its interest at home and its dignity and reputation abroad—the preservation of peace upon such conditions is the primary duty of any administration that may be charged with the conduct of national affairs. I do not think it desirable that we should be of that section, which I believe really does not now exist, although it is a by-word sometimes used—I do not think it desirable that we should be of the peace-at-any-price party. I do not believe that those who are commonly designated by that name are at heart insensible to the honour and interest of the country. There may be differences of opinion as to the magnitude of the case, as to the validity of the reasons which may induce the country to draw the sword ; but I am persuaded that there is no Englishman who would not, if he thought the interests, and honour, and dignity of the country were at stake, join in its defence by whatever means, personal or otherwise, which he might be able to command. There have been, indeed, of late years, during the five years which I have been in office, several cases which might have led this country into war. We might have embarked in war, and with great acquiescence in popular feeling, for the rescue of the Poles. Well, we deplore their unhappy fate ; we endeavoured to enlist in their cause the moral and political action of all the different powers of Europe, and we did so ; but they unfortunately failed ; and perhaps it was in the nature of things that our efforts should not succeed. But however the enthusiasm of a large portion of the community might have urged us to take more active measures, we did not think—and I believe the majority of the country is of opinion that we thought right—we did not think that was an occasion in which it would be justifiable to call on the people of England to make those exertions and sacrifices which such a war would have called for. Then there was the American civil war. There is much diversity of opinion as to the merits of the contending parties. Some are for the North, on the ground of their hatred of slavery ; some are for the South, on the ground of their love of freedom and independence. We might have been involved one way or the other if we had listened to many of those who urged different courses of action ; we might have been involved in the quarrel ; but I believe the country is glad we have abstained from taking that course. We could have had nothing to gain, and we should only have added thousands of our own sons to the hecatomb of victims which that calamitous and bloody slaughtering war has sacrificed. We may hope that time and reflection—and recent advices from America show some favourable symptoms—we may hope that time and reflection, and the fact of the immense losses which have been sustained, and the slight hopes of success which appear on the part of the North—we may hope that many months will not elapse before some progress will be made towards healing that tremendous breach which now exists. But of this I am convinced—that if we had yielded to those who, from the purest motives and from a sincere conviction, urged us to interfere, to offer our mediation, to endeavour to reconcile the quarrel between the parties before matters were ripe for our adjustment, we should not only have failed in accomplishing that object, but we should have embittered the feelings between that country and this, and have rendered the future establishment of good relations between us and them less easy and more difficult. Therefore I think our neutrality was wise, and I am sure that it is appreciated by the country at large. Well, then came that unfortunate Danish question ; and I am sure every Englishman who has a heart in his breast, and a feeling of justice in his mind, sympathises with those unfortunate Danes, and wishes that this country could have been able to draw the

sword successfully in their defence; but I am satisfied that those who reflect on the season of the year when that war broke out, on the means which this country could have applied for deciding in one sense that issue—I am satisfied that those who make these reflections will think that we acted wisely in not embarking in that dispute. To have sent a fleet in mid-winter to the Baltic, every sailor would tell you was an impossibility; but if it could have gone it would have been attended by no effectual result. Ships sailing on the sea cannot stop armies on land; and to have attempted to stop the progress of an army by sending a fleet to the Baltic, would have been attempting to do that which it was not possible to accomplish. If England could have sent an army—and although we all know how admirable that army is on the peace establishment, we must acknowledge that we have no means of sending out a force at all equal to cope with the 300,000 or 400,000 men whom the 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 of Germany could have pitted against us—such an attempt would only have insured a disgraceful discomfiture—not to the army, indeed, but to the government which sent out an inferior force, and expected it to cope successfully with a force so vastly superior. We are, as a nation, I trust, sufficiently strong to defy attack from any enemy. We have, in round numbers, 300,000 militia and volunteers, in addition to the regular army; and, as they can be immediately increased, we have force amply sufficient to defy attack, from whatever quarter it may proceed. We have a fleet growing every year, adapting itself to the modern requirements of naval warfare, and fully adequate for the defence of the country. Our object is defence, not aggression. But this state of things does not allow this country to undertake vast operations beyond its confines; calling on the nation to make great exertions, to make great sacrifices, both of men and money, in order to send out an army fit to cope with the vast establishments maintained by other countries. Well, we did not think that the Danish cause would be considered as sufficiently British, and as sufficiently bearing on the interests, and the security, and the honour of England, as to make it justifiable to ask the country to make those exertions which such a war would render necessary; and I am sure that the verdict of the country will be, that, in this respect, the government judged rightly. But, while we have preserved peace, the nation has been doing its work too. It is the duty of the government to keep the country at peace as long as it can do so without sacrificing its honour, its dignity, or its interests. It is the duty of the people of the country to advance its trade, to extend its commerce, to increase its resources, and to promote its welfare of every sort and kind. This duty has been nobly performed by the people of this kingdom; and there never was a period of equal length during which this country has made such enormous strides in wealth, and in everything which constitutes the comfort, the happiness, and the welfare of the nation. The government can only contribute to these results by removing obstacles and affording facilities; but it remains for the people themselves to make those exertions by which alone these results can be obtained. Government cannot interfere with private enterprise. Every now and then we are called upon to subsidise or assist this or that enterprise; we are told that a little contribution from the public revenue would set up this manufacture, would assist another, would give scope to industry, and would foster a rising commerce; but these things are only done in countries where the people are paralysed by despotic power, and where they require the vivifying and electrical touch of the government to rouse them to an exertion which is not their natural condition, nor their habitual practice. In this country every man is alive, every man knows best how to employ his capital, how to direct his genius, whatever it may be: whatever line you may take, whether it be active exertion in distant parts, or the studious labour of invention at home, or the direction of the industry of thousands of our manufacturing workmen, in this country every man knows best how to contribute to the public wealth and to his own prosperity and advantage; and all that the government has to do is to leave things alone, to throw down barriers and obstructions, where barriers and obstructions are

pressed, and to give that freedom to industry, and activity to commerce, by which alone the general welfare of the country can be advanced. That has been our task, and I think we have performed that task well and successfully; and if anybody will take the trouble to look back—which few men are disposed to do, because they are too busy looking forward—if any man will look back, and glance at the immense progress which has taken place in this country during the last thirty years, he will be astonished at the magnitude of the improvements which have been made, the magnitude of the obstructions which have been thrown down, the magnitude of the new doors to industry which have been opened, and the progress which the country has made in national wealth and the comfort and happiness of the people. I need not, indeed, preach these doctrines in this town, because here they have not only been understood, but successfully practised. It is not in Tiverton, where a most thriving and durable manufacture has been so long established, that I need debate on the advantage which genius, industry, enterprise, capital properly applied and adapted with skill, produce not only to the individual who directs the machine, but to the whole community who are in any way connected with such a system.” The noble lord, after passing a high eulogium on his lamented colleague, Mr. Heathcote, concluded by thanking the guests around him for the manner in which he had been received among his kind friends in Tiverton, saying that these periodical visits were always marked with a red letter in his diary.

A few days previously, Lord Palmerston had paid a visit to Bradford, Yorkshire, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new Exchange. It was originally intended that the visit of the Premier should not in any way have been converted into a political demonstration. However, previous to his lordship's wish, a meeting of the working-men was summoned by placard, for the purpose of reviewing Lord Palmerston's representative policy; of considering in what manner the unenfranchised working classes of this great community ought to receive him on his approaching visit; and to determine what steps should be taken by them to undeceive him as to the supposed apathy and carelessness of the people on the importance of parliamentary reform. This meeting did not seem to have been numerously attended; and the local organ of the press protested, in terms not very complimentary, against the claims of its promoters to be considered the champions and representatives of the unenfranchised working classes of Bradford. Certain it is that the meeting was by no means unanimous. The chief objection of nearly every speaker was, that Lord Palmerston was not the right man to lay the first stone of the new Exchange, because he had never done anything for commerce; and that another, whose life had been devoted to efforts to liberate commerce, and to cause that extension of trade which rendered a new Exchange necessary, might have been more appropriately selected to perform the ceremony. Moreover, it was alleged that his lordship had played false on the question of reform, and had burked the reform measure which he had been pledged to carry; and on which, if he had been sincere, he ought to have staked the existence of his ministry.

Many of these statements, however, were disputed by persons in the meeting, and uproar was frequent. For instance, a person in the gallery insisted, when this statement was made, that Lord Palmerston had not been the cause of reform failing, but the indifference of the people themselves. The following were the resolutions which were passed, with some dissentients:—

“That this meeting believes that Lord Palmerston, although formally pledged to a considerable extension of the franchise—not only at Willis's Rooms, in London, in the spring of 1859, but on other occasions in the House of Commons—has, nevertheless, been the greatest obstruction to every measure of reform, no matter by whom introduced. That this meeting, although told that Lord Palmerston has no direct political object in view in his forthcoming visit to lay the foundation-stone of the new Exchange, denies that he can, on such an occasion as that event, divest

himself of his political character and influence; and therefore we, the working-men of Bradford, deem it a most fitting and legitimate opportunity for exhibiting to his lordship our disapprobation and disappointment at his breaking faith with the people in not fulfilling those pledges; and of protesting against his assumption that they are apathetic and careless about reform, and content with the extravagance at home and jealousies abroad, promoted by his lordship's policy. That we, the unenfranchised men of Bradford, as a method of showing our disapprobation of such political immorality and injustice, do hereby pledge ourselves, on the occasion of his lordship's visit, to observe a dignified but significant abstinence from all enthusiastic cheering.

"That an address, couched in a respectful but firm tone, embodying the spirit of the foregoing resolutions, be presented to Lord Palmerston, and that the address now read be presented."

The managing committee and the authorities declined to allow this address to be presented to Lord Palmerston; alleging, not without cause, that it would introduce a most unwelcome political element into the affair, altogether contrary to the understanding on which the invitation to visit the town on this occasion was given, and accepted by Lord Palmerston. After some negotiations, the result of which, according to the authorities, was that, in their opinion, a satisfactory arrangement could not be effected, they determined to adhere to their decision. The working-men's committee, however, issued the following placard:—

"The Palmerston reception committee having, on Friday, put their veto upon the address adopted at the working-men's meeting, sent on Saturday an influential deputation, consisting of the worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen Law and Scholefield, to negotiate some slight modifications in its terms, which were agreed to by the respective deputations from each committee, on the ground upon which it would be accepted by them. Mr. Alderman Scholefield took the amended address, and submitted it to the executive committee, who empowered him, after making further alterations, to inform the working-men's committee, that if the executive's alterations were adopted, the address would be presented to his lordship's secretary on Monday. When the address, with the executive's alterations, was again presented to them to-day at noon, the chairman of the executive committee, Mr. H. W. Ripley, emphatically declared the address should not be presented to his lordship. This is an unjust assumption, and can only be accepted as an unmerited insult offered to a large further meeting held on Monday last in the Temperance Hall. Working-men, respect yourselves to-morrow (Tuesday) by observing a peaceable demeanour, and let your determination be a dignified and significant silence.

"The Working-Men's Lord Palmerston Visit Committee, Bradford, Monday, Aug. 9, 1864."

A portion of the nonconformist body also issued a placard, protesting against the course pursued by Lord Palmerston with respect to church-rates, and other religious and controversial topics.

The procession, on the appointed day, passed off quietly. The proceedings were very simple. The mayor, Mr. Farrar, having briefly bid Lord Palmerston welcome to Bradford, and expressed the high sense of the inhabitants for the honour which he had done them in visiting their town, Alderman Wrightson, as the chairman of the New Exchange Company, presented the following address, which was read by Mr. Rawson:—

"To the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, K.G., G.C.B., M.P., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.

"May it please your lordship,—Having requested your lordship to honour this town with your presence on this memorable day, we, the directors of the Bradford Exchange Company, would tender to you our warmest thanks for the gracious manner in which your lordship has consented to take part in the important

commercial ceremony for which we are assembled. Before we ask your lordship to lay the first stone of the structure which is to rise on this site, we would, for a moment, call your lordship's attention to the circumstances which have required its erection. The building now used as an Exchange was opened in the year 1828. Three years after, the population of the borough was 43,527; in 1861 it was upwards of 106,000. In the year 1828, there were not more than two or three firms trading as stuff merchants in the borough; in 1861, the number thus engaged was 157. In the year 1841, the annual rental of the property in the borough assessed to the poor-rate, amounted to £137,778; this year the same amounted to £315,740. In 1831, the number of houses was 8,193; now it is about 24,800. In 1836, the number of registered parliamentary voters was 1,347; now it is 4,564. The tables of mills and machinery, imports as to wool, and exports as to worsted fabrics, would show similar increase. It will not, therefore, surprise your lordship, that the building which was considered sufficient and capacious for the wants of 1828, should be found quite inadequate to the requirements of the present time. Sensible that our commercial empire is most emphatically peace, we congratulate your lordship on that enlightened policy which has so recently secured one of its blessings in the increased connections between this country and France, and of which we trust that the French treaty, so eminently beneficial to both countries, is but the first fruits; that your visit to this town is in a time of peace, and this proposed building is to be one of its many victories. The trade of this borough was never more remunerative than at present to the skilful hands of toil, and the vast capital that is employed connects it with the prosperity of the farmer at home and the distant colonist, with every sheepfold, however remote, and every shepherd in every clime. Its ambition is to hang its trophies in every household, to wrap them round the inmates of its houses. In asking you to lay the foundation-stone of this monument of the prosperity of this district, we congratulate your lordship that you have lived to see so many insignificant villages in your country rise to the importance of large and influential towns; so many limited occupations expand into gigantic manufactures; so many feeble tributaries to the national wealth become mighty streams, swelling its resources. Nor are we less glad to see you among us, after so many honoured years of public service, not an old man broken with the storms of state, but still a man of sovereign parts, whose age has charms in it. We shall be delighted to associate your lordship's name with the commencement of the important edifice which is to adorn and benefit this town, as we have long had to make your lordship's motto, '*Flecti non frangi*,' the foundation of the delicate manipulation of the materials of our manufacture; desiring for this building no higher honour than that it may witness as steady a growth in the success of this town as your lordship has seen in the prosperity of your country, and that passing years may mark its walls with as gentle a hand as they have laid upon your lordship, and gather around it as many gratifying marks of reverential regard as your lordship enjoys.

"Given under the seal of the Bradford Exchange Company, the 9th day of August, 1864."

The stone was then laid with the usual observances, amid hearty cheers.

Lord Palmerston then said—"Gentlemen,—I must, in the first place, beg the people of this town to accept my most hearty thanks for the kind and cordial reception which I have met with this day. I can assure you that the recollection of it will never depart from my memory. It has afforded me great pleasure to be instrumental in what is technically called laying the foundation of your new Exchange; but that foundation has been laid long since by the people of Bradford themselves. For it is in the industry, and in the prosperity, or in the successful exertions of the people of Bradford, that has been laid the foundation, not only of this building, but of real future prosperity, of which this building will only be the emblem and representative. You have, indeed, in the address which I have just had the honour of receiving, made mention of the wonderful growth of this town

in an inconceivable short space of time; but I trust that it is still destined to equal some of the larger seats of industry; and that, when I may have again the pleasure of revisiting this town, I may see that this prosperity has been continued still more rapidly than during the period to which your remarks have referred. Indeed, when I look round on your prosperity to-day, I should have thought that the population of Bradford had been much larger than I am told it now is. I know that I am welcome here, and I know how warm-hearted the hearts of Yorkshiremen are—how kind they are to those whom they have invited, and how disposed they are to show the warmth of their feelings by the strong outward demonstration of their voices. It is not the first time that I have been in this county; but I must say that the kind reception which I have this day received exceeds anything which I have been entitled to expect even from warm-hearted Yorkshiremen. Consider that what we have done to-day is, that we have laid the foundation of a temple of peace. Because your industry not only is productive of peace, but is essentially prosperous in peace; it is, therefore, the cause and the effect of peace; and I look upon it that the Exchange, which is to rise from this site, may be properly designated as a temple of peace. You have mentioned the great development which the commerce of this country, and the independence of Bradford, have received from the commercial treaty with France. Well, that treaty has had another effect; it has not only given a stimulus to industry, and compensated, in a great degree, for those calamities which have befallen other countries, but it is every year cementing the good feeling between two neighbouring nations, both of which have no cause for that reciprocal jealousy, have no ground for that mutual hostility, which has too often marked our nation in times gone by. But we have every reason to find, in interests in common, and in sympathies of feeling, mutual relations of friendship; and I trust that the people of Bradford may properly be said to be most important negotiators in that respect. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. If I were to say all I feel I should keep you here till sunset. It would be an unfair return for the courtesy you have shown me. I shall, therefore, again thank you for the kind reception which I have experienced, and say that I am proud of having been applied to to preside at this ceremony, which, I trust, is only the harbinger of future greatness and increasing prosperity for this industrious and increasing town.”

In the evening there was a banquet; and, after that, a monster meeting in the great hall, at which 4,000 people were present, and at which another address was presented. A vote of thanks was then passed to his lordship for his attendance. In the course of his reply, Lord Palmerston said—“In despotic countries, those who have the conduct of affairs are deprived, by custom, of those opportunities which are enjoyed in a free country like this—mixing with their fellow-countrymen on those easy terms in which it has been my good fortune to mix to-day with the people of Bradford. It is customary to talk of the labours and anxieties of office. Well, those labours and anxieties are light to those who believe they are doing their duty to the best of their power. That only harasses which time and opportunity prevent them from doing; that which they are able to do is a source of satisfaction if they feel they are doing their best; and whether their efforts are attended with success or failure, their minds are satisfied that they have performed their duty to their country. But it is a great and heartfelt satisfaction to be able to meet, as I have done to-day, and as I have had other opportunities of doing, the people of England, to see their faces and show one’s own. It is a great satisfaction to feel we meet on terms of good fellowship; and that while, on the one hand, sympathy must be excited more strongly in the minds of those who govern, on the other kindly feelings are inspired in the minds of those with whom we meet. It has been deeply gratifying to me to have been allowed this day to lay the first stone of a fabric which is to be the scene of business and commercial transactions in this, I will say great, but destined to be still greater and more prosperous, community. I might say that I hope this building will be everlasting; but I may, perhaps,

venture to think that, ample as its dimensions have been planned, capacious as its halls will be, the day may come when the increasing commerce and transactions of business in Bradford may outrun the capacity of the building; and that some other man succeeding me may be called upon to lay the first stone of a larger, ampler, and more capacious Exchange. There is something particularly interesting in this town of Bradford, for it is a type of the English character. I consider that character to be marked by perseverance, industry, enterprise, judgment, and courage in pursuing that which has been undertaken. All these qualities have been marked by the people of Bradford. You have converted that which may almost be said to have been a barren moor, with only a few scattered hamlets, into a thriving and great commercial town. Your progress has only been begun. Happy will it be for those who shall watch and mark its future career. But in the course which you are pursuing, you are not only contributing to your own wealth, and comfort, and well-being, but you are contributing immensely to the wealth and strength of that country of which you form so distinguished a portion. You have been pleased, in the resolution, to advert to the conduct of public men—mine among others. It is true, I trust, and am proud to say, that, during the last five years, this country has enjoyed a state of increasing prosperity and comfort; and that, while we have been in a thriving condition at home, our honour, and the dignity and interests of the country, have been maintained; and, adopting words which are familiar to the ears of all, the great influence of England in foreign countries has not been lowered. These results are the consequence of the combined efforts of an administration of which I may be permitted to say, that no other administration that ever existed contained within itself a greater number of able, distinguished, and capable men. I venture, without fear of contradiction, to say that there never was a government in which every department of state was better filled than it has been filled by the government which is now in power; and, therefore, it would be unjust to attribute any peculiar merit to any one member of the administration. The merit belongs to the combined and united efforts of all; and it is only by such a continued and united course of action, that any government can accomplish results worthy of obtaining the confidence and good-will of their fellow-countrymen. It has undoubtedly been one of the main objects of the policy of the government to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of the development of the industry and commerce of the country; and to induce, as far as they are able to do so, other countries to adopt the doctrine, and follow the example, which have been set to them, and held forth by us. But that task is not an easy one. There is nothing so difficult to uproot as a prejudice long established in the human mind; and although those who have cast away a prejudice, who have abandoned an error, and got into the road of truth, may wonder that others have not done the same, yet, it is a remarkable fact, that the mind of man is prone to cling to errors as long as men are interested in them; but when they have turned their back upon them, and have come to the truth, they wonder, not only that others do not follow them, but that they themselves should have ever entertained the same errors and prejudices. We all know what a long battle was fought in the country between free-trade opinions and the system of protection. We all know how many a man conscientiously thought that the country would be ruined by taking away that protection which this, that, and the other class had had from time immemorial, to the prejudice of every other class, to the detriment of the country at large. It is long before a nation can learn the truth that, in all regulations of commerce, you have to consider not the interest of one particular class as producers, but the interest of that much larger class, the consumers—namely, the whole nation. Although a government may often appear hard-hearted and severe in dealing with the interest of a class of producers who have hitherto been protected, yet it ought to be borne in mind that they are only doing their duty to the many; and that, in fact, even the interest of those few will, in the long run, find a benefit in the changes which

are made. We all recollect the time when, a proposal being made to abolish the protection which the agricultural producers had long enjoyed, the people were told that the country would be ruined—would be starved; that the land would go out of cultivation; that the agricultural interest would vanish and perish: and they said—‘For heaven’s sake, don’t inflict such a calamity upon the country!’ Well, what has been the consequence? Not only, by the repeal of the corn-laws, have the bulk of the community received large supplies of food which previously they could not get, and been able, in exchange for them, to send forth the products of their industry, but the agriculturist himself has greatly benefited by the change. Every class which is protected puts on its nightcap, and goes to sleep; and it requires that which the school-boys call ‘the cold pig,’ the application of competition, to stimulate the energies of the man, and make him bestir himself, and improve the calling to which he has devoted his mind and capital. Well, that has been the case with the agricultural interest, and that will be the case with all other nations which shall adopt our principles of free trade; but if you come to talk to them about it, they pour forth such force of argument that you would think the trade would be ruined, and the other branches of industry would be impoverished, and that you cannot afford to take the bread out of the mouth of this class and that class. But they forget the interest of the consumer. They look only to the small and local interests; and they are as deaf as an adder, and you cannot persuade them to adopt the doctrines you preach. Nothing can convince other nations except the broad and patent example of the prosperity which England has reached from the abolition of that protective system. We are often told that we ought to make commercial treaties with other countries, and thereby gain, in exchange for the admission of other commodities, facilities for the admission of ours. That system has been rendered impossible by that which we have already done. In the case of France it was a necessity, because the French government, although desirous of entering into a system of free exchange with us, was unable to do so, except as the consequence of a treaty; and that treaty, as has justly been said, and every man in this town well knows, has been of the greatest advantage to England. I am glad to think that it has been peculiarly beneficial to Bradford; that it has been a great advantage to the French nation, who, when it was first proposed, thought it was a calamity from which they could probably with difficulty recover. Well, that treaty was made. We had to take off import duties from an immense number of commodities. It was impossible to limit the abolition of duty to articles coming from France, because, with our insular position, commodities from other countries would surely have come through France; and, therefore, what was granted to France was granted to every other country. In fact, we have acted upon what common sense prompts—your negotiation with a foreign country. If it is real and sincere that you will abolish certain import duties here if they will abolish certain duties, that is very much as if two men had shackles on their legs, and one was to say to the other—‘Now, if you will take off your shackles, I will take off mine, but not otherwise.’ If the duties which we impose upon the importation of foreign commodities which are wanted by the consumers of this country are a burden upon the country itself, and the remission or abolition of these duties is a gain—whether it be accompanied or not by any corresponding remission or obligation on the part of other countries—we do it for our own sakes; and so we tell these foreign countries. They don’t very much believe us. They say—making an erroneous use of words, and there is no greater cause of error in reasoning than the misapplication of terms—they say, especially in Germany, if we let in English commodities upon a low duty, and without difficulty, we shall be inundated by British commodities. They think, in their own minds, what an inundation of water is, and that the same evil effects would arise from the admission of European commodities, that would happen from the breaking of one of their great dykes. They totally forget that we are much too sensible to make them a present of what we have been making; that

we only send our commodities abroad as an exchange for an equal value to be received here; and that, therefore, they cannot be inundated with our goods unless they themselves, by their own industry, create an equal value to send to us in return; and that, consequently, every additional commodity which we send abroad is the cause of additional industry, additional capital, and additional employment to their manufactures at home. Well, gentlemen, we have pursued this course. On the one hand we have acted on the principle of reducing duties for our own benefit and our own advantage; and we have held out to other countries the example of our success as an encouragement to them to follow our course. But I remember talking to a very distinguished political economist of a foreign country, and explaining to him how it had succeeded with us. He said—‘Ah! it is all very well. You have got rich by protection, and now you can afford free trade.’ I tried to persuade him that protection had slackened our course of progress—that we were less wealthy than we should have been if protection had been got rid of sooner. He said—‘No; you have got rich by protection, and now we are poor you want to keep us poor, by asking us to get rid of that shield under cover of which you have amassed the wealth which you now possess.’ Well, gentlemen, all I can say is, that the course which has been pursued for the last five years has been conducted with benefit to the country. We have succeeded in preserving peace; although there were great events arising in different parts of the world, in which we might have been implicated; and exhortations were not wanting. We might have been tempted, plausibly enough, upon good principles and good motives; but we refrained from doing so. We have maintained peace; and I think, in that respect, we have done our duty to the country.”

One more speech from his lordship will conclude this part of our subject. We now quote one, delivered in September, 1864, on the occasion of the fourth annual meeting of the Wilts Rifle Association. After the great meeting of the National Rifle Association, that of the county of Wilts commands the first place amid the local gatherings, both from the number of competitors, and the amount and value of the prizes offered—a result entirely owing to the liberality of the landed proprietors and gentry of the county; for, in addition to local prizes to the value of £390, a further sum of £300 was given for general competition, which attracted, at the time, the large number of 250 candidates. The shooting—which lasted, in consequence of the severity of the competition, nearly a week, in the ancient city of Salisbury—having terminated, the prizes were distributed at Wilton House, where Lady Herbert gave a grand luncheon to her guests, and about 600 of the *élite* of the county. Lord Palmerston then presented the challenge cup to the winner, Sergeant Jeffries, of the 6th Wilts. The noble lord, who met with a most enthusiastic welcome, said—“Gentlemen Volunteers,—I address those who are volunteers, and those who mean to be volunteers. It has afforded me great pleasure to obey the commands of Lady Herbert, in presenting to this good shot and excellent soldier the challenge cup which I have just put into his hands, for this cup embodies that principle which leads to distinction in every career—I mean the principle of honourable emulation. It is not only won by successful emulation, but it must be annually kept by successful emulation; and, without disparagement to the gallant soldier who has so well won it, I may express a hope that next year it may be won by a better shot than he who has now become the holder of this valuable trophy. My noble friend has eloquently and truly dilated on the causes which led to the original establishment of the volunteer system of this country; and I must say that a nobler display of national feeling, of sagacious patriotism, and of persevering courage, was never exhibited by any nation. Its original cause was, as my noble friend stated, temporary; but I trust that its effects will be permanent, and that this institution, so valuable and so important to the best interests of the country, will continue, for all ages to come, to be a great national institution. It is quite true that, some few years ago, circumstances to which it is unnecessary to advert, led the people of this country

to reflect that the ordinary and established means were not sufficient to keep away the dangers which it foresaw might, at all events, be possible. We differ in many things from the great powers of the continent. We live on an island accessible to any invader who might chance to land on our shores at almost every point of our large maritime circumference. We therefore cannot pretend to defend ourselves as continental states may do, which, being accessible in only one avenue of attack, by one valley, or by one pass, may successfully fortify their vulnerable points, and by stationing there a military force, may think themselves secure from invasion until they can collect a large army to resist the invading enemy. We have not thought it possible, and it would be idle and foolish to attempt, to fortify the whole of the extensive shores which begirt these islands. We have done that which is within our means, and which is sufficient for our purpose. We have begun and carried out, to a great extent, those works which are necessary to protect from sudden attack those naval dockyards and arsenals which are the cradles of our maritime power, and the defenders of the best interest of the country; for it is needless for me to point out that, if we lost the command of the seas which surround our shores, and a hostile squadron was allowed to blockade our ports, our commerce, our industry, and our independence would be seriously endangered. This work was begun by the late noble occupant of these estates, who devoted his best energies to commence these operations. His plans have been followed out, and I trust that they will soon be successfully completed. Well, although the defence of England, if she is ever attacked, must be by armies in the field, it is not our habit, it does not suit our constitution nor our interest, to assemble permanently under arms those hundreds of thousands of soldiers who may be found in every country in Europe. We think that it would be an unnecessary pressure upon our resources to keep and maintain such a force in time of peace. We think that it would draw away a valuable portion of the people from the pursuits of industry, and be a drain on the wealth and resources of the country for a time of emergency. We have, however, the militia—an admirable force, well disciplined, ably officered, and animated with the best spirit. We have thus a force of some 112,000 men, ready, if the occasion be required, to take its place in line beside the regular army. Well then, gentlemen, the volunteers of England came forward to make up the deficiency. You came forward with courage, patriotism, and a devotion to the public service beyond all praise, which has excited the admiration of all the world, and which has entitled you to the warmest thanks of the country. I believe that I am not overstating the case when I say that, at the present moment, there are from 150,000 to 160,000 volunteers organised, equipped, trained, and disciplined, with officers who have made themselves acquainted with their duties; and we know that when these corps have assembled in considerable numbers, and joined in the movements which do not belong simply to battalions, but also to divisional operations, they have excited the admiration of military men, and the astonishment of strangers who have visited this country. You know, gentlemen volunteers of England, you well know that numbers alone do not constitute strength; that large assemblies of men, although in uniform and with the best of weapons, are not by their numbers alone competent to meet, with success, an enemy disciplined and trained; and therefore you have, at a great sacrifice of private occupation, at a great devotion of time, which in this country is money—you have made these sacrifices in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the duties of your profession—your honourable profession, for so I will call it. Well, gentlemen, you have, by your perseverance, by your constant attention to your duties, made yourselves masters of all those movements which belong to separate battalions, and also to collections of battalions in brigades and divisions. You have also well thought that it is one thing to meet and another to kill an enemy. To move to meet an enemy without being able to bring him down, is only getting nearer to danger yourselves. There is, however, no fear that those who have so well exhibited

their skill to-day and yesterday, will neglect a practice as necessary almost as your drill, and even your battalion and divisional exercises. The people of this island have in all times been famous as marksmen; and in the days of old, when war was carried on, I will not say with less deadly, but with more clumsy weapons, such as bows and arrows, the British archer was celebrated in every battle-field of Europe in which he was engaged, and his skill was shown from the slaughter which he made of his opponents. Well, gentlemen, that keen eye, that strong arm which so distinguished your ancestors is not wanting to you. This day you have given ample proofs of your skill in the weapon which is placed in your hands. You have proved yourselves worthy descendants of worthy ancestors, equally ready to defend your shores from attack, and, if need be, to vindicate the honour of your country wherever your services may be required. I congratulate you on the assemblage here to-day. I congratulate you, in the first place, on your success, and the interest which the vast crowd I see here—not merely the accumulation of our own sex, but of the beauty of the other sex—takes in that success; and I trust that this interest which your fellow-men and women take in your success, will serve as an additional encouragement to you to persevere."

CHAPTER XXVI.

ACCIDENTS AND OFFENCES.

HISTORY is something more than a stately pageant made up of lords and ladies, kings and queens. We know little of the world if we only look at the leading actors on the stage. Out of the elements of human life, pleasure and pain, laughter and tears, are constantly being evoked. The poet Gray, contemplating the light-hearted youth of Eton, in language beautiful, in spite of its familiarity to us all, exclaims—

"These shall the fiery passions tear,
The vultures of the mind,
Disdainful anger, pallid fear,
And shame that skulks behind;
Or pining love shall waste their youth,
Or jealousy, with rankling tooth,
That inly gnaws the secret heart,
And envy, wan and faded care,
Grim-visaged, comfortless despair,
And sorrow's piercing dart."

From these passions are generated crime and love of adventure, and much that is dark and bright in human life.

The year 1852 was distinguished for the terrific character of its casualties. In the beginning of the year, the *Amazon* steamer, on her way to the West Indies from Southampton, was burned in the Bay of Biscay. She had a valuable cargo, fifty passengers, and a crew of 110 officers, engineers, and men. The fire was most rapid and destructive; 102 perished in the flames or by drowning. It is impossible adequately to describe the horror which the news of this appalling catastrophe spread throughout the country. Amongst the passengers who perished was Mr. Eliot Warburton, whose literary talents were of a high class; and who was then on a voyage of benevolence to the Indians who lived on the Isthmus of Darien. The sensation caused by the destruction of the *Amazon* had scarcely subsided, when, in the beginning of April, intelligence was received of the wreck of her majesty's steam troop-ship *Birkenhead*, near the Cape of Good

Hope, with fearful loss of life. She was conveying detachments to reinforce the several regiments serving at the Cape, in consequence of the Kaffir war; and had on board thirteen officers, nine sergeants, and 466 men. Besides these, there were on board twenty women and children, and some officers of the medical staff. The crew consisted of about 130 officers and seamen. Of this total, but 190 were saved. The resolution and coolness of all was remarkable; "far exceeding," wrote Captain Wright, "anything that I thought could be effected by the best discipline. Every one did as he was directed; and there was not a murmur or a cry among them until the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out, as if the men were embarking, instead of going to the bottom; there was only this difference—that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was just about going down, the commander called out, 'All those who can swim, jump overboard, and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped. Not more than three made the attempt. Under this heroic obedience to discipline, the whole mass were engulfed in the waves by the sinking of the ship. Such as were not sucked into the abyss, clung to the masts and yards; some struck out for the shore; others grasped floating spars, and pieces of drift wood: the greater part perished terribly amongst the sharks, very numerous at that neighbourhood; more were swept into the bank of seaweed, entangled and drowned; and about thirty or forty were fortunate to find a passage through the weed, and reached the shore exhausted, naked, and shoeless. Under a burning sun they had to traverse arid sand, thickly planted with prickly shrubs, and destitute of inhabitants, until at length they reached a farm-house, where they received every attention."

Of another kind was the sad fate of Captain Allen Gardiner, and a band of missionaries, who had proceeded to Terra del Fuego, in connection with the Patagonian Missionary Society, in September, 1850. They were known to have landed on the coast, and received some precarious supplies from passing whale ships. But a long period had elapsed, and no tidings had been received of the devoted band. The Admiralty therefore gave directions to Captain Morshead, of the *Dido*, to ascertain their fate. The result was, it was discovered that the entire party had perished of starvation.

In February, 1852, the village of Holmforth was the scene of a deplorable disaster. The gorge in which it is placed is a valley running up into the great central ridge of England, which culminates in the peak, and is close to the point where the counties of Derby, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire meet. Further on the gorge opens up several smaller valleys, down which descend rapid streamlets, and which, uniting, form a considerable torrent, which falls first into the Calder, and then into the Ouse. Advantage has been taken of this stream for manufacturing purposes; and the district is a busy and thriving one. As the stream was irregular, the mill-owners of the valley, in 1837, formed extensive reservoirs to retain the feeders in the descent, and to discharge them into the main water-course with a regular supply. Three such were formed, the principal one being the Bilbery reservoir, calculated to intercept the drainage of about 2,000 acres, and to retain a column of water fifty feet in height. For some time, it appears, this reservoir had been getting into a dangerous state. On the afternoon of February 4th, the water rose a foot in each hour; and the attendants became aware that some casualty would occur. The inhabitants of the valley seemed to have treated the affair with supine indifference, and retired to repose. That same night the whole embankment gave way, and the pent-up waters rushed down the valley in one destructive and irresistible mass. Nearly one hundred human beings were drowned; and the damage to property destroyed was estimated at £600,000. In many cases whole families were swept away; one poor old man lost all his children and grandchildren, and attended nine corpses to the grave. By this calamity, 4,986 adults, 2,142 children, earning nearly £4,000 per week, were

instantly rendered destitute. One family, who, the night before, were worth £10,000, were reduced to ask clothes to cover them.

In 1854, the *Arctic* mail steamer, on her way to America—one of the finest of Collins' line—was lost by a collision, and 350 persons perished miserably; and to many a home the terrible news brought grief, and poverty, and tears. In that same year, also, it was felt that it was in vain to search further for Sir John Franklin and his adventurous comrades, who had gone to the north polar region, on a voyage of discovery. Dr. Rae returned, bringing traces of them; and subsequently Captain M'Clintock brought back relics of the unfortunate men, who, no doubt, were killed by the climate.

Sir John Franklin had left Sheerness in May, 1845, in command of two veteran ice-ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, with picked crews of 138 men in all, and with Captain Crozier as his second in command. He had three years' full provision on board, and a transport in attendance with additional stores, which were to be transferred when the ships reached Davis' Straits. His orders were these. He was to proceed with all despatch to Lancaster Sound, and, after passing through it, he was to sail westward, in latitude 70° N., without losing time, or stopping to examine any opening to the westward till he reached Cape Walker—a point on the south side of Barrow Straits, about half-way between the mouth of Lancaster Sound and the mouth of Banks' Straits. He was then to penetrate to the south and westward, and make his way to Behring's Straits by this route. He was warned, indeed, not to try to pass by the direct western route, through Banks' Straits, until it was certain that ice, or some inseparable obstacle, barred the south-westward route against him.

For the bold attempt there was no better man than the experienced Arctic navigator, Sir John Franklin. When his appointment was proposed, Lord Had-dington, the then First Lord of the Admiralty, sent for Sir Edward Parry, and said—"I see, by the navy list, that Franklin is sixty years old: do you think we ought to let him go?" Sir Edward answered—"He is a fitter man to go than any I know; and if you don't let him go, the man will die of disappointment."

On the 26th of July, a whaler saw the ships moored to an iceberg on the eastern side of Baffin's Bay, nearly opposite the mouth of Lancaster Sound, waiting for a chance to push through the middle ice. A few days previously, a Mr. Robert Martin had been alongside of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and had had several conversations with Sir John Franklin and his officers. Sir John said he had provisions for five years; that, if necessary, he would make them last seven; and that, in addition, he had got several casks of salted birds. On the 26th or 28th, two parties of the officers dined with Mr. Martin; and they told him that they fully expected to be out four, five, or even six years. Next day he received an invitation to dine with Sir John; but the wind shifting, he was obliged to proceed on his course. For two days more he saw the ships lessening in the distance: that was the last sight of them. They went on their way, and were never seen by white men more.

In 1847, people began to look out for news of Sir John: it was thought strange that the whalers had seen nothing of him. In 1848, three expeditions were fitted out to search. First, ships were to be despatched to Behring's Straits, to sail eastward, so as to meet the *Erebus* and *Terror* if their efforts had been so far successful as to bring them anywhere near the western end of the passage. Next, boats were to coast along the northern shores of America, from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to Victoria Land, not far from the mouth of Great Fish River, so as to discover if, from any disaster, the crews had been compelled to abandon their ships. Had they done so, it was expected that they would at once make their way south, to some of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. Lastly, two vessels were sent to follow their track as closely as possible. These, it was hoped, could hardly fail to come across some traces of the wanderers, or to hear some

reports of them from the natives. The first expedition was a complete failure. The *Herald* and the *Plover* found no traces whatever of the lost explorers, and returned to England in 1849.

One little fact shows the feeling which animated the public at this time. A Mr. Sheddon, a mate in the navy, had been invalided, and was dying of consumption. He owned, and sailed himself, a small steam yacht. At his own expense he undertook the search for Sir John Franklin; and meeting Lieutenant Franklin during his boat journey to the Mackenzie River, he assisted him in every possible way. Exhausted by his exertions, this gallant seaman died two months afterwards.

The second expedition was prompter, but not more successful than the first. It was given to Dr. Richardson, Franklin's old and warm friend. He was assisted by Dr. Rae, a man equally experienced in Arctic discovery. Dr. Richardson returned in 1849. Dr. Rae remained a year longer.

The third expedition was commanded by Sir James Ross. It consisted of two ships, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, powerful vessels, thoroughly manned and equipped for three years. At Melville Bay Sir James began his search, and examined the coast minutely up to Lancaster Sound; and then proceeded along the Sound and Barrow Straits, making nightly signals, erecting beacons and flagstuffs, and depositing cylinders, with directions to Sir John Franklin to make for Port Leopold, where a dépôt of provisions was to be left; and where the ships were shut out for a year.

On the 15th of May, 1849, Sir James Ross and Lieutenant M'Clintock, with twelve men, set out from the ships to explore North Somerset, the land on the coast of which Port Leopold is an inlet. Up to the 5th of June they plodded south, along the coast, till they reached a bay—Brentford Bay—separated from a corresponding bay, on the other side of North Somerset, in Prince Regent's inlet, by only a narrow neck of land. Sir James was obliged to halt here, though he wished much to go forward till he reached his old discovery, the Magnetic Pole, which lay just before him. Here it is sad to think how close he was on the traces of Sir John; but Sir James, ignorant of this, was obliged to return, which he did not a moment too soon, for he had only one day's provisions left; and his men were all ill, and completely knocked up. In his absence other parties had been sent out from the ships—north, east, and south; but, alas! all in vain. Sir James, on his return to the ships, built a house at Port Leopold, and left in it twelve months' provisions, with the *Investigator's* steam-launch, a vessel large enough to have carried the whole of Sir John Franklin's party to Baffin's Bay. In November, Sir James, disappointed, returned home.

While Ross was on his return down the west side of Baffin's Bay, a ship, the *North Star*, had been sent out with orders and supplies to meet him, and also with instructions to deposit provisions along the south side of Lancaster Sound, and Barrow Straits. She failed in her task, from the extraordinary severity of the season. The *North Star* returned in 1850.

Parliament and the public were still eager and excited on the subject. Lady Franklin had offered, first £2,000, and then £3,000 to the first crew who should bring effective help to her husband and his men. In 1849, the government offered a more substantial inducement in the shape of a bounty of £20,000.

In 1850, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* were again despatched; Captain M'Clure in command of the latter. Later in the year, no less than ten vessels were collected in Lancaster Sound, to carry on the search from the east. One of them was the *Felia*, with her tender the *Mary*, under Admiral Sir John Ross, who, at the age of seventy-three, though the Admiralty had declined his services, redeemed his promise to Franklin, that if he did not return in 1847, he would go in search of him. Lady Franklin herself had sent a small schooner, the *Prince Albert*, under Captain Forsyth, to examine Prince Regent's Island. Some of them found traces of the explorers. Captain Ommaney, of the *Resolute*, drew some

painful conclusions from his observations—that, since the graves he had discovered were of young men, the crews were not in good health; and the other, that the preserved meats were of bad quality. In the winter of 1851, sledging parties went out to seek for traces of the Franklin party—of course, in vain. Yet, more than once, the ships, with the dead or dying crews, were on the point of being discovered. It is sad to think that some of them might have been alive, and that help and aid were to them so very near.

In 1852, another attempt was made. Undoubtedly, it was no use going over the old ground, which had been thoroughly explored. As Captain Wilks, of the United States' navy, sensibly observed—"Fatal errors have been made in attempting the search in vessels, it being quite evident to the simplest mind, that if ships can track Sir John, he certainly would be enabled to get out. Therefore, it has always appeared to me absurd nonsense, and a waste of time, energy, and money, to help vessels, the scene of whose operations must be limited to the line of the fast ice." Accordingly, in 1852, Captain Austen's plan of using the ships merely as a base of operations, and of searching by means of boats and sledges, was adopted. For this purpose, Sir Edward Belcher sailed, in 1852, with a most powerful and efficient squadron, and fully carried out his instructions. Lady Franklin had also engaged two ships to keep up the search; the *Isabel*, under the command of Captain Inglefield, and the *Albert*, under Captain Kennedy, with whom was the gallant Lieutenant Bellot, of the French navy, as a volunteer. Once, when at the bottom of Peel Sound, and off the western entrance of Bellot Strait, Captain Kennedy looked southward, to see if there were any passage in that direction, down which Franklin might have gone. There was; and there were the remains of Franklin's ships and crews, though Kennedy knew it not.

It was on this voyage that the gallant Bellot lost his life. He had been with his seamen upon a floe of ice, when it separated from the main pack, and was blown away from the shore. The two sailors stayed crouching on the ice, and, after thirty hours' perilous tossing, were rescued; but Bellot had mounted a small hillock of ice, to see where they were, and to find out if anything could be done. A gust of wind hurled him from his slippery seat, and he fell into a fissure in the ice, and appeared no more. It has been justly remarked—"The records of Arctic heroism can show no brighter name than that of Bellot. He was endeared to all his shipmates by every social quality, as well as by his unflinching valour and daring." A subscription was afterwards set on foot in England, with the view of providing for Bellot's family, and erecting a monument to his memory in Greenwich Hospital.

In 1853, Captain McClure returned, after being nearly lost in the ice. He was knighted; and he and his companions were rewarded for what was called the discovery of the north-west passage. He had, however, seen nothing of Sir John Franklin.

The same year, Dr. Kane, in the *Advance*—a ship nobly fitted up by Mr. Grinnell, of New York, who had already aided in the search of Sir John Franklin, actively engaged in by our American friends—left New York, to seek for the lost navigators. "Feeble in health, but great in courage, perseverance, and talent for command, this simple surgeon," writes the author of *Arctic Discovery and Adventure*, "(now with a lieutenant's commission), with a crew of fifteen men, in a little hermaphrodite brig, of 144 tons, equalled any, and surpassed most, of the giants of Arctic travel—the men of iron frames, and with vast appliances at command. His own record of what he did, and what he underwent, is, as it is one of the many beautiful, one of the most wonderful of the many beautiful and wonderful books which the teeming Transatlantic press supplies. Dr. Kane was fervently of opinion that Franklin was far north of any point that had yet been reached, and was imprisoned in a warm polar sea, abounding in fish and game. His proposed method of search was to travel along the land as soon as

his ship had carried him as far north as she could. This search, he believed, would most profitably be made under the lee, as it were, of overhanging Greenland, on its western side; and that, for this purpose, Smith's Sound would be far preferable to any other channel. He further considered that the land, rather than the ice, should be the base of operations; and that the first object should be to travel due north, as fast and as far as possible." When Kane returned, he heard that, not in any mysterious polar sea, but in one of the best-known districts of all that had ever been visited, within a few miles of where expedition after expedition had been prowling, Sir John Franklin's crew had died in heaps, in the agonies of hunger.

Dr. Rae, with instinctive pertinacity, and a sure conviction that he was on the right track, had at length fallen in with some Esquimaux, from whom he learnt what he hastened to England at once to make known. The following is the report to the Admiralty, which he forwarded as soon as he arrived. The letter is dated Repulse Bay, July 29th, 1854:—"Sir, I have the honour to mention, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that during my journey over the ice and snow, with the view of completing the survey of the west shore of Boothia, I met with Esquimaux in Pelly Bay, from one of whom I learned that a party of white men (Kablounans) had perished from a want of food some distance to the westward, and not far beyond a large river containing many falls and rapids. Subsequently, further particulars were received, and a number of articles purchased, which place the fate of a portion, if not of all, of the then survivors of Sir John Franklin's long-lost party beyond a doubt—a fate as terrible as the imagination can conceive.

"The substance of the information obtained at various times, and from various sources, was as follows:—In the spring, four winters past (1850), a party of white men, amounting to about forty, were seen travelling southward over the ice, and dragging a boat with them, by some Esquimaux, who were killing seals near the north shore of King William's Land, which is a large island. None of the party could speak the Esquimaux language intelligibly; but, by signs, the party were made to understand that their ship or ships had been crushed by ice, and that they were now going where they expected to find deer to shoot. From the appearance of the men, all of whom, except one officer, looked thin, they were then supposed to be getting short of provisions, and purchased a small seal from the natives. At a later date of the same season, but previous to the breaking up of the ice, the bodies of some thirty persons were discovered on the continent, and five on an island near it—about a long day's journey to the north-west of a large stream, which can be no other than Back's Great Fish River (named by the Esquimaux Doot-ko-hi-calik), as its description, and that of the low shore in the neighbourhood of Point Ogle and Montreal Island, agree exactly with that of Sir George Back. Some of the bodies had been buried (probably those of the first victims of famine). Some were in a tent or tents; others under the boat, which had been turned over to form a shelter; and several lay scattered about in different directions. Of those found on the island, one was supposed to have been an officer, as he had a telescope strapped over his shoulders, and his double-barrelled gun lay underneath him.

"From the mutilated state of many of the corpses, and the contents of the kettles, it is evident that our wretched countrymen had been driven to the last resource—cannibalism—as a means of prolonging existence.

"There appeared to have been an abundant stock of ammunition, as the powder was emptied in a heap on the ground by the natives, out of the kegs or cases containing it; and a quantity of ball or shot was found below high-water-mark, having probably been left on the ice, close to the beach. There must have been a number of watches, compasses, telescopes, guns (several double-barrelled), &c.; all of which appear to have been broken up, as I saw pieces of those different articles with the Esquimaux, together with some silver spoons and forks. I purchased

as many as I could get. A list of the most important of these I enclose, with a rough sketch of the crests and initials of the forks and spoons. The articles themselves shall be handed over to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, on my arrival in London.

"I offer no apology for taking the liberty of addressing you, as I do so from the belief that their lordships would be desirous of being put in possession, at as early a date as possible, of any tidings, however meagre and unexpectedly obtained, regarding this painfully interesting subject.

"I may add that, by means of our guns and nets, we obtained an ample supply of provisions last autumn; and my small party passed the winter in snow-houses, in comparative comfort, the skins of the deer shot affording abundant warm clothing and bedding. My spring journey was a failure, in consequence of an accumulation of obstacles, several of which my former experience in Arctic travelling had not taught me to expect."

This was felt to be conclusive, and deep was the regret it occasioned. The government, however, were satisfied, and abandoned all further attempts to clear up the particulars of the terrible catastrophe. Up to Franklin's departure they had spent £336 3s. 7d. in searching for the north-west passage. Since, the government searching expedition had cost the country the enormous sum of £900,000. The conclusion was reluctantly come to, but it was endorsed by the nation at large.

Sir John Franklin—thus believed by all the world, except his devoted wife, who kept on hoping against hope, to be dead—was born at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, 1786. In 1800, he entered the navy, on board the *Polyphemus*; and served as a midshipman in the action off Copenhagen, 2nd of April, 1801. He sailed with Captain Flinders, in her majesty's sloop *Investigator*, to New Holland, on a voyage of discovery; joining there the sloop *Porpoise*, and was wrecked on a coral reef. In 1805, he was signal-midshipman on board the *Bellerophon*, at the battle of Trafalgar, on the 21st of October. In 1808, he escorted the royal family of Portugal from Lisbon to South America, as lieutenant on board the *Bedford*. In 1814, he served in the expedition against New Orleans, was wounded, and officially recommended for promotion. On the 14th of January, 1818, he was appointed to the brig *Trent*, to accompany the *Dorothea*, Captain Buchan, to Spitzbergen. In April, 1819, he started, in command of the land expedition, to the mouth of the Coppermine; and was appointed to the rank of commander in 1821, and to post-rank in 1822. In 1825, he commanded the expedition to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, in co-operation with Captains Beechy and Parry. From 1830 to 1834, he was in command of her majesty's ship *Rainbow*, on the Mediterranean station; and, in 1835, was appointed governor of Van Diemen's Land. He had surely earned his right to leisure; but his fate, or his energy, or his ambition urged him on, and he died, as he had lived, in the service of his country. The date of his death, from documents discovered by Captain McClintock, who sailed in search of relics in 1857, was the 11th of June, 1847. Sir John had discovered, however, unconsciously, the north-west passage.

Mr. Hall, the commander of the last Arctic expedition, which sailed in 1862, met with some relics of Sir John Franklin's expedition. In a paper published in Canada, it was stated, that "Mr. Hall learned that, a few years since, a party of Innuits (natives) had seen two Codluna (white men's boats); and found, on one of the Lower Savage Islands, which commence near the mainland on the north side of Hudson's Straits, what they termed soft stones. One of the Innuits, who had become possessed of a gun and ammunition from the Hudson's Bay Company, recognised them as bullets. Sir John Franklin, not knowing how long he might be detained in the Arctic seas, carried out a large quantity of ammunition; and Mr. Hall has not a particle of doubt, that the crews of these boats, in their endeavours to get them through Hudson's Straits, and on to Labrador, had thrown out these bullets, so that their progress might not be impeded." If this be so, it is yet maintained that

some of the retreating crews made their way much further south than has been supposed. It is also asked whether it is not possible that some of the crews may be living among the savages in the desolate and unknown wilds to the north of Hudson's Bay, or even in Labrador itself? At any rate, their fate is still enveloped in mystery.

Enough of this sad record of wasted life and treasure. Let us glance at some of the leading criminals of the last few years. By so doing we shall get a better idea of the England of our and Palmerston's time. We begin with an offence fortunately rare. In 1858, the mayor of Sligo, his two deputies, and two poll-clerks, were committed to Sligo gaol for conspiring together, previous to the last election for the borough, to return Mr. Somers by a fictitious majority, produced by corrupt and illegal means. In the same year there were riots at Kilkenny, by labourers, who destroyed reaping machines; and in Bradford, Yorkshire, about twenty persons died, and 200 were more or less injured by eating sweetmeats, in which, by mistake, a quantity of arsenic had been used instead of plaster of Paris.

In 1858, the fashionable world learnt that a banking firm, held in high repute, especially in the religious world, had failed. The bank referred to was that of Strachan and Sir John Dean Paul. Its failure was a great blow to the evangelical party, who felt it the more, as the pious baronet, it seems, had misappropriated money placed in his care; and was tried, and found guilty of an offence which compelled him to pass some years in the retirement of the Portland convict establishment. Next year, by the failure of another bank (the Royal British), more mischief was done, and again the law was compelled to interfere. Some of the directors were sentenced to imprisonment, for terms more or less long, for falsely making it to appear that the bank was in a better position than it really was. As usual, the directors had not forgotten to help themselves to the treasures of the bank; and no one pitied them. The mischief they committed on the community was great. Their shareholders were to be found among all classes and conditions of men. In it the capitalist had speculated, and the widow had confided to its care her all. The operations of creditors were most hostile, and the law's proceedings most ruinous and costly. Under the Winding-up Act, a call was made on the creditors of £75 a share; and, under the bankruptcy, of £50. Thus the frightful sum of £125 per share was claimed, after the poor shareholders had lost what they had already paid on their shares. The way in which this miserable matter was managed reflected great shame on English law.

The mercantile world was, however, at this time, getting used to the scandals which seem, more or less, to attach to all joint-stock associations and limited liability companies. In 1856, it was discovered that a man named Robson, a clerk in the employment of the Crystal Palace Company, had forged shares to the extent of £28,000. He was a gay man of pleasure, fond of theatres and fast life; and wise people shook their heads, and said, "What other end could be expected?" But the gay world had its revenge, when it was found that the benevolent and respectable Redpath had managed, while an official in the secretary's office of the Great Northern Railway Company, to rob them to the extent of £250,000. Both criminals, we need not add, were tried and transported. It is strange that, at one time, Robson and Redpath were fellow-clerks. The former soon died; the latter still survives, waiting once more to be a respectable member of society, though never, perhaps, to be again a Great Northern Railway official.

In 1857, there was a terrible colliery explosion—the Lundhill, near Barnsley—and 189 lives lost. In that year, also, Palmer, a surgeon at Rugby, was hung for poisonings of a most atrocious character.

In 1859, an attempt was made to blow up a house in Sheffield, in which resided a Mr. Linley, in consequence, it is supposed, of his refusing to join the saw-grinders' union. Happily, none of the inmates were injured. In the same year a trial took place, which created almost as much excitement as did that of the

murder of Cooke by the sporting surgeon Palmer, or the case of the Mannings. In August, Dr. Smethurst, of Richmond, after a lengthened trial, was found guilty of the murder, by poisoning, of Miss Isabella Banks, a lady of property he had persuaded to live with him, though aware that he was a married man. On the 12th of November he was committed for bigamy, a free pardon being given him in respect of the capital offence. Public opinion felt that Dr. Smethurst had reason to be grateful for the view of the matter taken by the law-officers of the crown.

In 1860, George Pullinger, cashier of the Union Bank of London, was arrested on a charge of embezzlement. He had appropriated to his own use, chiefly for betting and time-bargains on the Stock Exchange, about £263,000. He was subsequently tried and convicted, and sentenced to penal servitude for twenty years.

In the same year, all England was startled by the commission of a very atrocious crime. There was a sub-inspector (of the name of Kent) of factories, living in Road, Somersetshire. He had been twice married, and had had children by each wife. The youngest was a little boy. Early one summer morning the little fellow was missed from his cot in his nurse's room; and, after an hour's search, his body was found stuffed down the seat of a privy on the premises, with his throat cut from ear to ear. Several judicial inquiries were made into the subject; but the murderer was never discovered, notwithstanding the efficacy of what the papers termed a vigilant and effective police. Many years after the murderer confessed the crime. The little boy had been made away with by his step-sister, Miss Constance Kent, who was tried, and acquitted on the plea of insanity.

A singular law-suit in 1860, illustrated, in a remarkable manner, the depths of human credulity. For some years past the public had been scandalised and amused by the proceedings of certain persons residing at a mansion near Bridgewater. At this mansion resided a James Henry Prince, educated at Lampeter College, Wales, and ordained deacon and priest. In 1834, after having been visited with ecclesiastical censures, he repaired to Brighton, and there opened a chapel of his own, which he called Cave Adullam. Thither he was followed by four ladies of the name of Nottidge, each of whom had a fortune of between £4,000 and £5,000. With their money, and that of other dupes, he erected the Agapemone, near Bridgewater, and where practices of the most questionable, and pretensions of the most extraordinary character, appeared. According to Brother Prince himself, a fresh religious epoch had opened on the world. We were to live under a new dispensation, which, if it did not contradict, was at least to supersede the forms of belief in which we had all been trained. The key-stone of the new system was this:—Various covenants have, at different times, been offered to man by his Creator. At first, Adam was the divine witness; then the patriarchs, as Noah and Abraham; then a far greater one than these. But each dispensation was closed whenever any one was found perfect under it. Now, in Brother Prince was found perfection under the Christian dispensation; and, consequently, a new religious epoch commenced, with this man as its witness. All these Nottidges were completely under Prince's power. In July, 1858, the eldest of them, Louisa Jane, died intestate, and a bill in chancery was immediately filed by her brother, for the purpose of forcing Prince to disgorge his unholy spoils. The judgment of Vice-Chancellor Stuart satisfied the public. He said, the bill alleged that the gift had been obtained by misrepresentation and deception, and was made under the influence of a gross delusion, inculcated and encouraged by the defendant for his own purposes. A gift made under the influence of delusion and deception, whether relating to matters spiritual or matters temporal, cannot be valid. Of the undue dominion of the defendant over the mind of Miss Nottidge there was ample evidence—instancing, that this man, by falsely and blasphemously pretending that he had a direct divine mission, had imposed on these weak women, and obtained a gift of the whole of their fortunes. As to Miss Louisa Jane Nottidge the case was very clear. She had, fortunately, escaped the degradation of such a marriage as had been made the means of conveying all the money of her sisters into the

pocket of the defendant; but the defendant's own statements showed that he had obtained this gift of all her property by imposing a belief upon her weak mind that he sustained a supernatural character. This successful imposture was the influencing motive for the gift; and, therefore, vitiated it entirely. The Vice-Chancellor concluded by decreeing that the transfer had been improperly obtained, and must be set aside.

Another case of fraud, connected with a bank, occurred in February, 1861. The Commercial Bank of London, whose principal office was in Lothbury, had a branch office in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. In the accidental absence of the ledger clerk, John Durden, it was discovered that he had long been engaged in extensive frauds upon his employers. The duties of this man, who had been in the company's service about ten years, were purely clerical. He had nothing to do with the receipt or payment of money; his sole duty was to enter in a ledger, lettered D to H, an account of all sums received or paid on account of the customers whose names commenced with that series of letters; and to keep, also, their pass-books. Durden procured a confederate in the person of one Holcroft, an insolvent boot-maker, whom he put into a nominal business, and instructed to open an account at the Commercial Bank. As this man's name commenced with H, his ledger account and the corresponding pass-book was in Durden's charge. When a sum of money was paid in to the account of some customer of the bank, whose name also commenced with H, Durden made a double entry in his ledger; that is, he credited the real customer with the amount, and also entered it to the credit of Holcroft. Of course, Durden never took a holiday, or the fraud would have been discovered. However, he was taken ill; suspicions were aroused, and it was found that he had thus robbed the bank of no less than £66,992. Durden was sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude, and the Commercial was amalgamated with the Westminster.

In 1861, a dreadful famine prevailed in the north-west provinces of India. There had been no rain; and throughout a vast extent of territory—of 25,000,000 square miles, with 11,000,000 of inhabitants—the lower class perished of famine: 300,000 persons thus died. Parents slew their children to avoid protracted death, or sale to strangers; mothers sold their infants for a shilling, to protract existence for a single day; and, in some districts, the caste of the purchasers was disregarded. Committees were formed in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and other cities; and the most generous contributions raised. In London a meeting was convened by the Lord Mayor, on the 28th of March; and, on the 3rd of April, they were able to remit to Bombay £20,000. From England, it appeared, altogether, that the noble sum of £107,585 had been sent. It was no easy task to organise a proper mode of distribution of the sums raised; however, this was done in the most successful manner, under the guidance of the late Colonel Baird Smith, who fell a victim, unfortunately, to his own humane exertions.

The failure of the Bank of Deposit, in 1861, revealed one of the worst and most sad cases of villany ever announced to the London public. The object of this association was stated—1. Mutual life assurance. 2. Investment of money by depositors for accumulation, or on interest. 3. For granting loans. For these purposes the society's funds were to be divided into three classes—the mutual investment fund, the mutual assurance fund, and the general fund. There was also a nominal Board of Directors, comprising some aristocratic or popular names; but the concern was really in the hands of Mr. Peter Morrison. The capital stock of the association figured, at the head of its printed documents, as £100,000; but even in the figures of the account-books, the capital stock never exceeded £20,050 10s.; and of this, only £8,593 10s. was contributed in cash: £7,100 represented expenses paid in getting up the scheme; and £4,357 was a mere juggling of figures, the sums being entered in the ledgers as loans to the subscribers, and then appearing in the capital account as subscriptions paid. Much of this sham capital was got rid of in the same ingenious manner: amounts

of capital stock were marked as repurchased or cancelled; and the sums were written off the ledgers as paid. Starting with this audacious fraud, Mr. Peter Morrison seems to have gone on gaily for seventeen years. Large numbers of a class of persons who are able to save small sums, attracted by the bait of high interest, bonuses, &c., invested their little fortunes in one or other of the three funds just described; and, under one pretext or another, were induced to sign the papers which made them members. When the scheme collapsed, the cause was not far to seek. "We do not find," say the accountants, "that any profits have at any time arisen from the business which has been carried on. In every year, the total amount allowed for interest on deposits, has exceeded the amounts charged to borrowers." Money appears to have been lent on the most worthless security. What the managing director secured for himself no one ever knew, as he suddenly disappeared; and with him was lost the only guide through the labyrinth of confused and deficient accounts.

In 1865, people got used to this state of things. The story had grown to be very old, of immense frauds and rascalities contrived by the roguery of a manager, and the culpable carelessness of directors; and actually, in 1867, the law vindicated itself by the imprisonment of the director of a joint-stock association for five years, who was not contented with selling his business to a company for £25,000, and receiving from them the insignificant salary of £3,000 a year; but must needs help himself to the money of the company as well, to meet the deficiencies consequent on his own numerous speculations.

The truth is, we require more stringent legislation on this subject than we have ever yet had. A serious commercial crisis has shown how utterly futile is the trust reposed by shareholders in officials, and parliament will not permit the subject to rest without ample and searching debate. It is true that the question, "What are the duties of a director?" might, at first sight, appear easy to answer; but events have shown that the problem is beset with a host of embarrassing considerations. Theory would say that he should direct, control, supervise; practice has too often said that he may undertake such functions, and yet evade their fulfilment. Promise declares that the office is accepted as a sacred trust, to be exercised with conscientious vigilance; performance often defines it to be a mere blind and make-believe, or a partnership in a game of speculation, dealing with the fortunes of the few and the pittances of the many as so many counters, to be tossed from hand to hand like the playthings of an hour. But, however difficult it may be to determine what the precise obligations are, an honourable man has no difficulty whatever in saying what they are *not*. A director should not undertake a task which he is too busy or too indolent to perform; he should not go through it in a perfunctory and negligent manner; he should not make his supervision a pretext and not a reality; nor should he permit things to be done with the corporate property entrusted to his charge, which he would shrink from allowing in the case of his own. It is not his duty to sign documents of whose meaning and purpose he is kept in the dark; or to sanction reckless gambling, when he has been elected to promote legitimate trade; or to go hand-in-hand with pliable and unprincipled colleagues through a long series of collusive deceptions. He has been appointed for another purpose than merely to sign cheques and initial minutes—to pay a few formal visits to the board-room, ask unimportant questions, and put up with any replies—to draw with exemplary punctuality his fees for attendance, and present himself to the public as a man who directs that which he knows to be, mainly through his own default, far beyond his control. In short, he should not be a pretender, or engage to perform a task beyond his will or his ability; nor, when he has failed to do what he promised, should he prolong a deception that he himself is the best qualified to expose. He is bound not to deceive those towards whom he stands in the position of a trustee, and not to impose on the outer world, with which his representative functions bring him into close and constant relation.

But, says the writer of an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, when, instead of negative inferences, we come to positive prescriptions, we find it much less easy to prescribe duties than to enumerate prohibitions. The first difficulty is with the individual himself, whom, on examination, we ascertain to be one kind of person in his private capacity, and another in the board-room. An invincible laxity, not of morals, but of habit, affects almost all commercial men on this subject. An individual who, in managing his own business, would not commit misdeeds himself, and who would look sharply after the acts of his servants, throws both his strictness and his vigilance aside so soon as his fellow-men depute him to manage their affairs in conjunction with his own. Human nature is sometimes a riddle; otherwise one might suppose that a combination of personal motives would strengthen a man's interest in a subject, instead of weakening it. A person who has accepted a position which places the fortunes of hundreds at his disposal, is bound by peculiar and almost sacred considerations to fulfil his duty with the most scrupulous care. His appointment as a delegate, while it is a compliment to his integrity, is a mute appeal to his honour; and if the office conveys distinction, it also involves corresponding responsibility. He is a trustee for others as well as for himself; and, far from inducing remissness, this should stimulate him to more vigilant effort. Practically that is not the case. In too many instances the modern director does not direct at all; but, deputing that work to another, confines himself to accepting the emoluments and the honour, while he systematically neglects the correlative duties. He is expected, and is appointed, to scrutinise every business transaction; to see that it is recommended by ordinary considerations of prudence and safety, such as would influence him in any of his private affairs; to watch that every enterprise undertaken or speculation fostered is permissible, not merely by the rules of the particular institution which he manages, but by the higher principles of commercial morality; to extend as vigilant a supervision to minor details of finance, of correspondence, and of personal character, as he exercises over his own business. If, doing none of these things, and leaving the duty to others, he accept one-sided statements as a substitute for close personal inspection, he, wilfully or not, glaringly neglects his trust, and is morally answerable for the consequences. But, in truth, the active duties of a director extend much beyond the points we have named. Those that can be defined, though often systematically neglected, are neither his only nor his most important functions. There are others, vague rather than avowed—understood, though not stipulated—which he is bound to exercise. His vigilance should extend beyond the board-room, and should involve a surveillance, more or less minute, over even the private concerns of those whom he permits to control the property entrusted to his own guardianship. In one word, he ought to exercise as watchful a care as he is accustomed to do in the case of his own servants and assistants. Many of the most flagrant scandals which the financial world has witnessed, might have been avoided had directors practised their duties after leaving the council-table. We do not want the eminently respectable city man to turn spy over the actions and habits of his underlings; all we desire is, that he should not wilfully shut his eyes to what every one else sees, marvels at, and draws his own conclusions from. In modern society, a good deal that is objectionable is winked at; but there are limits to the indifference even of the most well-bred people. When, for instance, an individual, whose utmost income is perfectly well known to be £500 a year, lives at the rate of £5,000, society has a prescriptive right to infer that there must be something wrong. Or if a gentleman, enjoying the handsome salary of £3,000 per annum, spends at the rate of £20,000, it does not require a severe exercise of the logical faculty, on the part of his employers, to argue that his business doings should be carefully watched. If such principles had been carried out in certain recent and notorious cases, infinite loss and suffering would have been spared to the innocent, and the guilty would have been arrested at the outset of their career. For the want of a little

moral courage, ruin has been brought to hundreds, and manhood has sunk to the dust, crushed by the curse pronounced on him who robs the widow and the fatherless.

In 1861, the Baron de Vidil, a French nobleman, was riding with his son, when a murderous attack was made upon the latter by the former. At the trial the son refused to give evidence against the father, and, for this contempt of court, was imprisoned for one month. For the assault the father was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with hard labour. In July, in the same year, about mid-day, in Northumberland Street, Charing Cross, a money-lender, named Roberts, was killed in self-defence, by a Major Murray, whose life he had attempted to destroy.

In January, 1862, a most distressing casualty occurred. On the 16th of that month, 204 men and boys lost their lives by suffocation in New Hartley colliery, near Newcastle, in consequence of the breaking of the beam which overhung the shaft, and which formed part of the pumping machinery. Universal sympathy was excited for the bereaved relatives of the miners, and upwards of £70,000 was raised in a few weeks for their relief.

In the same year the metropolis was alarmed by the extension, in the dark days before Christmas, of the detestable practice of garrotting. For several years there had been occasional instances of garrotte robbery—a method of highway plunder, which consists in one ruffian seizing an unsuspecting traveller by the neck, and crushing-in his throat, while another simultaneously rifles his pockets. The scoundrels then decamp, leaving their victim on the ground, writhing in agony, with tongue protruding, and eyes starting from their sockets, unable to give an alarm or to attempt pursuit. Bold with impunity, these savages committed their crimes in the most public places, and often in the light of day. To this singular audacity they added a wantonness of cruelty which excited the utmost terror. Frequently, when the garrotter had throttled his victim into unconsciousness, the confederate struck the poor man crushing blows with his life-preserver; and, after robbing him without a struggle, left him, bleeding and mangled, on the pavement, disfigured and, perhaps, injured for life. In other instances, after completing the rifling, says a writer in the *Annual Register*, they hurled him to the ground, and then kicked him on the head until his skull was fractured and his features defaced. These cruel acts were committed in such places as Lincoln's Inn Fields, Brunswick Square, Blackman Street, Long Acre, Bloomsbury Street, Pall-Mall, Cockspur Street, and other of the most frequented public thoroughfares of the metropolis. These dreadful outrages spread terror over all the millions that inhabit London. The crime was so frequent, and the consequences so serious, that each individual felt personal alarm. Many of these ruffians were tried before Baron Bramwell, at the Central Criminal Court, in November; and, as many of them were ticket-of-leave men, he had little hesitation in inflicting on them severe and unexpected sentences. The baron, who earned the gratitude of the public for his conduct during the trials, gave a short sketch of the career of each as he awarded his punishment. The sentences were all such as would be felt by their confederates—penal servitude for life, for twenty, for ten, or fifteen years. In all, about twenty-nine of the most dangerous ruffians that had held London in subjection, were brought to justice at these sessions. The effect was immediate: either all the outrages which had alarmed the public had been perpetrated by a small number of individuals, or the convictions of those memorable sessions had struck their companions in crime with terror; for, though a few daring outrages of the same kind were perpetrated during the winter, the reign of terror was at an end, and the inhabitants of the metropolis once more traversed their streets without starting at every footstep, or turning pale at their own shadow.

In the same year an immense sensation was produced, in fashionable and political circles, by the trial of William Roupell, late M.P. for Lambeth, for forging a will and other deeds, purporting to be executed by his father. For a time Mr. Roupell had held a high position in society, and been considered a man

of great wealth, advanced political views, and of high character. The illegitimate son of Richard Palmer Roupell, a man of large property, by a woman whom he married only after he had lived with her a great number of years, William Roupell had acted as sole executor of a will, produced and duly proven in Doctors' Commons. Under this authority, having unbounded influence over his mother, he disposed of the various estates of his late father, and mysteriously squandered the proceeds, stated to have amounted to something near £300,000, in the course of about five years, for part of which time he represented Lambeth in parliament. On his younger and legitimate brother coming of age, he proceeded to recover possession of the estates wrongfully disposed of by his brother William; and the case of Roupell and others *v.* Waite was tried at Guildford, the plaintiffs calling, as their chief witness, William Roupell, who then and there accused himself of forging the will under which he had been acting. He also confessed to an extraordinary series of forgery of title-deeds, effected by him during his father's lifetime, under which he had sold various portions of the Roupell Park estate. Ordered into custody at Guildford, he was brought to trial at the Central Criminal Court, and sentenced to transportation for life, after he had given a summary of his career, and traced his first step in crime to his desire to repay money borrowed from a friend to purchase books. He professed the utmost contrition for his acts, and declared his preference for punishment rather than freedom, with continuous remorse—a theory by no means universally received as a satisfactory reason for his surrender.

A good deal of doggerel was written on the occasion. In *Fun*, a poet (?) improvised the event in the following manner:—

“ To Westminster a member came,
Of the Liberals a supporter ;
And he was returned to Westminster,
From the other side of the water.
His father, Don said, had melted lead
Somewhere down and about that quarter ;
But the gentlefolks all, they took off their hats
To the Croesus from over the water.
With a do, &c.

“ Now the Lambeth folks this wealthy gent,
As their member, did decide on,
'Cos they thought he'd set fire to the river Thames,
What the penny steamers ride on ;
But little they knew he'd happened to do
Some things that he did'nt oughter ;
For he'd forged a will and several deeds,
Had this member from over the water.
With a do, &c.”

The writer ends—

“ And the public said, ‘ Well, this here Roupell
Has got no more than he oughter ;’
So there was an end of the wealthy gent
As was member for over the water.”

On January 9th, 1863, four men, named Buncher, Burnett, Williams, and Griffiths, were charged, at the Central Criminal Court, with committing forgeries, to a large amount, on the Bank of England, chiefly by means of paper expressly manufactured for the bank, which they had contrived to steal.

One November evening, this year, a woman and two little girls were found dead in a cab, on arriving at the Royal Oak, Westbourne Grove. The cab had been hired at the Shoreditch railway station, by a man who had accompanied them as far as Furnival's Inn, Holborn, where he alighted, and paid the cabman, having, during the journey, caused the latter to stop, and get a pint of porter, in Bishopsgate Street. It was subsequently ascertained that they were the wife and

children of a man named Hunt, living at Camberwell, who had ridden with them in the cab, and that they had been poisoned with prussic acid. Hunt, on being arrested, swallowed aconite, and died.

In the same year decent people were disgusted with another of those exhibitions known as prize-fights, the enthusiasm of which had been vastly stimulated by what took place in 1860, when Heenan, the American pugilist, and Tom Sayers, the champion of England, had met and fought in this country. The event had raised Tom Sayers to the very pinnacle of fame. He had become the hero of the Stock Exchange; of the House of Commons; of all fast people whatever, for his endurance of punishment, and Anglo-Saxon pluck. Leading articles in leading journals appeared in his favour, and his not very intellectual countenance was as familiar to the public as that of the Bishop of Oxford, or Mr. Spurgeon. In 1863, again Heenan appeared upon the scene, to contend, not with his old antagonist, but with, in sporting circles, the far-famed King. Heenan had better have staid in America. He had won some fame by his encounter with Sayers, but he forfeited it all by his set-to with King. It now seemed that he was totally incapable of coping with a man of average capacity in his sanguinary calling. It is difficult to describe how thoroughly popular anticipation was disappointed by the result. The soundest judgment and the coolest calculations had settled beforehand that the American could not fail to win. Not only were the advantages in betting wholly upon his side, but even the friends of his antagonist acknowledged, by their acts, if not in words, a sense of inferiority.

Not many years ago the Unity Bank was started in the city of London, with a great London alderman at its head. Its prospectus, like "hope, told a flattering tale." It was to offer a boon to the public, and it was to be a source of profit to the shareholders: so said the directors—and the directors were all honourable men! After a little time unpleasant remarks began to be made about the bank. It was intimated that the affair was not going on well; unpleasant questions were asked at the bank's meetings, and insinuations were thrown out occasionally against the directors—which, of course, the latter resented in the usual off-handed official manner. At length the evil day came; no equivocation, no cooking of accounts, no *suppressio veri* would then avail. It was resolved to wind up the far-named Unity Bank, to save what could be saved for the deluded shareholders, and to let the whole wretched business be terminated in the most satisfactory manner possible. From a report published at a public meeting, we learn a little as to the disgraceful way in which this bank had been carried on. From the first to the last it appears to have been a very dishonest affair. In the first place the directors appear to have appropriated to themselves £2,987 7s. illegally. The directors, after taking care of number one, seem not to have been unmindful of their friends, and, in their zeal to oblige them, to have rather overshot the line which separates right from wrong. Thus, from one of the favourites of the bank, who had succeeded in getting £2,000, the liquidators obtained, after the application of pressure, £1,000; and from another, to whom £4,500 had been advanced, 4s. in the pound. As to the securities which the directors had kindly taken, they seem to have been of the most extraordinary character. On £400 worth of the debentures in the Consols Insurance Company, £1,475 had been advanced. The Catholic Bookselling Company had obtained £1,696 13s. 5d.; and, besides, had dragged the bank into a law-suit which had cost it £150. Then some mining shares had been deposited as security for a loan, which turned out to be of no value. They actually found that they had got stolen warrants in their possession—warrants deposited by a convicted felon, who got £137 10s. for them. They might possibly get £20 for them from the rightful owner. Then, again, they found the securities of the Patent Seamless Leather Company, the Patent Smokeless Chimney Company, and the Patent Fibre Company; £2,600 had been advanced on these, and they might get £40 on a reversion from the party to whom the advance was made. The bank had jewellery transactions—a lady's bracelet,

ring, and watch; and they who deposited them obtained £2,644; and although the liquidators sold these things in the best market, they only got £80. The directors were also general merchants. They had some glass, for which they got £4 18s., but upon which had been advanced £375 19s. 8d. They had some tea and coffee. The liquidators got samples of it; but if they had taken it it would have poisoned them. They sold it for £24; but £200 had been advanced. There were 125 tons of guano. The liquidators thought that they had found corn in Egypt; but, alas! it proved to be sad rubbish. They went to the party who pledged it, and he said it was worthless. After trying to sell it to the guano merchants, they eventually disposed of it for £80; £1,700 had been advanced upon it. £640 was advanced on wine warrants; and they thought, as there were a great many wine-bibbers, they would be able to sell them; but, unfortunately, the wine had turned to vinegar, very little sherry being left. It was sold for £100, there being a loss on the transaction of £540. The party who pledged the warrants had obtained possession of some of them under the pretence of getting samples; sold them, and pocketed the money. The manager of the bank, on being asked about the matter, said he had forgotten it. Out of £20,000 of securities of this description, £1,200 had been realised—about 1s. in the pound. Nor is this all. At the meeting referred to, Dr. Cooke, the chairman, stated that he held in his hands £90,000 of overdue, bad, and dishonoured bills, showing a great want of commercial knowledge among the directors. This is a mild way of putting it. These directors were supposed to be honourable and conscientious men. On the faith of their representations, people who had saved a little money—people who had a little money, such as widows and spinsters—people who wanted to make a little money in a legitimate way—became shareholders in the concern. By its shipwreck, some of these, perhaps, may have been brought down to a state of hopeless poverty, and find themselves, in the evening of their days, compelled to fight the battle of life over again. It is such as these who suffer; and it is on their behalf that we indignantly note the proceedings of this wretched bubble. Legitimate banking associations are all right and proper; but such banks as the late Unity are very little better than ruinous associations, however they may have been puffed up in their day, or however respectable may have been their Board of Directors. The truth is, public opinion cannot exercise too severe a surveillance over such associations; their shareholders cannot look too narrowly after the directors. The odds are all in favour of the bank against the shareholders. The chief cause of all these disasters, perhaps, may be found in the very nature of their constitution. A public company has no conscience. As a director, a man may wink at what he would indignantly denounce in private life.

A violent gunpowder explosion took place on January 18th, 1864, in the evening, on board the *Lottie Leigh*, lying in the Mersey. There was a fire on board, and the consequence was, that eleven tons of gunpowder, which was part of her cargo, exploded. The effects on Liverpool and Birkenhead were terrific: the gas in the streets and shops was extinguished; windows were blown in; but, fortunately, there was no loss of life.

In Sheffield, in March, a more terrible calamity occurred. Exactly at midnight an overwhelming flood swept down from an enormous reservoir at Bradfield, carrying away houses, mills, bridges, and manufactories; destroying property estimated at half a million sterling, and causing the loss of about 240 human lives.

The Bradfield reservoir, which burst its banks, is situated rather more than a mile to the west of Bradfield, and about eight miles from Sheffield. It is the property of the Sheffield Water-works Company, and was one of a series of reservoirs from which the company intended to supply the increasing wants of the town. It was formed by throwing an embankment across the gorge intercepting the moorland stream, which gradually filled up the whole of the valley to nearly the level of the top of the embankment. The first sod was turned on New Year's-day, 1859. The reservoir was intended to supply the compensation water which the

company was bound to supply to the mill-owners on the Loxley, and the surplus would have been available to meet the requirements of the town of Sheffield. Its capacity was so vast as to hold the drainage from a gathering of not less than 4,300 acres; the reservoir covered seventy-six acres. From the dam-head to the embankment the sheet of water spread out more than a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in width. In the centre the depth was between eighty and ninety feet; and the reservoir would contain 114,000,000 cubic feet of water, or 691,000,000 gallons. It was nearly completed, but had never been used for the supply of water to the town of Sheffield. The embankment, at its base, was 500 feet wide, 100 feet high, and twelve feet wide at the summit. In order to secure a perfectly sound foundation, an excavation was made to the depth of sixty feet. This vast work stretched itself across the valley for the space of 400 yards. In the embankment there were about 400,000 cubic yards of material. The weir that was provided to carry off the overflow was sixty feet wide, and it conducted the water down a stone channel into the Loxley. The 11th of March was a very stormy day. The company's engineer examined the works, and left, as he thought, all safe about four o'clock. At half-past five, a workman, in crossing, noticed a crack in the side of the embankment, about wide enough to admit a penknife, extending along the side some twelve feet from the top, for a distance of nearly fifty yards. He told another workman of it, who told a farmer, who told one of the company's overlookers. About seven in the evening, perhaps a couple of dozen persons had met to examine the crack with lanterns. All said there was no immediate danger, but thought it as well to send to Sheffield for the company's engineer to return as speedily as possible; those remaining there opening the pipes, and doing the best they could under the circumstances. At nine, most of those who had gone to examine the crack returned home, on the assurance of the workmen and contractors that there was no danger. About ten the messenger came back from Sheffield with Mr. Gunson, the engineer, and Mr. Craven, the contractor. They see the crack, which is wide enough to admit a man's hand, but still they do not apprehend danger. Mr. Fountain says to Mr. Gunson, "If we do not relieve the dam of water, there will be a blow-up in half-an-hour." Thereupon, as a measure of precaution, Mr. Gunson decides to diminish the pressure of water by blowing up the weir with gunpowder. Preparations are made; but, for some reason or other, the powder does not ignite. Before making another attempt, Mr. Gunson and Mr. Swinden go back with lanterns to the crack, to see if it shows any symptoms of enlargement. They try to measure from the top of the embankment to the crack, to ascertain if it is above or below the surface of water in the reservoir. Mr. Gunson stoops with a lantern to examine. All seems to be about as before; but when they get to the end of the crack, Mr. Gunson raises his head, and just as he does so he sees that the water is foaming like a white sheet over the embankment. It comes down to Mr. Gunson's feet, and drops down the crack. Mr. Gunson thinks there may be time enough to examine the valve-house, to see what quantity of water is escaping; and, to get there, he creeps down the slope of the embankment as cautiously as possible. Mr. Swinden sees that this is impossible, and calls upon Mr. Gunson to come back. The latter, as he does so, casts his eyes upwards, and sees an opening about thirty feet wide at the top of the embankment, and the water rushing out in an immense stream. The catastrophe is now inevitable. Mr. Gunson exclaims to his companion, "It is all up; the embankment is going!" They rush across for their lives. In a moment the water is on their track, the chasm extends, the centre of the embankment sinks, and the pent-up flood of 114,000,000 of cubic feet of water rolls like an avalanche down the valley, with a noise like thunder, and sweeps before it houses, mills, men, cattle, trees, and rocks. Terrible are the scenes, graphically described. Onward poured the flood, until Sheffield was reached. It passed on like a great wave. In a quarter of an hour it turned what had been happy homes, smiling gardens, busy mills, into a waste, howling wilderness. Mr. Rawlinson, the government inspector,

states, that "the objectionable mode of laying the outlet pipes most probably fractured the puddle-wall. At the point of crossing, the loose state of the material at the top of the bank lets in the water as it rises in the reservoir. This water has, most probably, forced its way down the face of the puddle to the fracture in the puddle-wall above the outlet pipes, and hence the destruction, so swift and terrible in its effects"—thus confirming the finding of the jury, that "there has not been that engineering skill and attention, in the construction of the works, which their magnitude and importance demanded." Thus, for the future, this terrible tragedy may lead to more care in the execution of such important works. Another lesson to be learnt from it is the ready character of English charity. In about two months, the noble sum of £50,000 was raised. As to the shareholders—who, before the flood, could reckon their £100 paid-up shares as worth £146; which shares dropped to £40—counsel's opinion was taken; and it was to the effect that the Water Company was liable to make compensation for all the damage occasioned by the flood; and that while the property of the company might be taken in satisfaction as far as it would go, the private property of the individual shareholders could not be touched. Such is the story of the Sheffield flood.

Many of the particulars of this tragedy were of the most distressing character. In the town of Sheffield itself, the destruction of property was almost greater than in the valley; but there, fortunately, it was attended with comparatively little loss of life. The *Sheffield Telegraph* stated—"In the town the first alarm was given at about a quarter-past twelve. The sharp hiss as of escaping steam, the sound as of a mighty rush of water, made people run towards the river, when it was found that the Don was in an extraordinary flood, and that some dreadful calamity had occurred. At two o'clock the height and force of the current had greatly abated. There was still a great volume of water, and the roar with which it rushed along was like that of an express train in a cutting. On Lady's Bridge a great number of people were standing, looking over the parapets on the fearful heaps of timber mixed with straw and other *débris*, which the flood had piled up against the mason-work of the bridge. The immense quantity of rafters, flooring, joists, planks, and miscellaneous articles, heaped to within a few feet of the top of the bridge, told a portentous story of the buildings destroyed; and melancholy were the forebodings of those who looked upon the ruin. There seemed wood enough to build a village. But, bad as were the fears of those who looked upon the evidences of disaster, none knew how dreadful was the reality; and the majority had not the most distant idea of the loss of life that had occurred. At the police-station was a little crowd of poor ill-dressed people who had been flooded out of their dwellings, and who were glad to spend the night crouching round the fire; and in the streets were several people moving about hastily with torches, which they had improvised. But as yet, beyond the sight of wet people and wet streets, and beyond the roar of the river, and those ominous, but as yet unexplained, heaps of timber about the bridge, there was nothing known among the crowd of the loss of life; and the spectators fondly hoped that the mass of wood might prove to be nothing but the contractor's plant, increased by rubbish from off the banks of the river.

"In the darkness, one could only guess, from the fearful rumours that came from the lower part of the town, what the scene there would be at daylight. The morning of Saturday fully realised the worst fears of the night. The wooden bridge at Hillfoot had disappeared—completely carried away by the first rush of water, and with a noise that startled the sleepers around, who sprang from their beds with alarm. The view from their windows did not tend to reassure them, for the flood was all around, boiling and seething along, filling the houses, rushing up the stairs, floating the beds and furniture. The scenes and cries for help are described as heartrending. Just below the bridge, by the weir, stood a small house, occupied by James Sharman and his wife, who attended to the shuttle of the goat

that supplies Messrs. Butcher's works at Philadelphia. Against this house the full force of the current broke. The inmates were Sharman, his wife, and a daughter-in-law, with several children. The watchmen aroused them when the water began to rise, and they hastily left their dwelling. Scarcely had they been out of the house a minute when the current carried it away, and now not a vestige of the place remains except the foundation. The bridge over the goit went along with the house. At Philadelphia corn-mill, which stands close to the water's edge, a number of horses were drowned in their stables, pigs in their sties, and fowls on their roost. We have not heard that any life was lost at this point. Crossing to Bacon Island, a low-lying piece of ground between the goit and the river, the only access to which is now the narrow plank of the shuttle-frame, we came at once into what had evidently been the very heart of the flood in this part of the valley. Gardens were covered deep in slime. Trees, edges, and walls were levelled with the ground. A man and his wife, named Wright, lived in a block of houses here, with their child, and another child that was staying with them. On Friday, Wright went to a funeral, and the neighbours did not know whether he had returned: but both he and his wife and one child are missing. One little thing was found in its bed after the water had sufficiently subsided to enable men to get about; but the other members of the household, perhaps aroused and attempting to escape, had been carried away. In the block of houses, forming an irregular square, of which Wright's formed a part, every one is damaged to a greater or less extent. The flood rose to the chambers, and floated the inmates in their beds. The lower apartments are filled with broken furniture and mud. The doors and windows are broken in by the flood, and by the trees and wood that it carried along with it. Of course, all the houses and works along the river-side have been flooded, and damage to a fearful extent has been done. In Messrs. Butcher's works at Philadelphia, the body of a woman, perfectly naked, was found; and it was believed that a whole family, living near Neepsend Bridge, had been washed away. In Ebenezer Street, the body of a man, rather under the middle height, with a moustache, was found and conveyed to a public-house in Bowling-Green Street. At Kelham rolling-mill the men were compelled to escape by the roof; and, in doing so, by some means set it on fire. When the flood had reached its height the water rapidly subsided, leaving the marks of its presence in the streets, which were, in many places, knee-deep in mud. Almost before they were passable persons sallied from their houses, and the evil news spread quickly. The streets of the town were thronged with persons hurrying to different parts, anxious to inquire into the fate of friends dwelling near the level of the river. While the darkness lasted little could be learnt from observation; but voices were heard shouting greetings over the wastes of mud and water, and eagerly inquiring how others had fared in the calamity. One had heard the first rush, and sprang out of bed to see the street filled with water. Another had been sleeping on the ground-floor, and heard a rush of water. He awoke his companion, who thought it rained hard. No, it could not be rain; the rush was too great for that. The bed moved—it was wet—he put out his foot, and found himself up to the knees in cold water. Such incidents might be multiplied indefinitely. It needs only to be known that, at the dead of the night, a great dark flood flowed through a densely populated part of the town, rousing the sleepers from their beds, and only too frequently drowning them like rats in a hole. The horrors of Friday night are known in the hearts of thousands, but can never be told.

"The destruction of property, all over the low-lying neighbourhood round the Midland station, has been enormous. This portion of the town was, for a time, completely inundated. All the large manufacturers are believed to have suffered great loss; and the small householders are mostly ruined. The loss of property is bad enough; but the loss of life is, of course, the chief cause of regret here. Aroused from their sleep in the dead of night, the poor people, perhaps only half awake, seem to have made their way at once into the streets, and were swept away instantly."

Several bodies recovered were partially dressed, while others were entirely naked, their clothing having been literally torn from their bodies by the violence of the stream. Carried away by the furious current, some of the bodies were found in most extraordinary places—two having been washed among the carriages in the Midland station.

In the summer of 1864, a great shock was given to all by the intelligence that a respectable clerk had been murdered in a first-class railway carriage on the North London line. The victim, whose name was Briggs, was about sixty years old. His skull was broken, and he had been flung out of the carriage on the line near Hackney Wick, where he was found alive, but insensible. Suspicion fell upon a German in poor circumstances, named Müller, who had suddenly left England, and had gone to America. A long chain of circumstantial evidence pointed him out as the wretch who had done the deed. A detective officer was sent in pursuit of him, who arrived at New York before the murderer, as the latter was on board a sailing vessel, while the former went by steam. Müller was captured, and brought back to this country. Great efforts were made to save him. The Germans in London subscribed a large sum for his defence; but he was tried, committed, and hung—and, as every one deemed, rightly (with the exception of the fanatics of the society for the abolition of punishment by death)—for the murder of poor Mr. Briggs. For some time the event created quite a terror in society; and travellers took good care not to travel in a railway carriage with another man alone.

Fire was especially destructive in London this year. In July, at mid-day, the chapel of the Savoy, in the Strand, and the last relic of the ancient palace, was burnt down—nothing remaining but the bare walls. On learning the event, the queen at once undertook to restore the building, in which she had previously taken much interest, at her own expense. In September, Haberdashers' Hall, and some fine new buildings in Gresham Street, were destroyed by fire. The damage was estimated at nearly half a million, besides the loss of many valuable paintings, and other historical relics of the Haberdashers' Company.

In October, there was an explosion in the neighbourhood of London, such as had never been known before. Early on Saturday, October 1st, the sad occurrence took place, killing eight or nine persons, if not more; wounding others, and carrying consternation and alarm among the inhabitants of the whole neighbourhood for many miles around.

The explosion occurred in a gunpowder dépôt belonging to Messrs. John Hall and Son; and, almost simultaneously, in a magazine of smaller size, used by Messrs. Day and Barker—both of them located in the Plumstead Marshes, on the margin of the Thames, two miles south of Erith, and about an equal distance from the village of Belvedere. It should be understood that these places were used entirely for the storeage, and not at all for the manufacture, of gunpowder. The quantity supposed to have been exploded, in three distinct shocks, was between 120,000 lbs. and 150,000 lbs. The belief of persons conversant with the trade was, that the first shock took place on board one of the barges, unloading at the time; that the terrific concussion produced by it tore asunder the larger magazine; and some of the burning fragments alighting on it, caused an explosion infinitely more appalling, and which was instantaneously followed by the explosion of the smaller dépôt. The buildings were entirely destroyed; no survivors were left to tell how the calamity occurred; and a gap of more than 100 yards was made in the embankment by which the river was confined. Fortunately, the accident happened at low-water; but, with the tide rising, fears were entertained of a disastrous inundation. A message was sent by Mr. Moore to Mr. Houghton, one of the contractors under the Metropolitan Board of Works, at Crossness Point, about a couple of miles off; and, within twenty minutes afterwards, he had arrived upon the scene with 400 navvies, with all their tools and barrows. A communication was also forwarded to the garrison at Woolwich; and by half-past nine o'clock, detachments

of sappers and miners and artillery, to the number of 1,500, under the command of General Warde and Colonel Hawkins, reached the spot with all the necessary implements, and set about the repair of the breach with great good-will, and after the true method of military engineering. They were followed speedily by the 5th Fusiliers, who kept the ground from intrusion; and, later in the day, by the marines—both from the garrison at Woolwich. Before the troops arrived, the navvies, acting under Mr. Houghton and Mr. Moore, wheeled large masses of clay in front of the breach; while others puddled it into a solid bottom, by which means the subsequent military operations were greatly facilitated. On their arrival, the sappers and miners made horizontal arches at the back of the breach with bags filled with clay, one upon another, and with layers of earth intervening—these arches presenting a formidable front to the advancing tide; while the rest of the gap was being filled up and puddled by the navvies. Time was precious, and there was a scarcity of barrows; but the troops, adapting themselves to the emergency, formed themselves into lines from places where clay was available, and passed it along in lumps, from hand to hand, to the point of operations with great rapidity. About half-past one o'clock, when near high-water, the work became extremely exciting. The whole force contended with the advancing tide inch by inch, knowing that, if it once made a breach, the repair of the mischief would be vastly more difficult than the work in which they were then engaged. By three o'clock the embankment was restored in this rough-and-ready, but most efficient manner, and the crisis had passed. It withstood the succeeding tide, and was exposed to a severer trial in that of Sunday, which, with a stiff north-easterly breeze, beat heavily against it for about a couple of hours. At one time apprehensions as to its safety existed; and a party of sappers and miners, who had been telegraphed for, arrived from Woolwich to assist in the emergency. In case of failure, Mr. Moore had taken the precaution to send for about a dozen barges, with a view to have them loaded with clay, and then scuttled in front of the breach as a kind of breakwater; but, fortunately, occasion did not arise for the expedient being carried into effect.

The gap in the embankment, which was repaired with such wonderful rapidity after the explosions, by the sappers and miners, and the artillery from the Woolwich garrison, assisted by 400 of Mr. Webster's navvies from the main-drainage works at Crossness Point, has never in the least given way, though severely tested, on succeeding days, by high tides, and a strong north-easterly wind beating dead against it. Nevertheless, a band of navvies, acting under Mr. Rowell, were employed to back up the embankment with clay. Mr. Bazalgette, the engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works, visited the spot in the course of the day, and gave directions that the work should be continued by the navvies until it was completed, for reasons affecting the main-drainage, apart from apprehensions of danger to the adjacent marshes from inundation. The great outfall works for the main-drainage, at Crossness Point, are about a couple of miles from the scene of the explosion; and had the neighbouring marshes been flooded, the mischief might not have been confined to that locality. About £150 worth of plate-glass, at the new works at Crossness Point, was destroyed by the explosion; but, the works themselves withstood the shock without injury.

The damage done at Erith, in particular, in the way of broken glass, and the injury to property in other respects, was lamentably great. There was scarcely a house in the place the windows of which were not shattered less or more, and the inhabitants experienced much inconvenience. The windows of the old parish church were blown in among the rest, as were also those, in particular, of a whole row of houses, twenty or thirty in number, situated on the brow of a hill leading to Bexley, and belonging to Mr. Everett. For some minutes after the explosion the earth heaved and trembled with the effects of it in and about Erith and Belvedere, and the people were appalled and terror-stricken.

At Woolwich, the usual drills and barrack duties were at once dispensed with as far as practicable, for the purpose of rendering all possible aid to the sufferers from the explosion. The effects in the garrison and town were very destructive. The windows in the official departments, at private residences, and shops, were shattered; frames and sashes were dashed in, and several persons were severely injured. In many houses, ceilings and portions of the walls were shaken down, and people rushed from their houses in dismay. The whole of the medical staff of the garrison and town hastened to the scene to render their assistance. Dr. Domville, of the *Fisgard*, who was the first to reach the place, was pulled down the river to the immediate locality in the ship's cutter. In the shock many persons were thrown violently from their beds to the floor, and the former shook like ships at sea. In the arsenal and dockyard, serious fears were entertained that the large workshops would fall in, so great and violent was the concussion felt by the two shocks immediately following each other. In connection with the showers of paper, a remarkable circumstance occurred. A lad, named Eaves, was standing near the royal gun factories, in which he is employed, and picked up one of the torn pieces of paper which fell around him. He found it to be part of the page of a ledger, in which his uncle, a foreman in the employment of Mr. Hall, had that morning entered a memorandum. He had attached his signature at the foot, together with the date of the entry—namely, October 1, 1864. The shock of the explosion was distinctly felt in every part of Chatham and Rochester, which are distant about twenty-five miles from the scene of the disaster. At Deptford, in the workshops of Mr. Stone, a large navy contractor, which are under the arches of the railway there, the gaslights, to the number of about 150, were blown out simultaneously by the explosion.

Mr. Dawkins, of Belvedere, supplies a graphic description of the catastrophe as he observed it:—

“On Saturday morning, while reading in bed, I was startled by a tremendous concussion, that made the walls of my room crackle, and brought down portions of the ceiling. Under the impression that an earthquake was destroying my house, I sprang up, and made for the doorway. The instant I got there a loud explosion shivered my window to atoms, and covered my bed with pieces of glass and of mortar. At the same time my drawing-room bay window was dashed in; and, in another room, two windows, with frames and brickwork, were blown in without the glass being broken. I dressed as quickly as possible, under the impression that half the place, at least, was in ruins. On going out I witnessed a most extraordinary sight. The fronts of the houses and the shops, on either side of Bexley Road, had lost their glass, and, very generally, even their window-frames. Doors were blown in, and strong shutters smashed. The confusion, the screaming, the rushing about in night-dresses, and the anxiety of the mothers for the safety of their children, surpass all powers of description. The very dogs yelped with fear. By this time the dark column of smoke that, after ascending to a considerable height, spread like a gigantic mushroom at the top, proved that the mischief was done by the explosion of gunpowder. My friends, I found, had suffered pretty equally. If their windows were unbroken, the sashes, glass and all, had been blown inwards. The explosive force, however, acted in some cases most capriciously, smashing the windows on the ground-floor, and sparing those on the higher storeys, or the converse, and breaking those on all sides of the houses. In Belvedere, indeed, it seems to have acted equally on every side of the houses, being only in a slight degree influenced by the direction of the streets. Those houses that were sheltered by trees suffered equally with those that were exposed. The injuries resulting from falling window-panes and falling ceilings are merely slight fresh wounds and bruises. The breakage of glass extends on this side of the Thames, along a radius of at least five miles from the scene of the explosion, including Bexley and Woolwich.

“The force of the explosion may be inferred from the fact, that loose sheets of

paper were blown as far as Woolwich, and by small charred fragments of the powder-kegs being found at Abbey-wood, at a distance of two miles and a-half in a straight line. On going to a place that commanded a view of the marshes, I found the site that had been occupied by one of the magazines a smoking crater, one side of which had been blown away into the Thames, making a breach of fifty yards at least in the embankment. I looked in vain for a row of neat cottages that formerly stood there. It was, fortunately, low-water, or an inundation would have been added to the mischief. The number of killed (at least four or five) is not as yet known, because all those in the immediate neighbourhood of the magazines were blown to atoms. One human head was picked up at least a mile from the spot; a leg here, a man's breast there. A piece of human flesh also was fished out of the river.

"To-day (Sunday) I have been to the scene of the explosion. Everything within a radius of half a mile—trees, houses, barns—has been utterly destroyed, except two haystacks, and the *débris* jumbled in a most extraordinary manner. Fenders, chairs, bedsteads, and other household goods, are mixed up with brick-work, fragments of beams, and wrecks of all kinds; and prove but too surely the misery and destruction that have been caused. One cottage was swept entirely away, as with a broom, leaving no heaps of ruins but the ground-floor only to mark its site."

The explosion was distinctly felt at various places, at distances of from thirty to fifty miles; and was, by many persons, mistaken for a slight earthquake.

On the Sunday, thousands upon thousands of people visited the scene of the catastrophe, travelling mostly by the North Kent Railway; and it required the aid of a strong body of police, at the Erith and Belvedere stations, to maintain order and prevent accident. Unhappily, their efforts were not altogether successful. Throughout the whole day, crowds of people went, by the line from London and the intermediate stations, to the scene of the catastrophe, and a great number of them lingered there until dark. The result was, that until far towards midnight they congregated, in dense masses, on the station platforms at Erith and Belvedere, and besieged every train that stopped to admit passengers on the up journey. The railway authorities at the London-bridge station, despatched extra trains as fast as they could do so with safety, to bring up the people; but in spite of that there was great delay, and the last up-train did not leave the Belvedere station until three o'clock on Monday morning. Some persons suffered much from overcrowding: one man, named Marandi, in attempting to enter a carriage in a general rush which was made for places on the arrival of an up-train, was dragged among the wheels, and sustained mortal injuries. He was brought to London by the same train, and taken to Guy's Hospital, where, refusing to be amputated, he died some three-quarters of an hour afterwards. On Monday, again, vast numbers of people visited the spot; and the trains were all, more or less, delayed on the return journey.

In January of the next year, 1864, the Surrey Theatre, in the Blackfriars Road, London, was destroyed by fire. It commenced a little before the termination of the performance; but, fortunately, the audience, as well as the actors, were enabled to withdraw without any one being materially injured. As, however, a great many people were thrown out of employment by the disaster, the charity of the public was appealed to, and a large sum of money was speedily raised. In Scotland, about this time, a terrible accident occurred in a public building, used for an exhibition, in which the would-be spectators suffered greatly. The crowd, pressing for admission, burst open the gate leading to a flight of steps, down which the foremost were precipitated; and before the pressure could be restrained, there lay a prostrate heap, six feet high. When extricated, nine young women and ten lads were dead, and many others were found to be seriously injured.

In the very same month in which Lord Palmerston died, we had another illustration of the dangers of the overcrowding and requirements of modern

civilisation. There was an explosion of a gasometer at Nine Elms, Lambeth, by which ten persons were killed, twenty-two injured (most of them severely), and many of the neighbouring houses shattered to pieces.

The introduction of the railway system was an immense boon to the public; but, at the same time, it added seriously to the distressing casualties which attend on and shorten human life. Terrible accidents have marked its rise and progress. We give a few of the more prominent ones. In March, 1859, there was a frightful accident on the Great Western Railway of Canada, in consequence of the embankment having given way, owing to heavy rains. Seven persons were killed, and seven received serious injuries. In the same year, in consequence of the washing away of an embankment on the line of the Michigan Railway, a train of carriages was precipitated into the river, at the South Bend, Indiana, and about eighty persons were killed or injured. Again, at a later period of the year, a luggage train overtook and ran into, with great force, a passenger train, in a tunnel near Port Glasgow, by which, out of 500 passengers, about a hundred were more or less injured—four of them very severely. In 1860, an excursion train on the Great Northern Railway, on approaching the King's Cross terminus, being imperfectly checked, broke down the wall in front of the terminus, crossed the public street, and injured several persons very seriously. A few months afterwards, in September, there was a distressing collision of excursion trains on the East Lancashire Railway, near Helmsshore station, about eighteen miles north from Manchester. Ten persons were killed, and nearly a hundred injured. In 1861, there was a most grievous accident on a line exceptionally well managed, and remarkably free from anything of the kind—the Brighton Railway—a railway which, connecting London with its favourite watering-place, is extensively patronised by all classes of the community. The accident to which we refer was caused by a collision between two excursion trains in the Claydon tunnel, near Brighton. About twenty persons were killed on the spot, or died from the effects of the collision, and many others were severely injured. This happened on the 25th of August. On September 2nd, there was a collision on the Hampstead Junction Railway, by which fifteen persons were killed, and others severely hurt. In 1864, a sad accident occurred to a train coming from Ascot, after the close of the day's races. The trains bringing the visitors back followed each other close, and, at Egham, one ran into another that was just about departing. Though the speed of the incoming train was slackened, it could not prevent a collision, by which four persons were killed, and twenty-five more or less injured. A verdict of manslaughter was returned against the driver and stoker by a coroner's jury; and, at the same time, the defective management of the railway directors was severely and properly censured. We have to record still more unpardonable accidents. On June the 7th, owing to the rails being left unsecured, a train went off the line; eleven persons were killed, and between forty and fifty injured. On the 9th, another accident, arising from a similar cause, occurred on the South-Eastern line, near Staplehurst, in which ten persons were killed, and from twenty to thirty injured. It appears that one of the passengers, providentially preserved, was Charles Dickens, the distinguished novelist. The train was the tidal one, which left Folkestone on the arrival of the passenger boat from Boulogne. It was known when it would start, and at what time it would arrive at Staplehurst; and, at that very time, the plate-layers had removed the rails, and the consequence was a tragedy which deeply alarmed all, especially that numerous class of pleasure-seekers, or men of business, who are in the constant habit of rushing backward and forward between Paris and London. The inquiries into these and other railway disasters, confirm the belief that, as a rule, railway accidents are attributable chiefly to carelessness and bad management. In their anxiety to pay a dividend, an inefficient staff of servants is employed, and that staff is overworked and underpaid. It is to be hoped that, in time, railway directors will understand their true policy, and that there may be less destruction of human life.

But those who travel by sea are exposed to still greater peril, and one against which all human foresight is often of little avail. In 1857, a narrow escape was that of the crew of the *Sarah Sands*, transport ship, which caught fire in November. The powder was thrown over-board, the leak kept under, and the remains of the vessel navigated to the Mauritius in ten days, owing to the devotion and energy of Captain Castle, and the seamen and soldiers on board. In the same month there was a severe storm in the north of Scotland, and many fishing-boats lost. Off the Banffshire coast alone, forty-two fishermen lost their lives; leaving twenty-seven widows, and seventy-nine children. On our coasts, such calamities, though, fortunately, on a smaller scale, are by no means rare. In how many of our seaport towns is joy thus turned into mourning? How touching and appropriate is that beautiful ballad of Professor Kingsley!—

“Three fishers went sailing out into the west,
 Out into the west, as the sun went down;
 Each thought of the woman who loved him best,
 And the children stood watching them out of the town:
 For men must work, and women must weep;
 And there's little to earn, and many to keep,
 Though the harbour bar be moaning.

“Three wives sat up in the lighthouse tower,
 And trimm'd the lamps as the sun went down;
 And they look'd at the squall, and they look'd at the shower,
 And the rack it came rolling up, ragged and brown:
 But men must work, and women must weep,
 Though storms be sudden, and waters deep,
 And the harbour bar be moaning.

“Three corpses lay out on the shining sands,
 In the morning gleam as the tide went down,
 And the women are watching and wringing their hands,
 For those who will never come home to the town:
 But men must work, and women must weep,
 And the sooner it's over, the sooner to sleep,
 And good-bye to the bar and its moaning.”

In 1859, the *Eastern Monarch*, troop ship, was burned to the water's edge, and seven persons lost their lives. A few days after, ten excursionists were drowned in being conveyed from the shore at Watchet to the steamer, the boats being leaky. In 1861, Captain Harrison, commander of the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, was drowned in the entrance to Southampton harbour, in consequence of the upsetting of a small boat, in which he was going ashore. In the same year, the emigrant ship *Luna* was wrecked on the rocks off Barfleur, near Cherbourg, and about a hundred persons perished. At this time there was a singular accident at the Porto Bello canal bridge, near Dublin. It appears that an omnibus, being pulled up on the incline of the bridge, backed down to the foot, its velocity increasing; and when it reached the bottom of the incline, it turned over into the canal basin, drowning the passengers, six in number. The driver was saved by being dragged out of the water by a policeman. In October, 1863, there was a storm of unusual violence. At the New Cross railway station a shed was blown down; two men were killed, and several injured. On the river, many crafts were driven into collision; and at sea there were a number of wrecks, with considerable loss of life. The gale continued to blow, at intervals, with great force till November 2nd. In December of the same year there was a terrible gale, which did much damage to property and life. In October, 1864, Calcutta was visited with a storm of almost unparalleled severity: 200 ships were blown from their moorings—some wrecked, and many driven ashore. There was great loss of life, especially among the native boatmen; and much damage was also done to the buildings of

the town; the tents of the natives were nearly all levelled to the ground; the Roman Catholic and Scotch churches, and the cathedral, were injured. In the botanic garden, much mischief was done by the blowing down and uprooting of the trees. In February, 1865, the barge of the Thames marine officers' training-ship, *Worcester*—lying off Erith, with a crew of twenty-two of the young cadets, under the charge of an experienced boatman—was suddenly capsized, and ten of the young men unfortunately drowned. In August of the same year, a fearful loss of life occurred at Port Canning, Calcutta, occasioned by the misconduct of the drunken crew of a ship which was taking out a large number of coolies to Demerara. The ship struck on the Mutlah sands, sprang a leak, and began to sink, but not finally sinking for twenty-four hours. The crew abandoned her; and the steam-tug, which had been employed in towing her down, offered only a too tardy assistance; the consequence being that full 300 of the coolies were drowned; while a few who managed to swim to some adjacent mud islets were devoured by tigers. The total number of wrecks and casualties, from all causes, on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and in the surrounding seas, reported in 1865, was 1,656; and thus 698 lives were unfortunately lost.

In the year 1865, a very serious calamity threatened the entire family of John Bull. There was a rumour, which, in time, settled down into an admitted fact, that an alarming disease threatened the cattle, and that beef was growing scarce and dear. As the flesh-consuming properties of John Bull are undoubtedly great, very serious apprehensions were speedily aroused. On the continent, it appeared, the cattle disease raged with great virulence; nor was it long before it made its way to our shores. At length government was compelled to interfere. On August 2nd, an order was issued by the Privy Council, containing regulations for guarding against the cattle plague; and on the 11th of the same month, in consequence of its rapid spread, appeared another order, commanding the destruction of infected beasts, and imposing a penalty of £25 for infractions of the regulations. This was followed by other orders, appointing inspectors at the ports to examine foreign cattle, and in country districts, to insure the carrying out of the orders in council. On September 22nd, in consequence of the plague having extended very widely to sheep, a new order was issued, by which the previous orders were made to apply to all infected animals—the word animal to include any cow, heifer, bull, bullock, ox, calf, sheep, lambs, goat, or swine. In October, a government commission was appointed to investigate the cause, and the means of repressing the disease; but that did not produce much effect in the year 1865; and it was with grief and pain that the reader of the daily newspaper continued to hear of the alarming and growing ravages of the cattle disease.

One class of men, however, must have profited greatly by the panic—that is, the butchers, who bought their meat cheaper, and sold it dearer than ever to the public. The graziers and farmers, of course, hurried their beasts to market, anxious to receive any price for them; and then, under the plea of coming scarcity—in spite of actual abundance—the butchers made the public pay enormous and unprecedented prices. Pater Familias grumbled, as well he might, when he was charged for his Sunday leg of mutton as much as a shilling a pound. The papers were filled with letters and leaders on the all-important theme; and *Punch* addressed an appeal, entitled “A Word with Marrowbones and Cleavers,” with which we take leave of this part of our subject. The appeal was as follows:—

“O, mantled with celestial blue,
 Arrayed as children of the sky;
 Say, there are none who can but you,
 What makes the price of meat so high?
 Thou, Butcher, with a nimble grace,
 Whetting bright blade on trusty steel;
 Now tell me how you can, with face,
 Ask fifteen pence a pound for veal?”

- “ The Steak that shares a homely name
 With Parliament renowned of yore,
 Canst thou, without a sense of shame,
 Put coolly down at one-and-four?
 That humbler steak, named simply beef,
 Less soft of substance and more dense,
 Wilt thou impose on our belief
 As fairly worth a dozen pence?
- “ The price of joints from woolly flock,
 That grazed upon the Southern hills,
 Convulses us with fearful shock
 Whene’er we scan our weekly bills:
 For Mutton’s cost canst thou pretend
 To state a reasonable ground;
 O thou that legs and loins dost vend
 High as one shilling both per pound!
- “ No scarcity of sheep and kine,
 No murrain hath so ready made
 Those hieroglyphic bills of thine,
 Thank importation through Free Trade!
 Besides, beneath thy poleaxe fall
 Heads which thou smitest but to save:
 Behold abundance large in all
 The shambles—shall I say thou knave?
- “ ‘ Best short-horns beef,’ by wholesale bought,
 Doth but five shillings cost the stone,
 The offal sunk; ye Butchers ought
 To thrive full well on that alone.
 Namely, horns, tallow, hide, and skin,
 Whence ye derive a profit clear;
 But though you get the offal in,
 The meat ye sell is awful—dear.
- “ Ah! shout not, ‘ What d’ye buy, buy, buy?’
 Until your charges you abate:
 Soon will our answer to your cry
 Be, ‘ Nothing at the present rate.’
 But now cut in, adventurous Blade,
 Thy way to carve out fortune’s plain;
 As honest Butcher start in trade;
 Much custom will insure great gain.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

INDUSTRIAL AND PHILANTHROPIC.

THE poet tells us—

“ All men think all men mortal but themselves.”

In like manner, there are certain principles admitted; but the application of them is denied under the plea of exceptional circumstances. Free-traders, for instance, were very apt to demand protection for their own particular calling. The working classes were, many of them, the most determined opponents of free trade and the Anti-Corn-Law League. In America, at this very time, they have had strength enough to impose and sustain the Morell tariff, the American shipping laws, and high duties, under the protecting influence of which, American commerce is threatened with utter ruin. There was a time—and that

not one far removed—when the Spitalfield weavers, the Nottingham stocking-makers, the Coventry ribbon manufacturers, the Leeds clothier—aye, even the Manchester cotton-spinners, were all heart and soul in favour of protection. That fallacy, we shall now see, was becoming exploded; but a new danger to industry arose in another quarter. The men were now learning their strength, and organising themselves into unions to oppose their masters. Capital and labour we thus find more and more arrayed against each other. Trade was paralysed, and in many places destroyed, by this mutual opposition. In reality, the interests of labour and capital are the same; but it is clear neither masters nor men have at present found their way to the proper appreciation of that fundamental principle. The more intelligent workmen were quite as ready to resort to strikes as their less fortunate brethren; and thus much bitterness was created, much suffering endured, much business destroyed. At first the masters generally got the better of the men. They had capital, and could afford to wait for the return of more auspicious times. In 1856, the principal engineering firms of London and Lancashire discharged their workmen, and closed their works, rather than submit to the demand of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Engineers, for the abolition of piece-work and overtime. A bad thing this for England; but capital for the iron-masters of Liège, and other foreign competitors.

In 1859, there was a great strike in the building trades of the metropolis, in consequence of the workmen demanding that the hours of labour should be reduced from ten to nine per day, without any reduction of wages. The movement was, in the first instance, directed against Messrs. Trollope and Sons, whose men struck in a body. The large employers generally made common cause with Messrs. Trollope, and closed their establishments till the firm in question resumed operations. The masters also resolved that, previous to returning to their employment, the men should be required to promise not to connect themselves with any society which should interfere with the hours or wages of labour. This was repudiated by the workmen on strike, who received large contributions from trade societies in London and the provinces, in aid of their support while on strike. The erection of many public works was in consequence suspended. An arrangement was come to in November; and, after a great deal of suffering had been experienced, the strike ceased. In the month just mentioned, a man named William Pereham was committed to prison for two months, for intimidating workmen in connection with the builders' strike. Pereham appealed, and was admitted to bail. It must be confessed that the men gained much by organisation, and are, perhaps, now as well off as they can ever expect to be.

In 1860, there was a strike in the Coventry silk trade, which terminated disastrously for the men; they having come to a mutual agreement to make the best terms they could with their several masters. The truth was that the demand for Coventry goods was on the decrease. In a rising market the men would have gained more by standing out. In March, 1865, a very serious strike occurred—we refer to that of the iron-workers of North Staffordshire, who withstood the reduction of wages required by the iron-masters to meet the fall in the price of iron. It appears that they having endeavoured to organise the means of support by allowing the workmen in other districts to accept the terms till the masters of North Staffordshire had been compelled to forego the proposed reduction, the iron-masters throughout the kingdom agreed to lock-out all the men, unless those of North Staffordshire accepted the offered terms. This was refused, and the lock-out commenced. It was calculated that the total weekly wages of which the workmen thus deprived themselves, amounted to £120,000; and, as we may well suppose, the withdrawal of this occasioned extreme distress. At the same time, the foreign trade, which amounted to £13,000,000 a year, was, to some extent, interrupted and thrown into other channels. Happily, the extreme measures adopted in self-defence by the masters were not of long duration. In the beginning of April, the lock-out in South Staffordshire ended. The men promised

not to subscribe towards maintaining the strike in North Staffordshire ; and once more the masters opened their works.

The basis upon which workmen rest the alleged necessity of combination is this—that individual competition would be borne down by the tyranny of the capitalist. We will take their exposition of this principle from a paper issued by the United Trades' Building Conference, in answer to an address of the Central Association of Master Builders, in 1859.

“It is only by association that we can hope to present a barrier against the aggressive selfishness of capital. Under existing circumstances, to talk of leaving the artisan individually, and disconnected from the sympathies and support of his fellow-toilers, to make his arrangements with the capitalist, would be to advocate the speedy and effectual reduction of the working classes to slavery ; the trampling out of their spirit of manhood, and the extinction of that intellect which makes the English artisan the support of his country's greatness, and the admiration of the industrial world. The man who employs the labour of a thousand men, and gathers the profits produced by their labour, has, through the influence of his capital, as much power concentrated in himself as in the possession of all the men in his employ. Any individual man among them has only the thousandth part of the power which is centred in the master for competition or resistance. What chance has he, then, without the moral co-operation of the remaining 999, of making an equal contract with his employer? What power of logic is there that can show that the employed would not be helplessly at the mercy of the selfish employer, were it not for the protection afforded by union?”

In this paper, as is generally the case, the interests of the general public—the consumer—are quite overlooked. The plea put forth is the one with which we were too familiar during the agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The monopolists mean to say—“It is only by association that we can hope to present a barrier against the oppressive selfishness of those who desire to consume at the cheapest rate.” In the long run, the workman suffers by union—just as did the old traders and farmers by protection. The labourer relies on others, rather than his own exertion ; and palms off upon his employer an inferior value of labour. For a time this system may answer, but it must fail in the long run.

The right of the workmen to combine has been admitted in the fullest manner. In 1859, the legislature declared as follows:—“That no workman or other person, whether actually in employment or not, shall, by reason of his entering into an agreement with any workman or workmen, or other person or persons, for the purpose of fixing, or endeavouring to fix, the rate of wages or remuneration at which they or any of them shall work, or by reason merely of his endeavouring peaceably, and in a reasonable manner, and without threat or intimidation, direct or indirect, to persuade others to cease or abstain from work, in order to obtain the rate of wages or the altered hours of labour so fixed or agreed upon, or to be agreed upon, be taken or deemed to be guilty of molestation or obstruction within the meaning of the said act ; and shall not, therefore, be subject or liable to any prosecution or indictment for conspiracy. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall authorise any workman to break or depart from any contract, or authorise any attempt to induce any workman to break or depart from any contract.” As a rule, strikes fail, and fail speedily, unless protracted and upheld by other workmen. On the plea that they are fighting for a principle, they cause a wide-spread ruin, and are as mischievous as an invading army. The spinners' strike, of Manchester, in 1810, which threw 30,000 persons out of employ, continued for four months. The Preston strike, of 1854, which condemned 17,000 persons to idleness, continued for four months. But the power, or the will, of other workmen to contribute to the union funds at last came to an end. Work was renewed, in the one case, upon worse wages ; in other cases at the same wages. “To describe the lamentable effects of strikes,” writes Mr. Charles Knight, “the destitution, the sickness, the deaths of families, is to present salutary warnings ; but

it would be more salutary if the principles could be understood, which would show that strikes must fail." This was written in 1860; since then the workmen have increased in wealth, intelligence, and power. They are now well organised, have their own paper, are led by clever men, and have numerous funds at their disposal. And yet for their wrongs, fancied or real, their favourite remedy is still a strike. It is a folly that it should be so. It is a pity that, between masters and men, whose interest is always mutual, there should so often spring up a yawning gulf of hate.

The education of these people is, at present, far from what it ought to be. According to the registrar-general, of every 100 men married in 1864, there were twenty-three who put their mark, instead of writing their names, in the marriage register; and of every 100 women married, thirty-two were in a similar state. This is a fact most deeply to be lamented. The savings of these men are chiefly deposited with the trades' unions, who have large sums of money at their command. It is generally believed that working-men do not invest in savings banks so largely as they ought; the deposits are believed to come more generally from servants, and others receiving monthly or quarterly wages, than from artisans earning from twenty to forty shillings a week. It is ascertained that there are about 140,000 persons in England who are at once owners and occupiers of small houses, varying from £2 to £14 per annum; 25,000 owners and occupiers of houses from £14 to £20; and 45,000 in houses of an annual value of above £50. It thus appears that there are just about 200,000 persons altogether paying to themselves an estimated rental of £2,800,000, of which about one-half is for houses between £20 and £50. If it be true, as was lately said, that one single building firm in the metropolis employs 3,000 hands, who received thirty shillings a week all round, then, most certainly, the savings of the working classes might be greater than they are.

In 1865, these unions began to create considerable apprehension in particular quarters. It is certain no one ever contemplated the purposes to which these formidable associations of working-men had been applied. Societies, which were originally regarded as mere benefit societies, for the support or organisation of sick or aged members of the trade, had, by that time, become machines of immense commercial power, directed to the control of an entire trade, for the exclusive benefit of a class. Sick funds, and other charitable resources, are still administered; but the main object of a trade union in the present day is the regulation of the trade. The last appeal of workmen, when they want more than a master can give, is a strike. The latter loses his profits, the former their wages. Now-a-days the strike does not entail much hardship on the men. The unions have large funds at command; and, by the aid of these funds, and a certain peculiar economy of power, they can fight their masters with but little suffering and no risk. All the trade take part in the contest, but all the trade does not strike. The "strike" is confined to a single shop. In the other shops, the men of the same trade and of the same union go to work on the very same terms which they have declared inadmissible in the case of the particular master against whom the strike is directed. The men on "strike" receive from their fellow-workmen allowances which are sufficient for their maintenance, and they could remain "out" for two years as easily as for two months. It is obvious that, except by some counter-combination, no master could resist this pressure, and yet every effective combination of the masters is violently resented by the men.

Sometimes the masters "lock out"—that is to say, the masters whose men have not actually "struck" themselves, but who are maintaining those on "strike," enter into the contest by closing their doors, and locking out the workmen who would not be unwilling to come in. This is always designated as a monstrous injustice, an act of tyrannical oppression, to be reprobated and condemned by public opinion. Yet it is self-defence; and the wages thus withheld from the men are only those which their own union has proscribed as unfit to be taken. They themselves fully intend to refuse them when the opportunity arises; but, for the time, they desire

to get them, in order to coerce the particular employer selected for present operations. What are the masters to do? If a "strike," as managed in modern fashion, is not to be met by a "lock-out," it must be successful, for the stress is all on one side. The men on "strike" are suffering nothing at all, while the master is exposed to ruin. In fact, we have recently seen that "strikes" have succeeded all over the country; and that working-men have obtained improved terms in trade after trade, and town after town.

If we would learn the power of these societies, let us take the case of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, first established in 1860. At the end of that year it comprised twenty branches, with an aggregate of 618 members, and a balance of £321 in hand. In 1865, it comprised 134 branches, with an aggregate of 5,670 members, and a balance of £8,320 in hand. Nor is this the whole extent of its progress; for it entered, shortly afterwards, into negotiations with the associated joiners of Scotland, for the purpose of establishing a common understanding between the two bodies. The treaty had a favourable issue. As far as the two executives were concerned, all was cordiality and agreement; and it was hoped that, at a meeting of delegates, shortly to be held, the alliance would be so ratified as to combine the power and influence of these large and kindred institutions on suitable occasions. Altogether, the secretary appeared justified in remarking, that "the desire for combination evinced during the past few years, from the most skilled artisan to the agricultural labourer—from the chief centres of industry to the most remote parts of the country—proves, conclusively, that the adoption of trade societies, in the widest possible sense, is only a question of time."

Let us now turn to the operations of this flourishing union, as shown in its accounts, and acknowledged in its annual manifesto. The income of the Amalgamated Society, for the year 1865, was upwards of £10,000, exclusive of a balance of nearly £5,000 remaining on hand at Christmas, 1864. They could dispose, therefore, of no less than £15,000; and they did dispose of nearly half that sum. But the distribution of this expenditure deserves attentive remark. Sick members of the society received £1,369; and other allowances, of a kindred nature, bring up the total disbursements under this head to an amount of about £2,300. The entire outlay, however, was nearly three times that sum; so that we find the expenditure upon benefits, of what is presumably a benefit society, confined to about one-third of its whole payments. Where did the rest of the money go to? It went, to the extent of £730, in salaries to officers and committees; besides which £217 was spent in "delegations." But the largest item in the whole account, exceeding by 50 per cent. the entire payment to sick members, is the outlay upon "trade privileges," amounting to no less than £1,941 8s. 1d. Now, what are these "privileges" of such costly charge? Apparently the entry means that this money was spent in maintaining and enlarging the privileges of trade—that is to say, in procuring better terms from the employers of labour. That is the only interpretation we can put upon it; and, in another portion of the report, we can discover that the investment produced its fruit.

The secretary gives a list of ninety-four towns in which the Amalgamated Society is regularly represented; and he recapitulates the instances in which, during one year, the members of the trade obtained either an increase of wages or a reduction in the number of working hours. In no fewer than fifty-two towns out of the ninety-four was an advance of wages gained, while in thirty a reduction of time was secured. It is specified as worthy of particular remark, that, "since the opening of a branch of the society in Bradford, the working hours of that town have been reduced eight and a-half per week, and an advance obtained of 1s. per week; and this at the cost of a few shillings." In addition to this, the Amalgamated Society has, in many towns, succeeded in getting a "code of working rules" adopted by the common consent of masters and men, and thus establishing certain regulations for the conduct of trade. How all this was done we are frankly told in the following words:—"In many instances these advantages were granted

when asked for, and in the best possible spirit; in others, after repeated meetings between the employers and our members, and mutual concessions. But in some few instances, after vainly trying to avoid it, we were obliged to resort to the 'old way' of settling these difficulties, which no one more than ourselves regretted." The necessity thus experienced accounts, no doubt, for some of the outlay upon "trade privileges." In conclusion, the secretary hopes, "by just and reasonable demands, enforced by moderation and consistency, to see the position of our members still further improved; and our society increase in numbers, influence, and usefulness."

Of course, if the men are underpaid, these trades' unions, by raising the rate of wages, are productive of benefit. But then, again, if their masters cannot afford to give more wages, or to have put a higher price on the articles they manufacture in consequence, trade is driven away, and the workmen ultimately suffer. That, to some extent, this has been the case, is borne out by the statistics of the Belgian iron trade. We heard of a strike, very recently, in the north—supported, of course, by the men in the London union. At length the masters called the men together, told them that such and such a contract had been offered them, and that they could take it, and would take it, at their old rate of wages. The men agreed to do this. It afterwards turned out that the same contract had been offered to the London masters, who had been obliged to decline it. The trades' unions have also a mischievous effect in other ways. They tend to prevent improvement, and they secure for the lazy and ignorant labourer a rate of wages he could never earn for himself, were he judged according to his deserts.

"Not content," says a writer in the *Times*—"not content with laying down laws for the government of the members included in the union, they aim at an 'organisation of labour;' by which is meant an organisation to control the whole labour power of the country. In the pursuit of this object, they hesitate not to commit acts the most tyrannical and oppressive, excluding from employment those, whatever may be their qualifications, who may not have been initiated under club law; they ignore all gradations of skill, and proclaim all men equal, and entitled to an equal rate of wages. They demand the dismissal of a manager or inspector, who, by a too faithful discharge of his duty to his employers, has become obnoxious to the committee of the trade; the penalty in such cases, for non-compliance, being a 'call-off'—that is, a withdrawal of all the men employed. Not long ago, on a refusal to submit to a demand of this nature by the architect of a great public work, an order was issued by the committee for a cessation of work, not only where this dispute occurred, but on all the works in other places under the care of the same architect.

"Trades' unions seek, by violence, outrage, and intimidation, to obstruct all mechanical improvements which have for their object the economy of labour. A striking instance of this nature was related to me to-day. A few years ago, a valuable machine was introduced by one of our most eminent engineers for making bricks. It not only reduced the cost of manufacture, but greatly improved the quality, both as regards appearance and durability. A company was formed; the capital was immediately subscribed; the site was selected; plans drawn of the buildings to be erected; and tenders were solicited from some of our great contractors for the erection of the works. All went on swimmingly up to this point; but the directors were little aware of the obstacles that lay in their path.

"The contract was taken by one of the most eminent firms of builders; but no sooner did this fact come to the ears of the committee of the building trades, than an intimation was given to the firm, that any attempt to execute the contract would be followed by a 'call-off' from all the works in which this firm was engaged; and, rather than encounter a state of things so serious, they wrote to the Brick Company, stating the position in which they were placed, and expressing their regret at the necessity they were under of withdrawing from the contract. The Brick Company applied to other builders, but all to no purpose; the reason being that the

committee of the Brickmakers' Union had determined to stop the supply of bricks to any builder who lent a hand to rear the works of the Brick Company.

"In this strait the company were thrown on their own resources, and they determined to do the work themselves. Before they could make bricks themselves, they required a house for their machinery: they could not get a brick for love or money. The grounds were picketed; and any carter bringing material, of whatever sort, was civilly warned that it would be better for him not to repeat his visit.

"The company then determined to make a wooden erection; but no timber merchant was willing to place himself under the ban of the union; and they were under the necessity of buying the timber, and getting the building framed, at Liverpool.

"Having, at a very great sacrifice, obtained a covering for their machinery, and having obtained from a distance as many bricks as were necessary for the setting of the steam-boiler, the one essential was a chimney. They had no bricks, nor could they obtain any; but if the bricks had been procurable, there was not a man who would dare to build the chimney. They, therefore, had recourse to an iron funnel. On the arrival of this iron chimney on the ground, the next difficulty was to elevate it to its position; and, for this purpose, a part of a builder's plant, known by the name of 'shear legs,' was required.

"They applied to the building firms for a loan of this instrument; all would gladly have acceded, but no one dared the risk. One, however, whose sympathies were stronger than those of the rest, determined to help the unfortunate company, if possible—not by the loan of his own plant, but by borrowing, in a distant town, or some remote corner, not supposed to be under the keen eyes of the committee, a pair of 'shear legs,' which having been surreptitiously brought on to the ground, the chimney was at length reared.

"The act had not, however, escaped the argus-eyed committee. They traced the means by which the work had been accomplished, and the unfortunate builder received a summons to meet the committee at a particular spot and hour on the following evening; stating, at the same time, that if he failed to appear, all his men would be withdrawn. He felt it necessary to obey the summons, and there met the august committee. The committee, pointing to the 'shear legs,' put certain questions with a view to ascertain from the delinquent the extent of his complicity in procuring for the Brick Company the means of raising their iron funnel; and, after fencing with the questions, he was at length told that they were in possession of all the facts, the truth of which he was at last constrained to admit. He was then requested to withdraw to a distance while the committee deliberated upon the case; and after some time he was called up to receive judgment. It was to the effect that they had been much disposed to punish him by a 'call-off' of his men; but they would forego the extreme penalty, on the promise that he would avoid all cause of offence in the future.

"The company at length got the machinery into operation; but their troubles were far from being ended. They could make bricks, but no one dared to buy them. An edict had gone forth that, wherever a machine-brick was found, the supply from all other sources should be stopped; and consequently, although, to some extent, the company have forced their bricks upon the market, very few of the builders will venture upon their use; and, at the present moment, their capital is profitless, solely because they cannot vend one-half the quantity which their machinery will produce.

"In this case, as in many others, a most valuable invention has been obstructed in the course for which it is qualified—that of cheapening the supply, and improving the quality of bricks."

The trades' union is, in the opinion of many of the working-men, a religion. Their faith in its power to benefit their order is undoubting; its dogmas are enforced by them with the most despotic disregard of individual and personal

freedom. In accordance with the behests of the union, they will encounter sacrifices with a degree of patient endurance that is really wonderful to contemplate; and no wonder, since it is clear that the main object of such associations is to prevent that natural adjustment of prices which is the unfettered operation of the law of supply and demand. In short, the trades' unionists are protectionists, and seek to give to labour an arbitrary and fictitious value. In America they are the same. The trades' unionists take good care to sell their labour in the dearest market, and to buy in the cheapest; but they will not allow to the masters their right to do the same. They are all for themselves; and the interests of that important personage, without whom master and man could never exist—the consumer—are completely overlooked.

Many efforts have been made to get an accurate idea of the extent and the wealth of the working classes in this country. From the very nature of the case, it is clear that the estimate of no writer can be fully relied on. During a discussion, arising out of the general election in 1865, Mr. Bass expressed a belief that those who, in this country, are usually called the working classes, earn no less than £380,000,000 annually. Mr. Gladstone, some time after, mentioned it at £250,000,000; but this lower figure was regarded by the *Times* as too high. Mr. Leone Levi, of King's College, a great statistical authority, at the request of Mr. Bass, investigated the subject. Allowing for the increase of the population since 1861, Professor Levi thus distributes the number of workers, male and female:—In England and Wales, 7,466,000; Scotland, 1,104,000; Ireland, 2,127,000: a total of 10,697,000. The professor excludes from this number all the professional class, and the greater part of the domestic (wives, children, &c.) and commercial classes. He also excludes all persons over sixty years of age, whose earnings are considered to be about counterbalanced by various causes of loss, or non-earning, on the part of those between twenty and thirty. The wages earned by this mass of labourers Mr. Leone Levi calculates to be as follows:—England and Wales, £311,500,000; Scotland, £42,700,000; Ireland, £64,000,000: making a total, for the United Kingdom, of £418,200,000—a sum vastly exceeding the estimates of Messrs. Bass and Gladstone. The professor's estimate of the wealth of the nation is £745,200,000, made up as follows:—£327,000,000 on which income-tax is paid, and £418,200,000, working class earnings, mostly free from that impost.

If we ask where the manufacturing and commercial population is mostly to be found, the writer of an article in the *Companion to the Almanac for 1866*, says, geology and physical geography must furnish us with an answer. Wherever the stratification, at an attainable depth beneath the surface, includes good coal, there are found a large and important population of pitmen—as in Durham and Northumberland; the west lowland districts of Scotland, Lancashire, and North Cheshire; Yorkshire and Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, Somersetshire and Gloucester, and South Wales. Wherever ironstone occurs, with coal in the immediate vicinity, there we are sure to see the wondrous blaze and murky smoke of vast furnaces, so lurid and weird-like at night—as in the black county of Staffordshire, the stupendous works of South Wales, and the newly-developed and wonderfully prolific region of Cleveland, in North Yorkshire. Where coal and iron are in this way plentiful, we see how the trades of machine and engine building grow up near at hand, employing hundreds of thousands of our best-paid artisans, and developing an amount of mechanical ingenuity not equalled in any other districts. Where tin and copper are abundant, as in Cornwall and the western half of Devon, there we find presented the characteristics of a distinct class of the community—the Cornish miners, with their sober habits, shrewd intelligence, combined with a dash of superstition and a tendency towards a system of co-operative labour, not yet, unfortunately, much developed elsewhere. Where slate crops up to the surface, we find grow up a district of quarrymen's villages, and a system of operation peculiar to itself—as in the gigantic slate quarries of Bethesda, near Bangor; and in the

mountain groups that surround Snowdon. Where, as in Cheshire, vast beds of salt underlie the surface, there is a material at hand which serves as the basis for numerous chemical manufactures; and this is one reason why, among several, such manufactures are mostly carried on in the northern counties. Where a peculiar kind of fire-resisting clay is found, as at Stourbridge, there do we find more earthen retorts, and crucibles, and fire-bricks made than in any other part of England. Again, regarding the courses and mouths of rivers rather than the geological stratification under our feet, we find that nature's work, in that respect, is the determining agency to vast accumulations of population. Liverpool is the greatest place of import for cotton, chiefly because the mouth of the Mersey affords a tempting port of entry for American ships; and Lancashire became the cotton county, chiefly because Liverpool was the place of import. Flax and hemp manufacturers have their head-quarters at Leeds, chiefly because the eastern ports are most suitable for ships laden with that produce from Belgium, Holland, and the Baltic countries. Glasgow is great, far north as is her latitude, because the Clyde affords a wonderfully convenient outlet for coal and iron, a suitable inlet for cotton and other American produce, and facilities for building on a large scale. So it is all over England and Wales, and the southern half of Scotland. Geological formation and river debouchment mainly determine the great departments of manufacturing and commercial enterprise; and in the localities so determined we find the busy hives of men most peopled.

In 1851, an attempt was made to introduce what is called Bloomerism into this country. Bloomerism, an American importation, meant a new kind of female costume for ladies; and, as it included the use of breeches, it was supposed to be connected with woman's rights. The new dress consisted of loose trousers, gathered in at the ankles; a short, but very full, shirt; and a broad hat. In truth, the dress was much like that worn by school-girls of twelve or fourteen years of age. Female lecturers, in full costume, attended by a female in the same dress, endeavoured to familiarise the English with it, but in vain. It was patronised by a few doubtful characters, and then, in a little while, heard of no more.

In 1853, the British and Foreign Bible Society, having arrived at the fifteenth year of its existence, commemorated its jubilee at Exeter Hall. The chair was occupied by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The meeting consisted of a large number of noblemen, prelates, and gentlemen, and members of various denominations. From statements made to the meeting by the noble chairman, it appeared that, since the foundation of the society, 8,000 branch societies had been instituted; the Scriptures had been translated into 148 languages and dialects, of which 121 had never before been printed; upwards of 43,000,000 copies had been disseminated amongst 600,000,000 of the human race: of the languages into which these copies had been rendered, upwards of twenty-five had existed hitherto without an alphabet, and merely in an oral form.

The same year, the table-moving mania sprang into existence. People, called professors of spiritualism, or spiritualists, gravely believed or declared, that if a number of persons stood round a table, each pressing it with the tips of the fingers of the hands on the surface, a mysterious power would gradually set the table in motion, and rapping would be heard, indicating the presence of spirits, who would answer questions addressed to them. Professor Faraday did not deem it beneath his dignity to publish an address to expose the delusion. He declared himself "greatly startled by the revelation which this purely physical subject has made of the public mind;" and said, the system of education that could leave the mental condition of the public in the state in which this subject had found it, must have been very greatly deficient in some important principle. According to this acknowledged philosopher, the phenomenon is due to nothing more than the preponderance or resultant of physical force in one direction, given by a *quasi* involuntary muscular action of the experimentalists, where their minds have been

deadened by long waiting in vacancy, and the sense of touch in the fingers is benumbed by continued pressure.

It appears the spiritualists made preparations for a fresh campaign, and soon opened a Spiritual Athenæum in Sloane Street, Chelsea. At the *soirée* given on the occasion, the inaugural lecture was read by Mr. Samuel Carter Hall, of the *Art Journal*, and some drawings were exhibited, supposed to be under the direction of the spirits; of which all we can say is, that they were atrociously bad. Of course, Mr. Home was there, and was the lion of the evening. Our readers are aware this gentleman has taken the name of Lyon—a widow lady of that name having adopted him as her son, and settled on him £26,000, so that he may be left free to follow his spiritual career. Nay, more: the lady in question, pending the settlement of the £26,000, made the happy man a present of the trifle of £6,000, just to keep the wolf from the door; and it is not improbable, as the lady is well off, and has £190,000 at her disposal, and has no near relations (she is the widow of a general officer, and the estate goes to the heir-at-law, a very distant connection indeed), she may confer upon the Home-Lyon, as he is now called, further favours. Virtue is its own reward; but, in Mr. Lyon's case, virtue has fared infinitely better. His wife was a Russian countess, and with her he had a fortune of £12,000, settled on their only child. The countess is dead, but her spirit is ever near to advise, and guard, and soothe, and sustain. Whenever Mr. Lyon is in circumstances of difficulty and danger, the spirit of the departed wife immediately appears. We should say Mr. Lyon has a great affinity for female spirits. Though not at all a prepossessing looking man in appearance, his manner to ladies is remarkably so. He has an eye of great power; he is a good linguist; a beautiful reciter; he plays music divinely—in short, he is quite the man for a drawing-room—to flatter and win over the softer and fairer part of creation. Let us add, on his fingers are conspicuous diamonds—one the gift of a Russian, the other of a French emperor. A very warm admirer of the distinguished spiritualist is that charming and gifted writer Mrs. S. C. Hall, and at her house many of his *séances* are held. Devout persons are admitted to them, as they will be to the Spiritual Athenæum in Sloane Street; but they must be orthodox, and believers in the Trinity. The truth is, as one of the most prominent of the sect confessed to a friend of the writer's, the spirits do not like to appear before sceptical people. These *séances* are always opened with prayers; and then, if the faithful only are present, the spirits will appear, turn the table, play but very indifferently on the accordion, and make remarks more or less important. From what we can gather of these spirit utterances, we cannot find that they are in the habit of saying anything particularly worth hearing; their philosophy appears to be that of Swedenborg; and you will hear nothing more than you find in his writings. All at once Mr. Lyon is in a trance, his eye, of course, in a "fine frenzy rolling;" and through him the spirit of some one known to some present appears, and expresses his regret for misconduct or want of gratitude to some one present while in the body of this flesh. Depend upon it we lose very little by not being present at a spiritualist manifestation. Occasionally the spirits do refer to events known only as you fancy to one; but they are not always successful. If, for instance, Mr. Lyon tells the hearer the spirit of some one loved in early youth appears, the chances are that the manifestation is more or less true. Most of us have loved some fair girl no longer on earth, and whose memory we should recall upon such an occasion. But when Mr. Lyon tells her name; when he says it was Mary, when it was Jane, one's confidence in the spirits is shaken. There is also something very underhand about these spirits. If they play the accordion, it is *under* the table; if they convey to you a handkerchief from another party, it is *under* the table that the spirit wafts the handkerchief. Does this indicate modesty or something else, to denote which a term of less favourable meaning must be used? We give no opinion; we only record what we hear and see. We can only add that Mr. Home Lyon deserves all the eminence he has won, and that he is to be congratulated on

finding that spiritualism, like godliness, is great gain. Of course, he is an American. America appears favourable to the growth of certain phenomena. The country which rears Barnums and Joe Smiths is distinguished for producing remarkable men; and amongst the number of the latter may certainly be placed the favoured head of the spiritualists, Mr. Home Lyon.

In 1853, the shocking brutality so often practised by husbands upon wives, or upon those who pass for such among the lower classes, compelled parliament to pass an "Act for the better Prevention of Aggravated Assaults upon Women and Children." This act extended the power of punishing, on summary conviction, assaults upon females, and male children under fourteen years of age; and inflicted the penalty of imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding £20.

In 1854, the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham, was opened by the queen, in the presence of a vast multitude (40,000) of spectators. It stands nearly north and south, on the summit of Penge Hill; its length being 1,608 feet; its greatest breadth, at the central transept, 384, and at the smaller transepts, 336 feet. The glass palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851 having been condemned by the commissioners of woods and works, the structure was purchased by a private company, and helped to form the building whose opening we now record. It was purchased for £75,000, and erected at Sydenham for £120,000. The principal portion of the ground on which it stands was purchased of Mr. Schuster for £86,661. The first column was raised in 1852, before a large assembly of people; at the bottom of which a glass bottle was deposited by Mr. Laing, containing the coins of the realm, and a paper bearing an appropriate description. The building is magnificent, and contains resources for all tastes. There are the following courts:—Egyptian, Grecian, Roman; the Alhambra, Assyrian, Byzantine, German-Gothic, English, French, and Italian-Gothic; Renaissance, Elizabethan, Italian; Mediæval, Pompeian, English, and German modern sculpture; French and Italian modern sculpture;—all filled with interesting specimens and copies. Besides, there is an historical portrait and painting gallery; an industrial department; a natural history collection; and galleries devoted to the sale or exhibition of manufactured articles. The display of waterworks at the Crystal Palace surpasses those of Versailles. The terraces are constructed in the Italian style, and are laid out on a very extensive scale. There is a broad walk, which extends the whole length of the building. At each end are immense towers, 250 feet in height; with tanks on the top of each, to hold 1,200 tons of water, which supply all required about the place. The water comes from an artesian well, 500 feet in depth. In the pleasure grounds is the rosarium, or mount of roses; and the island lakes, on which are erected life-size models of antediluvian animals and reptiles. A library and reading-room, and lectures, are connected with the palace; which, aiming at the education of the masses, has, at any rate, provided all classes of her majesty's subjects with innocent and healthful recreation. For musical art it has done much; and its Handel festivals are on a scale of magnificence and perfection hitherto undreamt of. As a place for dining well, and feasting gaily, it has been in great request, as nowhere could the holiday-maker find a purer air, scenery more attractive, or amusements more entertaining. It has been patronised by as many as 80,000 or 90,000 persons in one day; and, as long as it stands, will be the daily resort of all Londoners, and of all who come to London. Its aims are lofty; in some respects they have been disappointed: but no one can deny but that the Crystal Palace has had a most beneficial effect upon the manners and customs of the age.

In 1856 government permitted a military band to play in Kensington Palace gardens, to the great indignation of the religious public, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who protested against the innovation. Lord Palmerston's reply was as follows:—"I concurred in the arrangements for performances by the military bands in Kensington Gardens, and in the parks, for a couple of hours on Sunday

afternoon, after divine service, because I thought that those arrangements would afford the inhabitants of the metropolis innocent intellectual recreation, combined with fresh air and healthy exercise, and such recreation did not seem to me to be at variance with the soundest and purest sentiments of religion. Such was my opinion, and such is my opinion; for I have heard nothing, on the part of those who object to these arrangements, which has altered my view of the matter. But I find, from your lordship's letter, and from representations which have reached me from other quarters, that a great number of persons, whose opinions are entitled to respect, look upon the matter from a different point of view; and entertain, in regard to it, strong opinions, widely different from my own.

"In this state of things, I am naturally led to ask myself, whether the advantage to be gained by a continuance of the musical performances, is sufficiently great to compensate for the evil of running counter to the religious feelings of a large body of the community? And to that question there can be but one answer—namely, that it is not. I shall, therefore, in deference to the sentiments expressed by your grace, on your own part and on that of others, take steps for discontinuing the bands playing in Kensington Gardens and in the parks on Sundays."

In 1857 the Social Science Association was formed. Its principal promoter was Lord Brougham; but its sittings were attended by all the leading philanthropists, and many of the legislators of the day. Already it has produced a great amount of practical good.

One of the most favourable signs of these latter times, is the system of working-men's industrial exhibitions, which has been developed to a considerable extent. Of these, the principal was the South-London Exhibition, in the Westminster Road. The exhibition managers consisted of the committee of the Surrey Chapel Southwark Mission for the Education of the Working Classes, and the working-men's committee of the Hawkstone Hall Sunday evening services, under the presidency of the Rev. Newman Hall. The exhibitors were reminded that the exhibition was an experiment, to be mainly conducted by themselves. All exhibited articles were to be brought, shown, and removed at the exhibitor's expense, the committee finding the space and stands requisite for their purpose. Each exhibitor received a free pass for his personal use, the public being admitted on payment of twopence each; children under twelve being charged half price. The price of the season tickets was fixed at sixpence each. The articles exhibited were divided into nine classes—useful, ingenious, ornamental, scientific, artistic, literary, amusing, curious, and miscellaneous. The number of exhibitors was 144, including representatives of the following occupations and trades:—Carpenters, chimney-sweeps, shopmen, postmen, whitesmiths, cabinet-makers, printers, joiners, ironfounders, modellers, labourers, engineers, potters, stone-sawyers, coppersmiths, brushmakers, tailors, bookbinders, seamen, paper-makers, glaziers, electrotypists, upholsterers, shoemakers, engineers, gardeners, boat-builders, cork-cutters, and others. In the first class, that of useful articles, a chimney-sweep exhibited an improved water-filter; while a painter displayed some anti-garotting cravats. Amongst the articles of an ingenious nature, was a buttonhole-cutting machine, made by a smith; a tablecloth cover, containing 4,700 diamond-shaped pieces, made by a potman; and a silk shawl, made by an "evangelist." In the ornamental and scientific classes several objects of much interest were displayed, including specimens of the electrotypist's art, a shoemaker's upright bench, a hydrogen gas-lamp of novel construction, models of steam-engines, designs for model cottages, and a mahogany portable lever copying-press. In the artistic and literary classes, the specimens were more numerous than meritorious. A hairdresser exhibited a series of plaster models, including Moses breaking the tablets, and other ambitious attempts. Several exhibitors displayed sketches in oil, water-colours, and pencil, chiefly copies from the large pictures in the *Illustrated London News* and the *British Workman*; while two seamen contributed Berlin-wool-work representations, neatly worked by themselves, of ships, and other nautical objects. The opening

ceremony, with which the exhibition was inaugurated, was presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury; and at the close of the exhibition, it was felt that its results had been beneficial, and that, altogether, it was a great success.

In another quarter, the example thus wisely set was followed. In the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 the working classes were chiefly represented by their employers, who devoted their capital to the production of the best specimens of skilled workmanship, and received the honours awarded, without any material prejudice to the interests of the actual producers. In the regulations of the various exhibitions which followed, both in Great Britain and on the continent, the same principle was naturally adopted. It is clear, therefore, that although working-men were not excluded from these displays as exhibitors, the expenses attendant upon producing objects worthy to be placed in competition with those of the capitalists, prevented their availing themselves of that privilege, and that, consequently, it was left to the working classes to do justice to themselves in this respect.

"The idea of holding an exhibition in the north of London," writes Mr. J. F. Wilson, the historian of the North-London Working Classes Exhibition, "first suggested itself to Mr. J. J. Watts, whose connection with several philanthropic institutions in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, led him to select that locality for its centre of operation. The small, but successful, exhibition of amateur productions which had been held at Lambeth in the spring of 1864, had proved that the working classes were not only able to furnish an interesting display, but that they were willing to support it by paying a small fee for admission. This, therefore, was considered a sufficient inducement to imitate the commendable example of South London; and a private meeting of a few personal friends of Mr. Watts, resulted in a determination to carry out the scheme. Had the original intention of confining the exhibition to amateur productions of the inhabitants of Clerkenwell been maintained, and its management conducted, as at first intimated by the committee connected with the Lamb and Flag Ragged Schools, it would have differed in no material point from its Lambeth predecessor; but the willingness of several working-men to take the matter up on independent grounds, to accept the labour of its management, and to take the responsibility of its success, caused the proposal to assume a character of its own, and at once alienated it from purely philanthropic association. In April, 1864, accordingly, a committee was selected to form the North-London Working-Man's Industrial Exhibition, consisting of objects manufactured by the exhibitors, either as specimens of skilled workmanship, or examples of self-taught handicraft. The Agricultural Hall was secured. A guarantee fund was raised, Mr. Samuel Morley becoming voluntarily responsible for £100, and Miss Burdett Coutts for the sum of £50. As adjudicators, the committee were fortunate in securing the valuable assistance of P. Le Neve Foster, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Arts, through whose influence the following gentlemen accepted the responsibility of awarding the prize certificates—viz., Thomas Winckworth, Esq.; D. K. Clark, Esq., C.E.; George Wilson, Esq.; J. Nicholay, Esq.; Peter Graham, Esq., and M. Digby Wyatt, Esq. The total number of exhibitors who applied for space within the given time was 868, contributing about 3,000 different articles; and these, with very few exceptions, were deposited in their places before the opening. Other applications, however, were subsequently received; and, in most cases, the objects offered were accepted, but under the condition that no right to prize awards could be claimed on the part of the exhibitors. The ceremonial opening of the exhibition took place on the 17th of October, at three o'clock. At that hour, Earl Russell having taken the chair, the ceremonial commenced by the choir, under the direction of Mr. R. Gleson Wesley, singing the 100th Psalm. Mr. Watts, the hon. secretary, then read a report, descriptive of the history and progress of the exhibition. The noble chairman, accompanied by a select party, then proceeded to inspect the contents of the exhibition; and, on his return, his lordship delivered a short introductory address. On the noble earl resuming his seat, an original ode, written for the occasion, was sung, the solo

parts being taken by Miss Louisa Pyne, Miss Leffler, Mr. Elliot Galer, and Mr. Lewis Thomas, who tendered their services gratuitously. The inaugural prayer was offered up by the Rev. Robert Maguire. The national anthem was then sung by the choir; and, after a vote of thanks had been passed to his lordship for his attendance, Earl Russell made a short speech in reply, and then retired. The vast hall was crowded with visitors during the evening, the majority being of the working classes. There were nearly 6,000 persons present. And this happily continued: to the last the interest in the undertaking was maintained. According to the rules, passed at a public meeting, the exhibition was to have been opened on Mondays and Wednesdays, from ten till five o'clock; and on Saturdays, from ten till three o'clock, admission sixpence: and every evening, except Saturday, from seven till ten; and on Saturday, from five to ten, admission twopence; children, half price. At the time this rule was made, no idea was entertained that the exhibition would prove of so attractive a character, or that so large a building would be engaged for the purpose; still less that vast crowds of visitors would seek admission to it. Before the opening, however, the executive received such unmistakable evidence of the interest taken in the movement, as to demand their extending the time mentioned in the rule; and it was, therefore, announced to be open daily for a fortnight, from nine till five, at sixpence; and from seven till ten, at twopence."

During the first week 62,412 persons entered the building, exclusive of exhibitors and others, who possessed free admission, or attended in the execution of duty. Of these, the majority belonged to the class for whom the exhibition was specially intended; and who, of course, were admitted after seven in the evening. At nine o'clock each night, the hall became so crowded, that the doors were closed; and on Wednesday, the 19th, it was estimated that no less than 5,000 persons were waiting for admission in the streets, when the building was declared to be full.

The unexpected influx of visitors in the evening, forced upon the attention of the executive some method of affording amusement to those who were unable, from the crowded state of the hall, to inspect the exhibition. The services of several choral societies having been gratuitously tendered to the committee, a large orchestra being situated at one end of the building, and an unoccupied gallery surrounding the hall, no difficulty was experienced in at once organising a series of musical performances; and these, while they in no way impeded the inspection of the articles, had the desired effect of drawing away into the galleries a very large number of persons, who otherwise would have very inconveniently crowded the area beneath.

It was anticipated that, after the exhibition had been open a few days, the number of visitors would decrease; and it was hoped that this might, to some extent, be the case, in order that the working-men and their families, who could not attend during the day without making pecuniary sacrifice, might have an opportunity of examining the objects in the evening. Experience, however, proved this to be an illusion, for on Monday, the 17th, a week after its opening, the attendance rose to 17,635; and, on the following Thursday, to 22,002, the highest number; the total for the second week being nearly 100,000.

Under these circumstances it was determined to keep the exhibition open for another week, although the time originally fixed for its closing had expired; but having fulfilled the obligation involved in the rules, of admitting the public for a fortnight at 2d. in the evening, the committee felt justified, with numerous applications, to increase the price of admission. During the last week, therefore, the exhibition was open from nine in the morning until ten in the evening, at a uniform fee of 6d. No less than 34,705 persons were thus admitted, making, altogether, a total of 196,926. It is pleasing to be able to record that not the slightest disorder took place during the entire period of the exhibition. The objects were protected chiefly by voluntary aid from members of the local committee, supplemented by a few policemen, whose presence was rather a precautionary than necessary element in the arrangements.

One of the most interesting sights which the exhibition afforded was witnessed on Wednesday evening, October 19th, when 1,500 children belonging to the Band of Hope Temperance Societies occupied the orchestra, and sang a selection of characteristic songs, under the direction of Mr. Hosier. This demonstration gave such satisfaction, and so many persons were prevented from obtaining admission on the occasion, that it was repeated on Tuesday, November 1.

On Thursday, October 27th, a concert, by the members of the Tonic Sol-Fa Association, took place, under the direction of Mr. Sarl; on Wednesday, November 2nd, a similar entertainment was given, under the leadership of Mr. W. S. Young; and on Saturday, November 5th, Mr. Jennings' choir gave a select vocal concert. Offers were also accepted from Mr. Henken and others, who contributed to the musical arrangements on a lesser scale. Performances upon the organ were given, at different periods, by Dr. Wesley, Miss Stirling, Mr. Prout, Mr. De Solla, Mr. Dean (of St. Olave's), Mr. Davies, and Mr. Tunstall; in addition to which the following bands were in attendance at various periods during the exhibition:—The Royal Victoria Volunteers, the N Division of Police, 39th Middlesex Volunteers, the Central London Rifle Rangers (40th Middlesex), and the 3rd City of London Volunteers.

Of the character of the articles exhibited it is needless to speak. Here, as at Lambeth, was evident the incongruity which existed between the trades of most of the exhibitors, and the character of the works they contributed. Most of the men, it seemed, took refuge from toil in something wholly remote from their daily work. Thus, a hide-splitter sent crayon drawings; an operative chemist, heraldic ones; a compositor, models of steam-boats; a bookbinder, a gun-spring. It appeared that a police-sergeant and a letter-sorter were artists; a clerk was a geographer; a bell-founder was an architect; a barometer-maker turned tailor; and a tailor turned barometer-maker; a second letter-carrier wrote plays; a boot-maker dealt with saucepans; a chaff-cutter turned painter—so did a working smith and a messenger; a solicitor's clerk proposed to colour tobacco-pipes without smoking; a hair-dresser sent a statue, larger than life, of Lady Macbeth; a sailor did needlework; a tailor designed railway tunnels, and made beautiful embroidery; a goldsmith formed beautiful instruments, and designed dog-carts; one soldier produced a counterpane, another a pin-cushion; a barge builder, stuffed birds; a ground labourer executed a table-cloth; a coffee-shop-keeper designed a steel-plated battle-ram; and so on. The number of persons who had love enough for their proper craft, was, of course, very great; and some of their propositions indicated great ability. In this respect, especially, were the post-office servants remarkable. Other persons contributed articles which must have taken a great amount of time and toil to produce. Of this class was a piece of needlework, which was the result of twenty-one years of work. Another illustration of this was a tea-caddy, in more than 2,000 pieces; and the model of a gun in 1,000 pieces. One person sent pictures as the results of early rising; but there were hosts of things valueless, except in so far as they delighted their makers. One thing, adds the *Athenæum* critic, painfully strikes the student of human nature—i.e., the great number of plans, displaying considerable ability, and, in some cases, indomitable patience, which, from the circumstance of their whole service being forestalled by other inventors, are but sheer waste to mankind. It is painful to know, in these cases, that as, day after day, their makers wrought unconquerably, scores of men passed their doors in silence, who could have told them how vain was their labour. The same critic adds—“The lover of art who looks for its progress in the increased knowledge of the people, will rejoice to see how drawing has occupied the leisure of so many scores of men and women, of all crafts and trades. Carpenters, firemen, porters, gas-fitters, butlers, pork-butchers, hatters, boot-makers, bookbinders, and others, all draw; and some draw well.”

The financial success of the experiment was very great. The cost of fitting-up the hall amounted to £200; rent, £545; gas, £197; printing, £219; superintendence, police, firemen and attendants (exclusive of committee), £140; advertisements,

£90; bill-posting, £72; public meetings, £20; expenses attending musical arrangements, £133; incidental expenses, including stationery, postage, carriage, &c., £87. The sum taken at the doors, during the nineteen days the exhibition was open, amounted to £2,596 16s. 4d.; of which upwards of £1,000 consisted of copper. There were also several items of profit arising from the sale of catalogues, tickets, &c. The total receipts exceeded the necessary expenditure by about £1,000. Of this sum, about £500 were devoted to the certificates, and the mementoes for exhibitors, including expenses connected with their public distribution. The Earl of Shaftesbury, we may as well state here, was the chairman of the committee of awards.

The exhibition closed on November the 7th, in the evening, when a large number of persons assembled to witness the final public proceedings. The admission was raised to 2s. 6d. and 1s., in order to prevent the space allotted to the visitors from being overcrowded. At seven precisely, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proceeded to the platform, attended by the officers and committee of the exhibition. The proceedings commenced by the choir singing the 100th Psalm; after which the hon. secretary read a brief report of the progress of the exhibition from its opening, and officially announced its pecuniary success. At the conclusion of the report, the ode composed for the opening ceremony was repeated, Madame Louisa Vinning taking the principal solo part. The chairman was then conducted round the building, and inspected as many of the chief objects as possible; during which interval Dr. S. S. Wesley gave a performance on the organ. On the chairman's return to the platform, the Rev. J. W. Fowle, M.A., offered a prayer, and the choir sung the Hallelujah chorus. Mr. Gladstone then rose, amidst loud and continued cheers, and delivered an admirable address. Thanks were voted to Mr. Gladstone for it; the national anthem was sung, and then the exhibition was closed.

The example thus set was speedily followed elsewhere. There was another got up by the Lambeth people, which was completely successful. They were not, however, all successes. That of the London Working Classes Exhibition, held in the Floral Hall, Covent Garden, was a disastrous failure, in spite of the fact that the general character of the exhibition was of a really superior kind. Another failure, though on a minor scale, was that known as the East-London Working Class Exhibition of Arts and Industry, held at the Beaumont Institution, Mile-End. The East-London Working Classes Industrial Exhibition, held in St. Mary's Schools, Whitechapel, was more successful. There were 742 exhibitors; and many of the articles exhibited were of a very superior kind. From the very first this exhibition proved popular with the industrial community; the number of visitors during the time it remained open (twenty-four days) being not less than 20,000. Another successful experiment was the Wandsworth Industrial Exhibition, originated by the working-men of that locality. The number of exhibitors was 135, the majority of their productions being of an artistic nature. Many of the prizes offered in connection with these exhibitions having been gained by children and young persons, the Clerkenwell Juvenile Industrial Exhibition was formed, in St. Paul's School-room, Allen Street, Clerkenwell; no one above the age of nineteen being allowed to exhibit articles, except by special permission. We must also mention here the International Reformatory Exhibition, held in the Agricultural Hall, Islington, under the direction of the committee of the Reformatory and Refuge Union. The comprehensive character of the exhibition is best shown by the following list of some of the articles exhibited:—Woollen and other clothing; also boys' caps, boots, and shoes; clogs and wooden shoes; brooms and brushes of all kinds, and blacking; articles of furniture, and cabinet-making generally; carpenter's, turner's, and wheelwright's work, and wood-chopping; printing, plain and ornamental, and bookbinding; mats and sacks, paper bags, envelopes, and card boxes; models, toys, and games; bricks, &c.; articles in iron; cooper's work; agricultural produce; articles made of straw; spinning and weaving, knitting and

netting-lace, embroidery, and plain and fancy needlework of every description, &c. In the centre of the hall were exhibited several skilfully designed trophies, one of which attracted considerable attention. It consisted of a pyramid of fire-wood, made by the inmates of the Boys' Home, Wandsworth. The pyramid was hollow, and possessed a door, which led to a fair-sized apartment. The number of bundles of fire-wood used in the construction of the edifice was 4,000. A series of workshops was also erected, in which several hundreds of boys and girls worked at their respective trades and occupations. The articles exhibited came from English, Scottish, Irish, Canadian, American, Belgian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Austrian, Russian, and other reformatories; the total number of institutions represented being about 200. Another characteristic exhibition was that which, under the name of the Anglo-French Working Class Exhibition of Skilled Work, was held at the Crystal Palace, during the months of August, September, and October, 1865. It was professedly promoted by a number of working-men in London and Paris, for the purpose "of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of peace between two powerful nations, in a manner at once appropriate and suggestive;" but, somehow or other, the thing was a failure.

The leading towns of England, of course, followed the example of the metropolis. There were important working class industrial exhibitions at Wakefield, Nottingham, Reading, Birmingham, Plymouth, Bristol, Manchester, and other places. The writer of the article on the subject, in the *Companion to the Almanac*, says—"In these the local handicrafts were, upon the whole, adequately represented. At Manchester the exhibition led to the formation of a Workman's Art Association. The Wakefield exhibition was very creditably got up; one of the principal features being the display of woven cloths, which occupied a case seventy-four feet in length. These cloths were the production of Mosley manufacturers, and illustrated a comparatively new branch of textile industry. At Birmingham the number of exhibitors was 753, the majority of whom were handicraftsmen of the town and neighbourhood. At Bristol the number of exhibitors was 696, very many of whom displayed the fruit of their ingenuity in models of yachts and other vessels. As in other exhibitions, there were plenty of examples in which the articles shown were made by individuals engaged in occupations of a distinctly opposite nature. Thus, a woollen draper exhibited a set of skulls and cross-bones, carved in ivory; a policeman, specimens of fancy wool-work; a quarryman, an oil painting; a second policeman, a case of moths and butterflies, collected during his business hours; a shipwright, several specimens of ornamental needlework; and so on, through a somewhat lengthy list. Amongst the ingenious articles was a cask, which would contain 365 different kinds of liquor at any one time without mixing them. This was made by a cooper."

In February, 1865, an attempt of a still higher kind was made by the London operative coachmakers, in the Coachmaker's Hall, Cheapside; and was intended by its originators to develop the wants and aspirations of the times in which they lived. "Education," said they, "has reached most working-men, and assisted them in maintaining a high degree of manipulative skill; they are now desirous of obtaining a more scientific knowledge of the laws and principles which govern their work. The French, German, and Belgian coachmakers, desirous of rivalling the English, have availed themselves largely of the technical schools and schools of design in their respective countries; and they have already much increased their skill in construction, and are approaching as closely in the works of ornamentation and finish. Our English mechanics are equally desirous of improving themselves; and by comparing their own work in its various stages in such exhibitions as the present, and by planning out their work beforehand, as may be seen in the drawings around us, desire to extend their knowledge of the technicalities of their art, and obtain new ground on which to set their foot preparatory to a higher development of their craft." It does not appear, however, that the idea was taken up as the committee desired or hoped. There were less than 140 exhibitors, the majority of

whom belonged to the handicraftsmen class, and who were stimulated to mutual emulation by the offer of prizes, ranging in value from half a guinea to ten guineas, for the best specimen of inventive or professional skill. Although the adjudicators spoke well of the exhibition as a whole, they were compelled to declare that, for several of the prizes, there was no competition; while, in other instances, the articles exhibited were not of sufficient merit to justify the award of the special prizes announced. As in the case of the South and North-London Exhibitions, the weakest portion of the coachmakers' exhibition was that in which some knowledge of ornamental art was necessary to ensure anything like an approach to perfection. "Producing, as they [the operative coachmakers] do," said the adjudicators, one of whom was the Marquis of Lansdowne, "work of the highest qualities as to finish and soundness, apart from ornamentation, they do not exhibit high powers of design, nor any great taste for drawing." In this respect the English operative coach-builder is inferior to his foreign rival, while he surpasses him in all that constitutes mechanical excellence.

Of the general absence of inventiveness conspicuous at these exhibitions, one cause arose from the fact, that the exhibitor had no protection whatever for any invention or mechanical improvement of which he might be the discoverer. This led to the passing, during the parliamentary session of 1865, of what was popularly known as the Workman's Industrial Exhibition Act, whereby that portion of the patent law which refused protection to an inventor who had publicly exhibited any article before it had been patented, was modified, so far as articles displayed in working class industrial exhibitions were concerned. To secure the advantages conferred by this act, it is necessary that the exhibition should be certified by the Board of Trade. The effect of this measure has been to occasion a larger display of inventive power on the part of the exhibitors. At the Birmingham Industrial Exhibition many specimens of inventive genius were exhibited, which, but for the protection afforded by the Industrial Exhibition Act, would never have been publicly displayed.

In his review of the subject, Mr. J. Plummer thus concludes:—"Leaving the inventive element aside, the mechanical models are generally distinguished by an exactness of construction, delicacy of finish, and excellent workmanship, sometimes marvellous. At the Birmingham exhibition, a working jeweller exhibited a penknife and a pair of scissors, each weighing only two grains. Another exhibitor displayed his ingenuity in a well-worn sixpence, which he had drilled from edge to edge without the slightest bulge; while a third artisan showed a miniature watch of the size of a threepenny-piece, weighing only four dwts., and keeping excellent time. It was complete in every respect; and the various parts, mainspring included, were made by the exhibitor, who was occupied for four years with his task. In the North-London Exhibition a weighing machine was shown, which would display the ten-thousandth part of a grain weight; and in other exhibitions, objects equally remarkable for their minuteness and accuracy were not unfrequent. The largest degree of success was, however, achieved in those instances where the exhibitors displayed specimens of their particular handiwork. There they were perfectly at home, and knew what they were about; going far towards supplying a remedy for the grievance complained of by many working people, when they asserted that, in the International Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, the artisan was robbed by the capitalist of his just meed of recognition. At the East-London Exhibition, a case of mathematical instruments, the most perfect and workman-like of the kind, was exhibited by the actual maker; and, in many other instances, journeymen watchmakers, jewellers, shoemakers, opticians, electrotypists, cabinet-makers, masons, sculptors, chasers, painters, decorative artists, gilders, and many more, gave evidence of their unusual proficiency in their respective vocations. This feature of the industrial exhibition system is one which should be encouraged in every possible way, because its tendency is to raise the standard of professional skill amongst the workers."

In 1861, it appears the working-men had applied the co-operative system in as many as 126 towns. The principle of co-operation was as old as society itself; but it is only of late that it has been adopted as the means of benefiting the working classes. The failures of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, in France, gave birth to the *Christian Socialists* in this country, who attempted some plan of the same kind at home. The result was the formation of the Working-Men's Association, and the starting of co-operative stores in the manufacturing districts. In the former the workers are the capitalists; and besides receiving the fixed rate of wages, divide the profits among themselves. In the latter case, the societies are supported by the aid of capital, subscribed by working-men, who receive a fixed annual percentage on the amount of capital subscribed; and also share the profits remaining, after the payment of interest, among themselves, in proportion to the amount of purchases made at the stores. The history of a few will best describe the greatness of some of these undertakings.

Let us take the case of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative and Provision Society, originated in Leeds in 1847, by a few working-men, in consequence of the high price of flour, and the excessive adulterations practised by the sellers of it. The capital was raised by means of shares of 21s. each—no member being allowed to possess more than one share; but after a while, an increase of capital being required, the value of the shares was increased to 50s. each. The society purchased their own premises; and now deal in grocery, drapery, and other articles. Within a circuit of twenty miles, they have forty-three agents for the sale of the society's flour. The number of shareholders is now about 4,000. They had, in 1860, twelve branch agencies, all described as flourishing. How the society has grown and prospered appears from the following facts:—In 1847, the funds were £969 16s. 3½d.; the business done amounted to £5,000 2s. 5d.; and the profits £43 15s. 7½d. In 1860, the business done was £49,208 13s. 6d.; and the profits were £2,693 3s. 3d. The goods are sold by means of tin tickets, used for the purpose of verifying the amount of purchases made by each customer, and for the sake of dispensing with the unprofitable labour of making several thousand entries in the shop's books. These tickets are of various sizes, and are stamped with figures, representing various sums of money. "A customer," writes Mr. John Plummer, "purchasing goods to the amount of 1s. 11½d., would receive three tin tickets, representing the sums of one shilling, eleven pence, and a halfpenny. These tickets are preserved by the customer; so that, at the end of each quarter, the amount of purchases can be ascertained, and the dividend paid on presenting the tickets at the office. Several of the societies divide the profit amongst *all* the customers, whether shareholders or not; but many do otherwise, and exclude non-members from any participation in the profits."

The chief of all these societies is, however, that known as "The Rochdale Equitable Pioneer Co-operative System." No incident in the industrial history of any community has proved more successful or more characteristic than this attempt, on the part of a few Lancashire operatives, to better their condition. The aims of the society appear to be—the social and intellectual advancement of its members; the providing them with groceries, butcher's meat, drapery goods, clothing, shoes, clogs, &c.; and affording a safe and profitable investment for the savings of working-men, who are allowed 5 per cent. on all money invested in paid-up shares. The society commenced with a capital of £28: in the year 1860, its business had increased to the enormous extent of £152,063. Its gradual rise is thus described in its almanac for 1860:—"Fifteen years have now passed since the thought occurred to a few labouring men of Rochdale, that it might be possible to better their social condition by joining together, for the purpose of purchasing in a wholesale market, the various commodities which were needed for consumption in their several families. Simple and humble as was the thought, many difficulties lay in the way of its execution. First, the want of means, as they were all poor men, most of them in the deepest poverty, consequent upon a strike respecting wages, from

which they were just emerging, and for which they had been soliciting assistance from the shopkeepers of the neighbourhood. It was the slenderness of this assistance which gave impetus to the energy with which the idea was first put in practice. Another difficulty was prejudice, a great deal of which existed in the minds of most working-men, as to the practicability of provision stores being managed by the working classes with any profit to themselves. The prejudice was strong at the time; for it was still warm in the recollection of many, that several stores had failed, and that their affairs had been left in the hands of a few, to wind up at a considerable loss. Besides these difficulties, there was the opposition they were certain to encounter from the shopkeeping class, seeing that they would necessarily be losers by the success of these co-operators. But no great cause ever suffered, in the end, by having difficulties to overcome, and opposition to contend with. And so these men, being determined to succeed, overcame the first difficulty by subscribing their pence till they amounted to pounds; and kept on subscribing till their pounds were sufficient to warrant them in commencing operations. They overcame the second difficulty by agreeing that all their business should be transacted for ready money only, both in buying and selling; so that, on the one hand, no member could be a debtor to the society; while, on the other, none but a member could be a creditor. With these conditions no difficulty was experienced in getting men to take the management of affairs, as there was then no risk in the matter. As for the last difficulty mentioned—namely, the opposition of the shopkeepers—they have been battling with it successfully all along, from the commencement.”

Mr. Plummer, who visited the establishment in 1861, says—“The upper part of the warehouse is used as store-rooms, excepting the top floor, which has a separate entrance from the street, and is fitted up as a library and reading-room; and possesses a pair of large globes, a telescope, microscope, &c.” He adds—“The society’s library deserves to be specially mentioned, because its formation reflects the highest degree of credit on those to whom was entrusted the onerous task of selecting the requisite works. It is most gratifying to find that their choice has been influenced by so much good taste and sound judgment, as is evidenced by the list of works which appear in the general catalogue. I particularly observed that, under the general head of History and Biography, were to be found the several works of Alison, Bancroft, Boswell, Palgrave, Leitch Ritchie, Carlyle, Barrow, Chambers, Thackeray, Knight, Goethe, Hallam, Lord Mahon, Craik, Macaulay, &c. In fiction occurred the novels of Scott, Dickens, James, Cooper, Bulwer, Thackeray, &c.; while, in geography, they had obtained every procurable standard work. Amongst the books classed under the somewhat lengthy title, ‘Mental, Moral, and Social Philosophy, and Political Economy,’ they possessed the writings of John Stuart Mill, Chalmers, Eisdell, Martineau, Foster, Grey, Humboldt, C. Knight, Newman, &c. Their inherent love of poetry was shown by the names of Burns, Elliot, Massey, Blomfield, Hood, Coleridge, Moore, Hogg, Miss Mitford, Mackay, Longfellow, Bayley, Shakespeare, &c. Nor were the local poets forgotten, for they possessed the works of John Cutchley Prince, S. Bamford, John Bolton, Rogerson, Charles Swain, and others. Under similar headings were to be found the writings of Lord Brougham, and other distinguished authors; the whole forming an aggregate of 5,000 volumes. The reading-room contained most of the best periodicals of the day—such as *Once a Week*, *Chambers’ Journal*, *All the Year Round*, *London Review*, amongst the weeklies; and *Frazer’s Magazine*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, *Temple Bar*, *Macmillan*, amongst the monthlies; whilst the tables were well supplied with the *Times*, *Morning Star*, *Manchester Examiner*, *Manchester Guardian*, and other daily and weekly metropolitan and provincial newspapers. Several members were busily engaged in reading as I entered the room, and they appeared to take great interest in the articles which they were perusing.”

The success of this great society led, in 1854, to the formation of the Rochdale

Co-operative Manufacturing Company; and to that of the Rochdale Co-operative Land and Building Company. The Rochdale co-operators have presented their town with an extremely elegant marble drinking fountain, and have made handsome donations to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, the Rochdale Dispensary, and the Manchester Infirmary. They also possess a "Provident, Sick, and Burial Society," and a Turkish Bath Company.

We cannot stop here to give further particulars of these co-operative societies. It was estimated in May, 1861, by Dr. John Watts, that, up to that time, the registration of such companies would cover a capital of one million and a-half sterling; exclusive of the "Manchester Cotton Company, Limited," whose capital is one million. Besides the above-mentioned associations, others have been recently started, such as the "Preston Co-operative Spinning and Weaving Company;" "Colne Co-operative Spinning and Weaving Company;" "Lancashire Co-operative Spinning and Weaving Company;" "Calliard's Manufacturing Flannel Company;" "Trades' Newspaper Company;" the "London Building Company;" "High Wycombe Co-operative Chair Manufacturing Company." There are also many new stores, several on a very large scale, lately opened in various parts of the kingdom.

The success, and increasing magnitude, of these co-operative societies, has led many of the soundest disciples of political economy to believe, that in co-operation will at length be found the means of reconciling the interests of labour and capital.

Mr. William Chambers states, that "it seems almost as if we had got hold of that for which philanthropists had hitherto been blindly groping, and saw a solution of those difficult problems, in the relationship of capital and labour, that had long perplexed writers on social economies; that solution being the more valuable that it is in the course of being spiritedly wrought out by the co-operative body themselves." Such, also, seems to be the opinion of the late Recorder Hill, John Stuart Mill, and others. It will not do, however, to be too sanguine on this head. There are dangers to which the principle of association is peculiarly exposed—dangers which can only be avoided by skill and care. Amongst the co-operative societies already formed there have been many grievous failures—failures which should teach wisdom to the managers of more prosperous associations.

The legislature, willing to encourage these enterprises, so far as they seemed sound, in 1862, passed an act which superseded all the others. By this last-named statute, any seven or greater number of partners may form themselves into an industrial or provident society, for the carrying on of any labour, trade, or handicraft, wholesale or retail, except banking, mining, and one or two others, which are provided for by other statutes. The members must draw up full and explicit rules for their guidance, which rules are to be submitted to the registrar of friendly societies. If he approves of them he gives a certificate of registration, which constitutes the society a body corporate, with a common seal, and limited liability. No member is to hold a greater interest than £200 in the society: the organisation is midway, in character, between joint-stock companies and friendly societies. They may be either manufacturing or trading—may either make or supply, buy and sell. In practice, however, says Mr. George Dodd, the members confine themselves almost wholly to the latter class of operations. Hardly any of them keep factories or workshops. Perhaps they are right, for it is a serious thing to conduct a large manufacturing establishment, in which either a committee must manage what they do not understand, or must be dependent on the skill, honesty, and energy of a manager employed by them. Still it can be done, and is done for their co-operative cotton-mills in Lancashire, and woollen-mills in Yorkshire; but, at present, the operatives are confined almost wholly to buying and selling grocery, chandlery, bread, flour, meat, drapery, shoes, hats, and other necessities for the families of working-men. Some of the societies deal in

bread and flour only; others, flour only; several, drapery only; while a few embrace within their range all the miscellaneous odds and ends of a huckster's shop—treacle and tape, needles and nutmegs, lucifers and laces, pins, pens, candles, &c. It appears, from a return presented to the House of Commons in May, 1864, that no less than 381 industrial and provident societies were registered, in England and Wales, in 1863. At the end of that year there were 108,588 members of societies, the assets of which were £793,500, and the liabilities £227,009—evidence, this, of the sound manner in which they are carried on. It is evident, where the members are so connected with each other by local interests, there is little temptation to reckless trading; and that the societies offer to their members advantages of the greatest importance. It seems to us that, in this way, rather than in trades' unions, or societies of Odd Fellows and Foresters, that the true amelioration of the state of the working classes in this country will be effected. Thus becoming capitalists and employers of labour themselves, they will learn that even the capitalist and the master has his rights and interests; and that there are mutual obligations resting upon all, whether master or man.

We have now to consider the progress made in philanthropy during Lord Palmerston's career. To draw a faithful picture of the crime and pauperism which are making such fearful havoc in our land, and, at the same time, to paint in true colours the generous efforts of a whole nation; to attenuate their evil results, and lighten their perils, is, in such a work as the present, an impossible task. In our day, the aim of philanthropists is fourfold. To adopt and educate those unfortunate children who, abandoned by their natural protectors, are thrown friendless on the world; to ameliorate the public health by the prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors; to improve the habitations of the working classes—for which latter aim a distinguished American merchant presented the city of London with no less munificent a sum than £250,000; to evolve and carry into execution a penal system combining the reformation with the punishment of the offender. The annual amount of thefts in the United Kingdom is estimated at £5,200,000. Another alarming fact is, that there are above 2,000,000 children who receive no instruction, primary or industrial. Yet philanthropy has been very hard at work these many years; although it is chiefly since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 that the great efforts of social reformers have been made. In the good old times there was very little of public benevolence. The church failed in its duty—statesmen and landlords were oblivious of theirs; thus crime grew up, and became rampant in our midst.

George III. was a narrow-minded man; but he was, in some respects, a well-meaning king, and took a real interest in the welfare of the poor. When Mr. Raikes, the philanthropic printer of Gloucester, had successfully carried out his plan for improving the moral and religious condition of the poor by means of Sunday-schools, the king not only took a deep interest in its success, but Mr. Raikes was invited to Windsor, where, in a long interview with the queen, he explained the objects he had in view, and the principles on which he acted. "It happened," writes Mr. Jesse, in his *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George the Third*, "that one of his most zealous and active followers in this work was the once celebrated Sarah Trimmer, between whom and the royal family some kind of acquaintance already existed. She was the daughter of the late ingenious Josiah Kirby, who, from the humble position of a house-painter, in a village in Suffolk, had raised himself to be an artist of no mean reputation. Some of his drawings had the good fortune to attract the attention of the then powerful favourite Bute, who, to his credit, obtained for him the appointment of clerk of the works at Kew Palace, where he had the honour of instructing the queen in the art of drawing in perspective. Kirby, at this time (1786), was no more; but his daughter, Mrs. Trimmer, was residing at Brentford, on the opposite side of the river to Kew, where she was actively employed in superintending the Sunday and industrial schools, which she had been the principal means of establishing. She

was easy of access, therefore, to the king and queen, with the latter of whom she appears to have been more especially in communication. "I have this day," writes the benevolent lady, in her journal, "had the unexpected honour of attending her majesty; and had inexpressible pleasure in her sensible, humane, and truly Christian conversation. May her pious designs of establishing Sunday-schools at Windsor be put in execution!" Again, Mrs. Trimmer writes to a friend—"Some time last autumn I received a message from the queen, desiring me to attend her at a certain hour; and I accordingly waited on her majesty, who received me with the most condescending kindness: told me she had heard of the success of the schools under my inspection; and being very anxious for their establishment at Windsor, desired to have information from me on the subject. I was honoured with a conference. It is impossible to do justice to the charming manner in which the queen expressed the most benevolent sentiments, and the tenderest regard for the happiness of the poor." The king himself, on one occasion, visited the School of Industry at Brentford, where we find him winning the hearts of the children by his kind and condescending behaviour. "A general joy prevails," writes Mrs. Trimmer, "among the conductors of Sunday-schools."

"About this time, also," writes Mr. Jesse, "we find the king taking an active interest in the benevolent exertions of John Howard, to ameliorate the abuses of prison discipline; receiving the philanthropist at a private interview at Windsor, and subsequently heading a subscription for erecting a statue in his honour. This homage to his virtues was modestly declined by Howard, with his majesty's full approval. 'Howard,' said the king, 'wants no statue; his virtues will live when every statue has crumbled into dust.'"

The impulse thus given rapidly grew and strengthened. Bell and Lancaster lived to promote popular education. Mrs. Fry took up the cause of the prisons and the prisoners. The great attack of cholera, in 1849, led to the formation of sanitary associations, and the study of the laws of health. Mrs. Chisholm, in 1856, we find very active in the promotion of her family emigration scheme, whereby people starving here were to be transported to peace and plenty in Australia. The peace congresses, under the superintendence of Joseph Sturge, we find also increasingly popular, until the breaking-out of the Russian war, when the cause relapsed into insignificance, henceforth to do little more than keep an official or two harmlessly busy. The same remark applies to the Society for the Abolition of the Punishment of Death. Societies of all kinds for bettering the condition of poor humanity, were warmly supported by the press and the people of this country. The voluntary principle was resorted to. There was often a pleasing rivalry between churchmen and dissenters, as to which should do most good, and secure the largest amount of trophies in their respective neighbourhoods. Reformatory schools were found especially valuable. At the end of 1857, there were fifty of these certified schools in England, and twenty-two in Scotland. It was felt that they helped the children to form habits of application and industry. At Redhill, the agricultural operations of the year 1857 produced a net profit of £300. People's parks were also, at this time, inaugurated on a grand scale; and museums, and libraries, and schools of art sustained. The friends of religion began to hold special services in theatres and public halls, in order to teach the public at large. Indeed, everywhere life and activity were the order of the day.

In 1858 the Social Science Association met, under the presidency of Lord Russell.

In April, 1859, about 200 ministers of the gospel, in London and the vicinity, preached sermons in favour of the early closing of shops, with the view of allowing additional time for further mental improvement to the assistants; and the same month saw the erection of the first public drinking fountain in London, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain Association, at the

expense of Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P. In 1860, a public meeting on early closing, with reference to the volunteer movement, was held at St. James's Hall.

Public attention was drawn to flogging in the army in September of the same year, in consequence of the frequency and severity of punishments of this nature at Woolwich. A man named Dames was flogged nearly to death; and the agitation created in consequence amongst the people led to a modification of the rules of military discipline, which was announced in an order of the commander-in-chief in November.

A county meeting was held in the Shire Hall, Worcester, in the above year, to consider the best method of improving the system of hiring agricultural servants. Lord Lyttleton, the lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, presided; and the meeting was addressed by Sir. J. Pakington, Mr. Bull (a tenant farmer), Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, the Hon. F. Lygon, and other magistrates. Resolutions were adopted in condemnation of the system of hiring servants at statute fairs and shops; and in favour of establishing a system of registration in districts, with a central office at Worcester.

In 1862, an effort was organised to grapple with what is called the social evil. In February a midnight meeting was called at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, at which about 300 prostitutes attended, by invitation; and, after being supplied with tea and coffee, were addressed by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel. Several ministers, and other gentlemen, took part in the proceedings. Similar meetings were held at intervals throughout the year. The result, according to a statement put forth in August, being, that twenty-six young women were restored to their friends, one of them having been sent to New York; eighteen had been placed in service; four had married; two had emigrated; one was reconciled to her husband; one employed as a folder, in the warehouse of a printer; one established in business; and ninety-one placed in homes or asylums. The average ages of the young women thus received was twenty-two years.

The temperance question had been ardently advocated since the days of Father Mathew. In London the National Temperance League was a very powerful body. In 1859, there was an overflowing meeting at Exeter Hall, on the occasion of a body of teetotallers being formed into societies called lodges, under the designation of the Sons of the Phoenix; the leading features of the organisation being those of benefit societies. The assembly was addressed by working-men, one from each society or lodge. Then there was the United Kingdom Alliance, for the suppression of the liquor traffic, holding its head-quarters at Manchester, under the superintendence of Sir. W. Trevelyan; and, in Scotland, there was the Scottish Temperance League, ably carried on, having a large constituency, publishing much excellent literature, and doing an immense amount of good.

The shoe-black societies had their origin in 1851, when a meeting was held at the Field Lane Ragged School, for the purpose of devising plans for the employment of Ragged School boys in cleaning knives and shoes in private houses, when the expected influx of strangers should visit the metropolis on account of the Great Exhibition of that year. Three gentlemen were returning home from that meeting, when, on crossing Holborn Hill, near Chancery Lane, it occurred to one of them that shoe-blackening in the public streets might furnish suitable employment for many of the boys. A committee of seven gentlemen, all of the legal profession, was formed; and on the 31st of March, 1851, five boys were stationed at selected posts—the first taking up his position in Trafalgar Square, and inaugurating the scheme by polishing the boots of one of the committee.

Lord Palmerston added to the points of controversy, with regard to ragged and reformatory schools, by his legislation on the subject in 1854. The act passed in that year, known as Lord Palmerston's Act, empowers judges and magistrates, in the case of any child found guilty of an offence which subjects it to fourteen days' imprisonment at least, to commit such child, after the expiration of its sentence, to any reformatory which shall have been duly certified by the inspector of prisons,

for a term of not less than two, nor more than five, years. Strong objection has been urged to this enactment, so far as relates to the sending the child to prison before being sent to the reformatories, on account of the likelihood there is that the prison will be to him a school for crime; and that even a fortnight's companionship with his seniors in crime, will make him worse than he was when he entered. On the other hand, the directors of the Redhill Reformatory strongly recommend that, in every case, the juvenile offender should receive an amount of previous punishment proportioned to the offence of which he had been guilty.

Another legislative effort must be glanced at here. So great were the moral and physical ills arising from the use of children of tender years in certain trades and manufactures, that, in 1833, an act was passed, prohibiting their employment under nine years of age in certain classes of factories; and forbidding those under thirteen years of age from working full time. In 1844, the act had been found so beneficial that it was extended and amended, the age of short-timers being reduced from nine to eight years. A few years afterwards, the principal features of the Factories' Regulation Act were embodied in a measure intended for the relief of children and females employed in bleaching and dyeing-works; and which also afforded Mr. Roebuck an opportunity of delivering, in the House of Commons, one of the most effective speeches he ever uttered there. This speech, in some degree, prepared the way for the movement which led to the appointment, in February, 1862, of a royal commission, for the purpose of inquiring into "the employment of children and young persons in trades and manufactures not already regulated by law." The first report of the committee was published in 1863, and contained much information of a valuable and interesting nature respecting the condition of the children employed in the pottery, lucifer-match, percussion-cap, paper-staining, lace, and hosiery manufactures; and in the local trades, known as fustian-cutting, finishing, &c.; besides a large amount of evidence with regard to the systematic violation of the law relating to the employment of climbing boys by chimney-sweepers. The details in the commissioners' report revealed the existence of a terrible state of things, so far as the mental and physical condition of the children employed in several of those trades are concerned. Actually, in the hosiery manufacture, one of the witnesses examined was Edwin Hadden, aged *four years!* It would appear that the majority of children employed thus early in the various trades and manufactures, are the offspring of intemperate and improvident parents; and that their employment is, of course with some exceptions, less the result of poverty than of misconduct on the part of the parents, who frequently expend more money weekly in intoxicating liquors than they obtain from the labour of their children. Mr. James Edwards, earthenware manufacturer, of Fenton, says—"Were it not for the number of beer-houses, many parents, who now waste their earnings in drink, would have plenty of money to keep their children at home and at school, without having to send them to work." Mr. John Plummer adds—"This statement is applicable to the majority of the trades, as I can testify from my own personal knowledge."

The fact to which we have just alluded has attracted considerable attention. It was felt that what the working-man wanted was not the Mechanics' Institute, with its careful exclusion of politics and theology; nor the beer-shop, with its demoralising associations; but a place where he could have a comfortable smoke and chat: in short, a working-man's club. One gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Solly, who had long pondered the matter in his mind, read a paper on the subject in 1861, at the Dublin social science congress. It appeared that, in 1860, he had got the Mayor of Lancaster to meet several of the representatives of the Mechanics' Institute and the Local Temperance Society at the Town Hall, out of which conference a public meeting originated, resulting in the formation of a Working-Men's Mutual Improvement and Recreation Benefit Society. The idea, which had also previously occurred to others, was speedily taken up; and, in 1862, during the

social science congress in London, Lord Brougham consented to take the chair at a preliminary meeting, and then the Working-Men's Club and Institute Union was launched into existence.

One of the most remarkable of these clubs is the Westminster Working-Man's Club and Reading-room, Duck Lane, opened in December, 1860, and originated by Miss Adeline Cooper. The club building was enlarged in December, 1861; but the cost of its erection and fittings was less than £460. The house contains a large room on the ground-floor, for coffee, smoking, conversation, draughts, newspapers, &c.; a small room for the store-keeper, fitted up with cupboards, cottage stove, &c.; with offices; and the upper floor is divided into two rooms by a movable partition.

"The history of the club shows a marked progress since its inauguration. A penny bank was started three weeks after the club was opened; a loan society in July, 1861; a temperance society, with a sick fund for members, in January, 1862; and a barrow club in the following October. The club has classes for instruction in reading, writing, and ciphering; Bible and singing classes; and arrangements are made for lectures on interesting and scientific subjects. The reading-room is supplied with two daily and eight weekly papers, and seven monthly periodicals. The members belong, generally, to the lowest order of the industrious poor, including many costermongers, crossing-sweepers, and labourers, who are attached to the club as well by its popular form of government (the committee being chosen by the members from their own body), as by the advantages it offers, and the low rate of subscription, which is only one halfpenny per week. There were, at the starting of the club, forty members. The number had, in August, 1862, increased to 270; and the attendance in October following averaged 136, and had averaged, during the summer, above 100. The excellent conduct of the members, to whose management the club was, from the first, entrusted entirely by Miss Cooper, is proved by the harmony, decorum, and good feeling which has constantly prevailed; and by the fact that, since it was opened, not a book, or newspaper even, has ever been taken away. None but working-men are admitted as members.

"Few who are acquainted with the general aspect of working-men's clubs," writes someone in *Good Words*, October, 1866, "would recognise, at first sight, that erected for the costermongers, street hawkers, and others of the poorest class in Westminster. The building would not disgrace the handsomest street in the metropolis. The portion set apart for the club has a general room, thirty-two feet by twenty-four, and thirteen feet high, with a lavatory and other accommodations attached; also a kitchen and library. Over the club-room is a reading-room, thirty-three feet by twenty-four; and also a committee-room and office. In the dwelling-house, which is entered from St. Anne's Lane, there are seventeen single tenements; thirty-eight with two rooms; five with three rooms; let off at 1s. 9d., 3s., and 4s. 6d. a week. The entrance to each tenement is at the back, from stone external galleries. On each landing are two water-closets, a washing sink and a tap, with water laid on to both; also two dust-shafts. Each of the living rooms has one of Nicholson's grates, with oven and boiler; a lock-up larder, and a coal closet. One of the most remarkable features in the building, and, perhaps, the most to be commended, is the washhouse, placed upon the top floor, by which arrangement the inmates of the dwelling-house are not annoyed by the steam from the washing. It is a large and lofty room, with seven coppers and washing-troughs; also two drying-closets, properly fitted up. All the floors in the building are of iron and concrete, boarded over; and the lintels of strong bar iron, no timber being used in the construction; and the stairs are of York stone, built into the walls on both sides; so that, as far as practical, the building is fire-proof. In a portion of the building, forming the angle of Old Pye Street and St. Anne's Lane, is a handsome double-fronted shop, in which the members have established a co-operative store. This also promises to be a success. Including children, there are 242 persons in the dwelling-house; and of these sixty are married couples.

If the integrity or respectability of tenants can be proved by the punctual payment of their rent, and the good order and cleanliness of their abodes, there is little more to be desired in those of the Pye Street model lodging-house. Greater cleanliness than pervaded the whole, at the time of our unexpected visit, we have rarely met with; and, on inquiry of the manager, we found there was not a tenant one week in arrears of rent. Yet the class from which they are taken may be better understood when we state that, among the tenants, we found twenty-six hawkers and costermongers; two grinders; four blind street musicians; two cabmen; two chair-menders; one china-mender; six widows, most of them charwomen; and the rest made up of persons in a similar grade of society. In the club and dwelling-house several collateral societies have been formed. There is a loan society, a temperance sick benefit society, and a barrow club. There is also a penny bank, which is a flourishing institution. Miss Cooper has been more successful than the promoters of model lodging-houses, who exclude the very poor from the benefits of the palatial buildings they erect.

"On Sundays the club is open, and a simple unsectarian religious service is then held; the newspapers, &c., are removed, and tracts and religious publications are placed upon the table. The fundamental rules forbid the use of intoxicating drinks upon the premises, as well as all gambling, betting, and profane language; and although only a minority are total abstainers, experience has proved to them so forcibly that the club works better without these drinks, that though many of them at first wished for their introduction, they are now, to a man, against having them."

It is calculated, that since the establishment of the Institute Union, upwards of seventy-six clubs, representing nearly 17,000 members, have been formed through its agency. They are to be found in all parts of the country; but principally in the metropolis and the northern counties—about thirty-six being situated in London and its neighbourhood; and nearly as many more in the midland and northern districts.

In some of the large towns of the north these clubs have been very successful. The Preston Working-Men's Club numbers 600 members, and embraces the following departments. Instruction, including a news-room, small library, and classes for writing, discussion, elocution, and chess-playing; amusements, including chess, draughts, dominoes, and, above all, a bagatelle-table; physical exercise in a small gymnasium, in a ground adjoining; refreshments, consisting of tea, coffee, soups, pies, &c.; but no intoxicating liquors. At Leeds there are two clubs, one of which possesses a branch for the use of boys and young persons. These two clubs, together with the branch institution, possess 2,500 members, with an average daily attendance of 400. At York, the society is described as a model one—"Not a few of its members were originally public-house frequenters; but found the attractions of their own club preferable to those held out by the beer-shop and gin-palace." The class of men who usually attend these clubs has been described by the secretary of the Southampton Workman's Hall, who states that "the distribution of trades among the first 700 members was as follows:—One-fourth, or 172, were labourers, hawkers, porters, &c.; 109 bricklayers, masons, and carpenters, &c.; 103 boiler-makers and smiths, &c.; sixty-one shoemakers, curriers, &c.; fifty-four engineers and seamen; ninety-nine painters and mechanics, &c.; twenty-six tailors; and the remainder were shopmen, agents, carriers, &c."

In May, 1864, a conference, under the auspices of the Working-Men's Club and Institute, was held at the Whittington Club, London. The Earl of Lichfield, Lord Lytton, John S. Pakington, Esq., and James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., presided; and the questions discussed were as to the means of extending the principles and the character of working-men's clubs. The members of the conference discussed such subjects as the desirability, or otherwise, of the committees being composed wholly of working-men; the admission of non-members; defaulting subscribers; the minimum age of admission; the union of clubs with mechanics' institutes;

funds, payments, &c.; the use of intoxicating liquors, &c. The institute, it must be remembered, does not form clubs, it only undertakes to give advice. It thus defines the object of the society, or club:—"To produce a club and institute, as members of which the working-men of the neighbourhood can enjoy social intercourse and pleasant companionship, coupled with opportunities for mental and moral improvement, recreation, and mutual helpfulness; and further, to give them facilities for carrying on various plans of social improvement, such as co-operative societies, friendly or benefit clubs, mutual improvement societies, trade or building societies, and the like, in the prosecution of which, working-men, at present, are often obliged to resort to public-houses, for the mere want of a better place of meeting." It appears these clubs are not very difficult to form. According to Mr. Solly, "300 men, paying 2*d.* a week, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, can rent a comfortable house to meet in for conversation, business, study, or recreation; and can keep it well supplied with newspapers, games, and books; pay for a house-keeper, coals, gas, &c.; and, in many places, have a yard besides for skittles, quoits, and gymnastic exercises. With a little money help from friends and neighbours they can buy gas-fittings, timber for making tables, benches and partitions; bricks and mortar (if needed here and there), white and colour-wash, or paper-hangings; and they themselves can have the satisfaction of giving, after their day's work, any labour required in fitting-up, altering, or repairing the house, so as to be no more dependent than necessary upon others. A good second-hand piano, and large bagatelle-board, may easily be purchased with a few extra contributions from friends, or a small levy among themselves."

Mr. Sydney Turner is able to report, that "the general progress and condition of the reformatory schools of Great Britain, throughout the year 1865, was very satisfactory. At the close of the year, there were 3,560 boys and 948 girls actually in the schools, and 254 boys and fifty-one girls were on license. The admissions in 1865 were more numerous than in the previous year; the chief increase in England being in Lancashire and the metropolis; and a corresponding advance took place in the commitments of juvenile offenders to prison. The lower classes, especially of Irish labourers, emigrate in such numbers to those two great centres of employment, London and Liverpool, throwing thousands of neglected, untaught children upon the streets for exercise and recreation, that nothing short of a law for compulsory education can fully meet the evil. Much may be, and is, done to lessen the number of commitments in the agricultural districts and ordinary towns, and here and there the mischief may be effectually repressed; but London and the great seaports seem to defy such limited efforts, and the gaol and the reformatory continue filled with children, whom mere neglect and idleness had made first mischievous and then criminal. Still, it is necessary to mark, that since the introduction of the reformatory system, the commitments of juvenile offenders to prison in England have materially declined; averaging 10,750 in the five years ending with Michaelmas 1860, they have fallen to 8,821 in the last five years, and in Scotland from 1,227 to 1,097, and this while adult crime has increased. Mr. Turner considers that the trained, hardened young thief is now a thing of the past, and his professional trainer also; or when met with occasionally, it is a mere travestie of what was once a perilous reality. The mass of juvenile offenders now are petty pilferers, passers of bad money, &c., going wrong from the want of proper training and restraint, rather than members of a professed brotherhood associated to prosecute the art of robbery. The returns from reformatory schools, relating to the young persons discharged, continue to show an average of success of from 70 to 75 per cent. for the boys, and 65 to 70 per cent. for the girls; and this is fully borne out by the returns of the numbers recognised in prisons. The average cost per head, in reformatory schools in 1865, reckoning building outlay and all expenditure, and including profit or loss on the industrial departments, was £18 12*s.* 3*d.* for boys, and £18 17*s.* 2*d.* for girls, in England; in Scotland, £16 5*s.* 5*d.* and £14 14*s.* 11*d.* The amount paid by the Treasury was

£64,619; from county and borough rates, £9,613; recovered from parents, no more than £2,480; subscriptions and legacies, £10,697. To the other class of schools, certified industrial schools (with 2,062 children under detention at the close of the year), 2,548 boys and 1,079 girls have been committed in the past five years; and 1,070 boys and 473 girls have been discharged. There is great difficulty in tracing this vagrant and unsettled class; but it is known that, out of 285 boys and 117 girls discharged and now living, 167 boys and seventy girls are doing well; and thirty-seven boys and seven girls have been convicted, or are of doubtful character. There were in the year, upon an average, nearly 3,000 voluntary inmates and children attending for instruction, and receiving food; and it is considered that if some small assistance could be granted by the Treasury for this class, a large proportion of them might be very cheaply kept from vagrant habits and petty crimes. The majority of the children are very young; the instruction given is chiefly elementary; and the industrial employment of a simple kind, the object being rather to foster habits of labour and attention than to teach any particular trade. The schools are in most cases very economically managed. The Treasury contribution, in 1865, amounted to £19,684; payments from parents and (in Scotland) parochial boards, £1,239; subscriptions, legacies, &c., £20,448. The Industrial Schools' Act expires with the present year. Some useful amendments are proposed in the bill for renewing it." From a careful observation of its operation, Mr. Turner feels justified in saying, that few measures have been adopted by which more good has been effected by simple machinery, or at a lighter public cost.

Mr. Gilbert writes, that "boys turn out quite as well as may be expected—often better. Fully 25 per cent. of those whose friends reside in London, are soon found again in the annals of the police courts. The majority of our young London thieves reside in three localities—Bethnal Green, St. George's, Southwark (at least that portion of it around Kent Street), and the purlieu of Drury Lane. Here they are soon found out by their old associates, and receive from them a cordial welcome, while they are scorned by the industrious and honest. They are now on the verge of manhood, and imitate men in their amusements; and as the public-house, unfortunately, ranks amongst the most favourite of these, they generally date their relapse from it. With those who emigrate the case is far different; with rare exceptions they do well. Of fifty boys, principally from Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, who emigrated to Canada and Australia, not one turned out badly. They are, on the contrary, much liked by the settlers, for their steady habits and superior industry." The agent of the Redhill school in Upper Canada, writes home—"All the boys you have sent me have turned out well, and are in high favour. Send me fifty more, and I will engage to find situations for them in a week." The reports from the Cape of Good Hope, Port Natal, and Australia, are equally favourable. It is both amusing and instructive to read the letters sent by these boys to the secretary and the chaplain of the Redhill schools. Without the slightest obligation to write, except from gratitude, their correspondence is most voluminous, and their letters are filled with thanks, evidently genuine, for the kindness they received during the period of their reformation. One letter contained a very beautiful sentiment. It was from a boy who was deemed irreclaimable. He belonged to a town in the midland districts, and had been six times convicted of robbery from the person; some of the cases presenting features of peculiar atrocity. When first sent to Redhill he appeared as savage a young rascal as could possibly be found. A marked alteration was soon apparent in his behaviour. He became docile and industrious. He was taught the trade of a carpenter, and soon acquired a very considerable amount of skill at his business. In April, 1861, Mr. Walters, for the first time, heard from him. He stated that he liked the country exceedingly. The situation which had been provided for him he had kept since his arrival; and his master and mistress were both very kind to him, and paid him liberal wages; so much so, that he had been enabled to put £50 in the bank. The letter also contained a ten-pound note. Half of the amount he re-

quested might be sent to his sister, who was in bad circumstances; and the remainder he wished to be spent in decorating the chapel school in which he had learned to be an honest man.

In 1861 a new move was made for the poor and deserving. In that year, Miss Louisa Twining founded a society for the establishment of an industrial home for girls, in New Ormond Street, Red Lion Square. This lady was led, thirteen years ago, to visit the sick in the female wards of the workhouse. From the state of things she there witnessed, she felt inclined to do what she could to form a Workhouse Visiting Society; and for this purpose she united with her several other ladies. The knowledge thus acquired led to a desire, on the part of the ladies thus associated, to withdraw from the workhouse contaminations girls of the age of thirteen. The means required for hiring and fitting up a suitable house were easily obtained. Miss Burdett Coutts, the Hon. Mrs. W. Cowper, Miss Goodfellow, Miss Tait, and the Hon. Miss H. Waldegrave, formed the committee of this home; while Miss L. Twining, as the lady superintendent, undertook its direction and daily control. A circular was sent to the different workhouse boards, requesting them to commit girls to the care of the society at the same sum as they cost in the workhouse—*i.e.*, 4s. a week. Of course they took only the best girls, and refused such as had a bad character. The home is not a reformatory, nor is it a school. The girls, while staying in the home, are engaged in needlework and in household duties; and those who are deficient in reading and writing, obtain instruction in these branches every evening. But they are, as a rule, not longer in the home than three or six months; such as stay twelve are the exception. It is not the object of the society to give the girls a complete training as servants, but merely to be a link between orderly workhouse girls and respectable mistresses of the middle class. Whatever is required to make them accomplished servants they must themselves learn in their situations. The home only gives them a little preparatory training. It was, in 1863, sanctioned by a certificate of the Poor-Law Board, under an act of parliament; so that any doubt, on the part of the Board of Guardians, as to the legality of their sending girls to it is fully removed. This gives to the home the advantages of a legal position, as well as the inspection and counsel of duly qualified inspectors. It appears other homes have been founded in accordance with Miss Twining's. Rewards are given to the girls who remain in their situations. "It is gratifying," writes Mr. De Liefde, "to read that most of the girls are very conscientious in repaying to the home the expense of their clothes. They also stand in such good reputation that families are anxious to obtain servants from the home. The demands annually amount to 200, a number which far exceeds the power of the society to supply. In 1865, the home cost the society a trifle beyond £702. For this sum forty-nine girls were supported."

The Co-operative Dressmakers' Society also deserves mention. It has been instituted with the view of remedying the sufferings of which dressmakers are often the victims. It is provided that no workwoman shall work more than ten hours a day, and none sleep together with less cubic space than 400—an allowance which, as a French critic says, cannot be deemed excessive, since in Pentonville prison each convict has 800. To avoid the losses entailed by long credit, it is provided that no article shall be sent out without the bill. If the society thrives, it will, undoubtedly, have a beneficial influence in many ways; but, as yet, its operations are on a very limited scale.

Thus, with what philanthropy was doing for the working-men, and with what they were doing for themselves, a great change was being effected in English society. Lord Palmerston had seen the confederacy of the Whig houses to rule England in the name of a puppet king destroyed; he had seen the middle classes admitted to the possession of political power; he had seen the operatives of the mine, and the mill, and the workshop, fitting themselves, nobly and bravely, for its exercise. Such songs as those of Robert Nicholl and Gerald Massey, born of the poorest

and lowest in the social scale, had not been lost on him. Too long, exclaims the latter, in his *Voice of Freedom*:—

“ Too long have Labour’s nobles knelt
Before exalted rank ;
Within our souls the iron felt ;
We hear our fetters clank :
A glorious voice goes throbbing forth
From millions stirring now,
Who yet, before these gods of earth,
Shall stand with unblest brow.
Your day—our day—of reckoning comes,
Proud lords of land and money ;
Ye shall no longer wreck our homes,
Nor rob us of life’s honey.”

We find Massey, in 1851, thus writing to his brother working-men—
“ Our greatest curse is being our own tyrants. Slavery and tyranny are twins: the slave is only a tyrant in the grub, while a tyrant is nothing more than a developed slave, mounted on the wings of power. It is the despotism we exercise over ourselves which is the dragon that hinders our entering the Hesperides of a better life. Let him no longer babble of liberty who is a slave in his own heart, and a tyrant in his own household. More divine ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity must be born in the souls of pure and earnest men; baptized in the sanctifying tears of their sufferings and aspirations, and welded into the iron of their noble lives.” When working-men were beginning to write and teach in this strain, it was evident, indeed, that a new generation, with new ideas and new arms, had risen up, and that the seed sown by philanthropists and by political reformers had not been in vain.

During the last few years, evangelistic work, both in London and the provinces, has been very largely taken up by ladies, many of whom have become preachers as well as district visitors. The number of ladies who have been engaged in delivering religious addresses at theatres, halls, and other places of public resort throughout the country, is very considerable; and it is said to be continually on the increase. They belong to almost every section of the church—the establishment and the Plymouth brethren furnishing the majority. In regard to the last sect, however, it is understood that a “sister” purchases her freedom to speak only by her expulsion from the brotherhood; and it is said that lately many have very willingly done so. Amongst those who have preached in London, at the Polytechnic, Cavendish Hall, the Marylebone Theatre, and halls in the east-end, the names of Mrs. Thistlethwaite, Miss Grace Hooper, Mrs. Colonel Bell, the Misses Bonnycastle, Mrs. Hollier, and Miss M’Farlane, will be familiar to many of our readers. Mrs. Thistlethwaite is still very popular, and is never advertised to preach without attracting a numerous and very respectable audience. Her efforts were first directed towards the improvement of “English hands and hearts” employed upon the fortifications at Fareham. She was very successful; her efforts were warmly appreciated by the rough people amongst whom she worked; and they presented her with a Bible towards the close of their stay in the neighbourhood. When Mrs. Thistlethwaite appeared at the Polytechnic or in Cavendish Hall, the places were always too small to accommodate the crowds flocking to hear her. Mr. Gladstone, the Marquis of Westminster, and many of the nobility, several times were among her audience; and it was no unusual thing for hundreds to go away, unable to obtain admission. Mrs. Colonel Bell, of Clifton, is also widely known, but more especially in connection with her efforts to circulate the Holy Scriptures. She has preached in the east-end; but her work has been chiefly in the provinces, where at times she performs the duties of a *colporteur*, and sells to the poor, in the market-place and elsewhere, a great number of Bibles. The work of the Misses Bonnycastle in England, Ireland, and especially in France, has been very highly spoken of by those who are well

acquainted with it. In Paris, their efforts among the working classes, and also among the soldiers, were so successful, that they have devoted themselves especially to it upon their return to England. Mrs. Hollier, of Cardiff, has been engaged principally in Gloucestershire and her own neighbourhood, but she has occasionally preached in London with great success. Even those most interested in evangelistic efforts have not always approved of the subjects selected by these lady evangelists for their public ministrations. Millenarianism and the mysteries of prophecy are very popular subjects with them; and, in dwelling upon these, the fair preachers have been as unpractical as an unusually florid fancy could make them. Sometimes, when the gospel message has been simply and tenderly delivered, a millenarian brother has been asked to pray, or "to say a few words," and an end has been put at once to all sober thought and reflection. In their addresses, also, the hearer is made conscious that the preachers feel themselves out of order in what they are doing, and that they cannot justify their own position without showing the weakness of every other. Miss M'Farlane's address, however, at the Polytechnic, was described by a critic as altogether unexceptionable. She addressed an audience which completely filled the large theatre of that institution; and although her sermon was very long, and the day very cold, not one moved until she had concluded. She is a Presbyterian, and comes to London with very good credentials, having been usefully employed as an evangelist in some of the large towns of Scotland. The service which she conducted was of the simplest character. She read very impressively a well-known hymn, and afterwards led off with a well-known tune, in which the congregation joined with great feeling and spirit. Most of those present were of the speaker's own sex, and seemed to belong to the middle class; the few men present belonged principally to the working classes.

England is getting every year to understand more and more the art of being merry and wise. There was a time when an English holiday was a scene of debauch and dissipation, at which decent people stood aghast. Now, when a holiday comes, an excursion is taken, and the citizen is whirled far away from the cares of business and the smoke and dirt of London. He sees nature in all her loveliness—he listens to her music—he learns the lore which she teaches—he is cheered and invigorated by her healthful embrace; and we believe, in spite of all that is said to the contrary by bitter Sabbatarians, who believe in the Jewish preference to the Christian Sabbath, he becomes a better and a more religious man. In this respect London has peculiar advantages. No city in the world has lovelier scenery. On every side it has attractions for the lovers of the picturesque. On every railway trains run from the metropolis to haunts dear to the holiday-maker; and to which they flock by tens of thousands when opportunities occur. From an interesting article which appeared in the *Telegraph*, in April, 1865, we learn that 8,000 booked at Bishopsgate on Good Friday, for the Rye-house and Tottenham, and Epping Forest—a number which would have been doubled had it not been for the unfortunate and unexpected rain, which sadly damped the ardour and tried the patience of the lovers of amusement. On Easter Sunday the number of passengers for short distances from Bishopsgate was 5,500, and on Easter Monday 11,000; while great numbers, in addition, booked from Old Ford and Mile-end. The total increase of holiday traffic on this line, as compared with last year, is 7,300. Hampstead and Highgate are still the resorts of thousands; and then there is the Crystal Palace, always a joy, and delight, and wonder to many a holiday-maker. There is there always something to see. In other directions there are equal attractions. To Windsor and to Hampton Court, the Great Western and South-Western Railways now take twenty times the number of people that formerly visited these royal neighbourhoods; and Easter and Whitsun holidays always swell the traffic of those lines, as of the North-Western and Great Northern. It has been the Brighton Railway which, however, has profited most largely by Easter excursions; the volunteer review having, of course, helped in a very great pro-

portion to increase the business of the line. The number of passengers, apart from volunteers, who booked from London Bridge to Brighton on Good Friday was 2,544; on Sunday it was 2,150; and on the great popular holiday it dropped to 1,404, for the significant reason that many hundreds had availed themselves of the time so liberally given them in the issue of return-tickets, and had gone on Saturday or Sunday. The number of volunteers who went down on the four days preceding Easter Monday was 4,695; and on that day it was 10,775. The evening trains brought back about 11,000; the number of trains run to Brighton on Easter Monday having been thirty-six, and the number from Brighton thirty-two. On Good Friday, the visitors taken to the Crystal Palace by the same railway company, from London Bridge, numbered 20,913; and on Easter Monday, 15,934. Many seem to have preferred the pleasant route to Sydenham-hill by the London Chatham and Dover line, between 5,000 and 6,000 having booked from Blackfriars station alone on Good Friday. This company must have gained immensely by the holiday movement, the first signs of increased activity being felt even before Good Friday, so that many of the trains on Thursday, which at times of no extraordinary excitement would have yielded only £5 or £10, returned sums as high as £150 or £160. The stations were, throughout the day, besieged by watering-place passengers. On Good Friday there were 1,200 excursionists to Ramsgate, Margate, and Dover; and, altogether, 2,500 persons were taken down to those places. The local traffic of the London, Chatham, and Dover line was also very heavy. This temporary increase in the number of travellers over very short distances may be best exemplified by a reference to the Metropolitan Railway, on which, during Easter Monday, 67,000 persons were conveyed to and fro, in 300 trains. These figures are higher than anything since the opening of the little underground line. If to this we add the total of equestrians and pedestrians, the numbers who drive about in carriages of their own or in hired vehicles, and those who travel by omnibus or steam-boat, we shall get some idea of what a London holiday is, and of the extent to which London is benefited by its healthful change.

Perhaps in no clearer way can we realise the vast benefit conferred on humanity by our railways than on the occasion of an annual national holiday. An excursion train breaks in upon the dull monotony of life—gets you into contact with fresh faces and places—rubs off prejudices, and knocks into your head, more or less firmly, new ideas. The mere health question is an important one. How much better looks every man, woman, or child in the city after an excursion into the country, be it only for one day, at a cheap price, and without danger to life or limb! London is taken down into the country. The poorest enjoys what was at one time the peculiar property of the rich and great of the town. We ask, why are these benefits only to be realised on holiday occasions? The time has come when the problem should be solved. The Metropolitan Railway, the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, have already their workmen's trains. So far as the system has begun it has worked well. The next thing to do is to find workmen homes, where they can realise somewhat of the pleasantness of country life. In these days of capital and science, and co-operation, surely the thing can be and must be done. People now are without excuse. The country is within the reach of all. Let the city be filled with warehouses, and workshops, and manufactories; and let the workman, as well as his master, enjoy in his own home, and after labour, the pleasures of a country life.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMMERCE AND TRADE.

IN the earlier part of Lord Palmerston's political career, England was spending her money with a lavish hand. By the time that peace was made, she was in a state of exhaustion. Protection was wanted by men of all classes; and the lesson they all learnt was, that they were the poorer for that protection. As soon as England was won over to free trade, wealth poured in upon the land. At the same time, also, came in abundant supplies of Australian gold; and never was commerce so extended, never was trade so prosperous, never did wealth so rapidly accumulate, as when Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and when Lord Palmerston was Premier.

Next to free trade, the mainspring of this enterprise, of later years, has been mainly due to the limited liability system.

The first germ of it was introduced into English law in 1826, when an act was passed, empowering the crown to confer charters of incorporation on certain trading and other companies, declaring, in the charter, some limit to the liability of the shareholders. Till that time, every shareholder in a concern was liable to his last shilling; and the idea was, that the companies thus exempted were to be especially beneficial to the community. In 1834, an act was passed, enabling the crown to grant letters patent to certain companies; and, for this mode of proceeding, it was urged, "that divers companies associate themselves together for trading, charitable, literary, or other purposes, which it would be inexpedient to incorporate by royal charters, although it would be expedient to confer upon them some privileges incident to corporation." Shareholders' liability was to be limited, not in amount, but in time, and when they had ceased to be shareholders three years. In the same year, a particular statute placed upon an improved basis the conditions for investing small sums in friendly societies, and insuring honesty in their management. In 1836, an act was passed relative to benefit building societies. The shares were not to exceed £100 each; and the payments not to exceed £1 per month. The society was to buy or build houses, and to hold them as mortgages till all the investments were paid up. In 1837, there was a parliamentary inquiry into the question of the introduction of the system of limited liability in partnerships, and more extensively into commercial matters; and the same year an act was passed for enabling the crown to confer certain powers and immunities on trading and other companies, in the form of charters of limited liability. In 1844, a Joint-Stock Companies' Act was passed, to apply to all companies of more than twenty-five members, formed after that date, and not provided with royal charters, letters patent, or acts of incorporation. There was to be provisional registration of all matters relating to the objects and constitution of the society, before even shareholders could be invited to join; and complete registration before actually commencing business. Till then no shares were to be transferred. General meetings, audited accounts, and open proceedings were insisted on for the safety of the shareholders. In the same year, also, another parliamentary committee collected evidence on the limited liability principle; but did not attempt to recommend its adoption. Immediately after this began the railway mania, which impoverished so many of the large class unduly hastening to be rich. It was some time before society recovered from the shock.

We find, at length, the limited liability principle began to be received with a show of favour. In 1851, a committee of the House of Commons examined the subject, and recommended that any person might be empowered to lend money for not less than twelve months, with limited liability, the interest to depend on

the profit of the concern for which the money was used. Nothing, however, was done in the matter till 1853 (excepting the passing of an act for encouraging industrial and provident institutions, with *partial* limitation of liability), when a commission was appointed to investigate the subject. The first thing the commission did was to inquire into the practical working of the limited liability principle in other countries. Seventy-five contradictory answers were received, and the commissioners were puzzled how to act; and divided, in the ratio of five to three, against limited liability. In their report they say—"We have not been able to discover any indication of the want of a sufficient capital for the requirements of trade. The annually increasing wealth of the country, and the difficulty of finding profitable investments for it, seem sufficient guarantees that any adequate amount will always be devoted to any mercantile enterprise that holds out any reasonable prospect of gain, without any forced action upon capital to determine it in that direction; while any such forced action would have a great tendency to induce men to embark in speculative adventures, to an extent that would be dangerous to the interests of the general commerce of the country. However, we find no reason to suppose that the reputation of British merchants, either at home or abroad, would be raised by the establishment of firms trading with limited liability—but the contrary. Many of the opinions in favour of such a system are coupled with a recommendation of more stringent regulations for the prevention of fraud."

The House of Commons appears to have been of a different opinion. In 1854, Mr. Collier brought forward a resolution—"That the law of partnership, which renders every person, who, though not an ostensible partner, shares the profits of a trading concern, liable for the whole of the debts, is unsatisfactory, and should be so far modified as to permit persons to contribute to the capital of such concerns, on terms of sharing their profits without incurring liability beyond a limited amount; and such modification is especially necessary in Ireland, regard being had to the peculiar social and industrial position of that part of the kingdom." The resolution was carried; and, in 1855, was passed the Limited Liability Companies' Act, applicable to companies, and not to partnerships. By its provisions, any joint-stock company, except for banking and insurance, established or to be established under the act of 1854, might obtain a certificate of limited liability upon complying with certain conditions; and any joint-stock company formed on the basis of 1837, or under a private act, might obtain a like privilege in the same way. The word limited is to form the last word in the name of the company. The deed of settlement is to be executed by not less than twenty-five shareholders, holding among them three-fourths of the nominal capital, and having paid up 20 per cent. of the amount. When three-fourths of the capital is lost by unsuccessful trading, the company must wind up; facilities for which are afforded by another act. Down to this date (1855) there had been about 900 companies registered under the Joint-Stock Companies' Act of 1844; but now these, and an enormous number of new ones, availed themselves of the privileges offered them.

In 1856, another act was passed, empowering any seven or more persons to form a joint-stock company, for other purposes than banking or assurance, with permission to decide whether they will be registered with limited or unlimited liability, on compliance with certain conditions; and, by another act afterwards passed, any existing company having unlimited liability may adopt the limited system, with the consent of three-fourths of the shareholders, duly registered, and publicly announced. In 1858, an act was passed declaring that joint-stock banking companies may have limited liability, but not for their issue notes.

By the 1st of December, 1861, 2,141 companies had been thus created. In 1863, 263 companies were formed, with an authorised capital of about one hundred millions sterling. All sorts of enterprises were included in the list—banking, discount, financial, trading, manufacturing, insurance, shipping, hotel, mining, gas,

&c. In 1866, a fresh return was published. During the two years over which it extends, the total number of companies, including mining enterprises, which were brought out and floated, amounted, in England, to nearly 3,000; in Ireland, to eighty-six; in Scotland, to seventy-three. During the last seven months of 1864, the number was 460; in 1865, there were about 1,700; and in the first five months of 1866, about 750. Of unlimited companies there were only eleven. It is probable, therefore, that but for the crisis of May, 1866, which, like a biting north-easter, nipped in the bud so many promising schemes, that year would have witnessed a development of limited enterprise and unlimited folly which would have thrown every previous year into the shade. In the merry month of May, there were no fewer than eighty-two concerns launched; "but then there came a frost, a killing frost," and adventurous promoters were left to mourn over inconstant fortune, and to lament the growth of experience, and the rapid decrease of cash. The variety of schemes to which the public subscribed, or which solicited support, is wonderful. We have the leviathan concerns—the "Credit Foncier and Mobilier;" the "Overend, Gurney, and Co.;" the "Imperial Mercantile Credit;" and others. Then we descend the scale to a "Grand Pump-room Hotel Company," at Bath, with positively seven shares taken by a confiding public; a "Swiss Gardens Company," at Shoreham, also with seven shares subscribed for out of 5,000; a "Family and Servants' Newspaper Company;" a "Bakers' Record and General Advertiser Newspaper Company," whose objects are stated to be, "the publication of a newspaper devoted to the bakers' trade," and whose paid-up capital is given as £122 10s.; a "Great Grimsby Ice Company," and an "Unpickable Lock Company." We have coal, iron, gas, petroleum, wood, cordage, fish, photographic, felt-hat, piano, baking, brewing, manure, tea-growing, and innumerable other concerns. Almost every branch of industry finds a representative. The hotel companies, of course, occupy an important place, and the towns or districts for which their operations are intended are of the most widely diverse characters. It seems to be considered not at all necessary that the demand for accommodation should be urgent and conspicuous. We have associations for removing furniture, for delivering parcels, for sawing wood, for working stone, for "making and selling photogen gas," for building and destroying, for planting and cutting down. There is a magnificent-looking scheme, called the "Omnium Investment Society," with a nominal capital of £2,000,000, for the comprehensive purpose of "discounting, and advancing money on security." The company modestly abstains from giving its address, though it may be presumed the seven persons who have taken 190 shares out of 40,000, know of its whereabouts. There are some concerns, however, of an altogether different stamp. The firm of "John Crossley and Sons," carpet manufacturers, appears as an enterprise in 110,000 shares, of which 105,300 have been *bonâ fide* taken, and the call of £10 paid up on every share—a singular exception to most of the companies that figure in the list. As a rule, all that have a large number of shareholders are in full operation.

In a very few months after Lord Palmerston's death, the fears entertained in many quarters, of the dangers arising from the too rapid and reckless formation of limited liability companies, were realised, and we had a panic, which may serve as a warning, and which will be remembered for many years to come. The law, as it now stands, is responsible for this to a very great extent; and some alteration is imperatively required. The law of limited liability limits the liability of the shareholder to the subscribed amount of his share; the liability of the company to the subscribed amount of its capital. But no provision is made for the relations to exist between the subscribed and the paid proportions of such share capital. Hence the secret of the panic. The public has been alarmed, in many cases needlessly, at its past credulity. The shareholder is alarmed at a responsibility he never till now contemplated. The fears of the one have acted and reacted on those of the other. Speculator and investor, borrower and lender, are equally scared; and, unless the government step forward to the rescue, the soundest names will be

discredited, and the most justifiable businesses ruined, by a distrust which is in many cases chimerical.

The limitation of liability is a sound commercial principle, but limitation should itself be limited on the same basis. The law has omitted to enact such further limitation, and hence the panic.

The defect in the law has been this—viz., that companies have been allowed arbitrarily to fix the limits both of their capital and their credit. The public have accepted such limits implicitly; and the shareholder, so long as times were easy, sacked his exaggerated profits in easy security, and unmindful of the rainy day.

What has been the practice? A company is formed of, say, a million of capital, in 50,000 shares of £20. On each of these shares £4 has been paid, and the company is started on the scale of a capital of £1,000,000, with assets really only to the amount of £200,000; and, strange to say, the public has accepted these companies as good to an amount, if not of the full million, at all events to a proportion much larger than was warranted by the sum paid. The public, for a long time, seem to have gone on trusting companies without analysing the meaning of the word; to have believed small capitalists, when in combination, to be much more solvent than when taken one by one; and to have taken for granted that a man who can pay £4 is good for a further payment of £16. It has never tested the solvency of the shareholders, and has granted to companies a credit which the shareholders individually could never have commanded. "I have myself," says a correspondent of the *Times*, "for some time been alive to the fact, that there are few companies in which there is not a great proportion of shareholders unable to pay calls beyond the small amount usually collected at starting. The proof is this—that there are few companies the shares of which are not depreciated whenever a call is made or anticipated. If the principle of limited liability had been soundly carried out, such could not have been the case. Calls would have measured an increase of business. Shareholders, if solvent, would be glad to invest additional capital in a lucrative concern; and the forfeiture of shares for non-payment of calls would be a really severe penalty.

"It will thus be seen that the panic has been created both by shareholders and the public, who have suddenly hit upon a flaw hitherto overlooked. The public have discovered that limited companies have arrogated a margin of credit to which they were not entitled. Shareholders have awoke to a sense of liability far greater than they at first contemplated as real. Depositors ask for their money, and rouse shareholders by the fear of a call. Shareholders sell their shares at a discount, and stimulate depositors to ask for their money. The question now remains—Where is the remedy? It is impossible to test the solvency of every existing shareholder. It is equally impossible to prevent insolvents purchasing shares at the quotations of the day.

"The answer is this. Make your paid capital so high as to deter all purchasers except *bonâ fide* investors, and reduce the margin of unpaid capital to the limits of legitimate credit.

"I have been told by the manager of one of the soundest of recent companies, that the large margin of unpaid capital is not made use of by his directors beyond a certain limit; that they never intend to make use of it; that it is consequently superfluous, and only tends to frighten the shareholders by a responsibility which possibly may become real.

"His observations entirely bear out my own experience. I believe the exaggerated discrepancy between paid and unpaid capital, while it deludes the public and endangers the shareholder, is perfectly useless to a well-managed company. Honest directors will never accept a credit beyond what they think within their range; and such a credit would be comprised within a much narrower limit of unpaid subscription. In France and in Germany the proportion of paid capital is fixed by law. So should it be fixed in England; if not by law, at least by the good sense of the companies.

"I would, therefore, suggest to the directors of the principal finance companies still extant, that they should immediately reassure their shareholders by taking steps to limit the existing liability on the unpaid portion of the capital. This could be effected by resolutions passed at general meetings, to lower the nominal capital of each company to a sum nearer its actual assets in cash. The shareholders would thus be relieved of an unhealthy liability, and the self-assigned credit of the company would not, I believe, suffer by being straightforwardly reduced from its nominal to its natural dimensions."

We have already referred to some of the panics which have illustrated our commercial history—panics which seem the inseparable result of commercial confidence and commercial enterprise.

The first genuine panic worthy of notice took place in Lord Palmerston's youth. On the 19th of February, 1793, the Bank of England refused to discount the paper of Messrs. Lane, Son, and Fraser. Next morning they stopped payment for a million. A panic seized the whole community; and, before long, a hundred country banks failed. In 1797, there was another severe panic, political rather than commercial. Ireland was the scene of revolt; the Channel fleet in a state of mutiny; and our coasts were threatened with invasion. Then we pass on to the great crash of 1825, of which we have already spoken. The panic of 1830, commonly called Alderman Key's panic, was political, and very ephemeral. In 1837, there was another panic, caused by—first, the joint-stock bank mania in England; secondly, the open credit system in the American trade; and, thirdly, the banking system of the United States. The year 1847 brought with it another panic, occasioned by extravagant railway speculations, and failures in the corn trade. In ten years we had another—the memorable year 1857—when Mr. J. Dennistoun and Co., with numerous agencies in America and Australia, failed for £2,000,000; and when the bank rate of interest was 10 per cent. The total liabilities of British mercantile houses and banks which succumbed, were estimated at £50,000,000. Germany also suffered greatly in consequence of it. In America, the panic, which had preceded ours, may be described as tremendous. "Picture to yourself," writes the *Times*' correspondent from New York, October 14th, 1857, "that immense crowd which assembled to see the Duke of Wellington's funeral procession, all dressed in male attire, and all pressing into Lombard Street; imagine Lombard Street expanded to its length, and every third house a bank, with depositors or bill-holders bent on obtaining gold for their debts, and you will have a real idea of the convulsion of Wall Street yesterday. New York was in a state of convulsion. A financial earthquake was rocking its moneyed institutions to their centre. One fell after another—shock succeeded shock—and, in the panic, no one felt sure that at the day's close anything would be left to tell the tale of the wealth, the commercial credit, and the honour of the mercantile community." Eighteen banks, says Mr. Arthur Locker, fell in two hours. In the interior all business was stopped for a time, by the refusal to take notes, and the impossibility of getting specie. The Mississippi steamers ceased to run, for the crews could not get their wages paid; and, at the city of St. Louis, there lay a line of smokeless funnels, a mile long. The annual state show and cattle fair occurred in that city during the height of the panic; but buyers and sellers could scarce come together, for want of a circulating medium in which they had the slightest confidence.

Of the panic of 1866, it is not within our province to write. We must, however, refer briefly to it, as it was due to the financial companies, which had been floated in 1865, in the most reckless and unprecedented manner. In March, symptoms of coming disaster were apparent. On the Stock Exchange, shares were becoming utterly unsaleable. May opened gloomily, and the failure of the Financial Corporation was announced. It is worth while to pause here for a moment, to point out how unjustly the principle of limited liability has been accused of causing the convulsion of 1866. The firm just spoken of was nominally limited, but practically unlimited. Its nominal capital was £3,000,000.

Its paid-up capital was only £125,170. In other words, the shareholders having only paid up £3 on account of every £100 share, might legally be called upon to pay the other £97, or more than thirty times the amount of the original venture. In such a case, "Limited" becomes a mere snare. Under an unlimited partnership, no man could possibly be worse off. In this state of fear and distrust, when, on the 11th of May, it was announced that Overend, Gurney, and Company (Limited), had suspended payment, with liabilities extending, it was said at the time, to £18,000,000, every one thought the deluge had come at last. The following graphic sketch of the state of the city on the 11th of May, is taken from an interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by M. Wolonski, a distinguished French writer on finance. "That date," he says, "will long be remembered in London. It was a day of distress and terror, and seemed to be the signal of general ruin. No one was sure of himself, or of any one else, the moment it became known that the great house had closed its doors. It was by hundreds of millions that the engagements of that gigantic firm, whose fall made the very ground tremble, were counted. The settlement of a great portion of the commerce of the world is situated in London; the settlement of the commerce of England was concentrated in the city; and the house of Overend, Gurney, and Company, held one of the foremost places among the small number of establishments in whose houses is the settlement of the commerce of the city. For a long time it enjoyed immense credit; it disposed of enormous securities; a renown more than European had multiplied the number of its customers, and augmented the number of the deposits confided to it. Thus the fatal Friday which witnessed the disaster, continues to be popularly known as the 'Overend Friday.'" The crisis of 1866 does not seem to have been caused by over-trading, as was the case in 1857. The foreign trade of the country, although unparalleled in extent, has, for the most part, been conducted on sound legitimate principles. Nor was it caused by mercantile speculation, in the usual acceptation of the term. The cause evidently was, the wider extension of credit, and the foolish lenders. In other words, the shareholders in banks and financial companies have been the chief sufferers. The panic was entirely a financial one; and happily, many of the concocters of the bubbles had suffered as much as their dupes.

There is much of the romance of history in the origin of some of the great private banking-houses still existing in our day—though all more or less threatened with destruction by the giant of joint-stock enterprise. The origin, among others, of the house of Jones, Loyd, and Co., was very curious. Mr. Lewis Loyd, the founder of the house (father of the present Lord Overstone), began his career as a Welsh dissenting minister, in a small chapel at Manchester, the congregation of which included a Mr. Jones, a sort of half-banker, half-manufacturer. In addition to Mr. Jones there was a young Miss Jones, who attended the sermons of the Rev. Mr. Loyd; and, as often happens, the maiden found the orations so eloquent that she fell in love with the preacher. The affection was responded to by the minister; and the two, fearing the purse-proud merchant would never consent to the *mésalliance*, were privately married. Of course, when the affair became known to Mr. Jones, sen. (as it could not fail to do), he was exceedingly angry; but, seeing that things went on pretty comfortably with his daughter, he became reconciled in the end to his reverend son-in-law. Though fond of attending sermons, he did not think preaching a good business; and, after a while, proposed that Mr. Loyd should give up the Welsh dissenting chapel, and enter his counting-house as a partner, under the firm of Jones, Loyd, and Co. Mr. Loyd consented; and, to extend the business, it was subsequently agreed that he should go to London, and establish a bank under the name of the Manchester firm; so that Jones, Loyd, and Co., of Manchester, might draw bills upon Jones, Loyd, and Co., of London; or, as it was facetiously called at the time, "pig upon bacon." It soon turned out that Mr. Lewis Loyd was eminently fitted to be a banker; for his clearness of head, untiring industry, and perfect honesty, proved the foundation of success for the new

establishment. After a very long and honourable career, Mr. Loyd retired from business, being succeeded, as head of the London firm, by his son, Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd, who was subsequently created Lord Overstone. Thus, the falling in love of a young Manchester girl with a Welsh dissenting minister, was the cause of the establishment of an important bank, besides leading to the creation of a new peer of the realm. This bank is now incorporated with the London and Westminster.

The great banking-house of Coutts and Co. arose under circumstances not less striking than those connected with the history of Jones, Loyd, and Co. The father of Mr. Coutts was a merchant of Edinburgh, who had four sons, the two youngest of whom, James and Thomas, were brought up in the paternal counting-house. James, at the age of twenty-five, came to London, and first settled in St. Mary Axe as a Scotch merchant, from which business, however, he subsequently retired to become a banker. He took a house in the Strand, the same in which the firm still exists; and he was joined here, some years after, by his brother Thomas as a partner—the business being carried on under the name of James and Thomas Coutts. James Coutts died early, and Thomas was then left sole proprietor of the bank. His high integrity, joined to a very enterprising spirit, soon gained him many friends, and made him remarkably successful in his business. A characteristic instance, both of his shrewdness and enterprise, is given by Mr. Lawson, in his *History of Banking*. In the early part of his career, Mr. Coutts, anxious to secure the cordial co-operation of the heads of the various banking-houses in London, was in the habit of frequently inviting them to dinner. On one of these occasions, the manager of a city bank, in retailing the news of the day, accidentally remarked that a certain nobleman had applied to his firm for the loan of £30,000, and had been refused. Mr. Coutts listened and said nothing; but the moment his guests had retired, about ten o'clock in the evening, he started off to the house of the nobleman mentioned, and requested the honour of an interview with his lordship the next day. On the following morning the nobleman called at the bank. Mr. Coutts received him with the greatest politeness, and taking thirty £1,000 notes from a drawer, presented them to his lordship. The latter, very agreeably surprised, exclaimed, "But what security am I to give you?" "I shall be satisfied with your lordship's note of hand," was the reply. The I O U was instantly given, with the remark, "I find I shall require for the present only £10,000; I therefore return you £20,000, with which you will be pleased to open an account in my name." The generous—or, as it may more truly be called, exceedingly well-calculated—act of Mr. Coutts was not lost upon the nobleman, who, in addition to paying in, within a few months, £200,000 to his account, the produce of the sale of an estate, recommended several high personages to patronise the bank in the Strand. Among the new clients who did so patronise it was King George III.

Mr. Coutts had not only many friends, but real admirers among the nobility; and was an object of attraction to not a few designing matrons, who would have been but too happy to marry their noble but portionless daughters to the rich banker. These aristocratic matrimonial speculations were somewhat rudely dispelled by the choice which Mr. Coutts made of a wife, in the person of Elizabeth Starkey, a domestic in his brother's service. The union was productive, it is said, of great happiness to the banker; and, though children of a servant, his three daughters married three noblemen—namely, the Marquis of Bute, the Earl of Guildford, and Sir Francis Burdett. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Coutts gave his hand to Miss Mellon, an actress. On this second marriage, both Mr. and Mrs. Coutts were made the constant subjects of unworthy ridicule, which, however, had no other effect than that of strengthening the confidence of the husband in his wife. This confidence was displayed in a remarkable manner in the last will and testament of Mr. Coutts. By this will he left the whole of his fortune, amounting to above £900,000, to his widow for her sole use and benefit, and at her absolute disposal, without the deduction of a single legacy to any other person. Mrs. Coutts subsequently married the Duke of St. Alban's; but, under her

marriage settlement, wisely reserved to herself the whole control of the immense fortune left to her by her first husband. On her death she bequeathed the vast property to the favourite grand-daughter of Mr. Coutts, Miss Angela Burdett—the estimable and beneficent lady, founder of so many churches and schools, who is now well known as Miss Angela Burdett Coutts. Miss A. B. Coutts continues to be the principal proprietor of the old bank in the Strand, the business being conducted for her by trustees, under the old style of Coutts and Co.

The banking-house of Messrs. Barclay and Co. sprang into existence about the same time as that of Coutts; and there are some interesting anecdotes connected with the history of its origin. On the occasion of the state visit of George III. to the city, on the first Lord Mayor's Day after his accession to the throne, there was considerable tumult, and almost a riot, in the great thoroughfare from St. Paul's to the Bank. The shouts of the people, added to the dismal noises made by the creaking of the various signs over the shops—it must be remembered that the numbering of houses did not take place before 1770, the dwellings being distinguished previously by signs, such as the "Leather Bottle" of Messrs. Hoare, the bankers in Fleet Street—caused one of the horses of the king's carriage to become restive, so as to cause imminent danger to the illustrious occupants. In this emergency, a worthy Quaker and linendraper, David Barclay, seeing the royal carriage swaying to and fro in front of his door, just opposite Bow church, and the king and queen seriously alarmed, stepped forth into the street, and addressed George III. "Wilt thee alight, George, and thy wife Charlotte, and come into my house, and see the Lord Mayor's show?" friend Barclay bluntly inquired of the majesty of England. The king, who had, with many of his family, a strong partiality for Quakers (imported, probably, from the Hanoverian plains, where *Herrnhuter* and other sets of "Friends" are rather numerous), condescended to accept the invitation of the worthy linendraper, and went up into the first-floor, over the shop, to see the Lord Mayor's show. The aldermanic cavalcade having passed, David Barclay introduced the whole of his family to the king and queen "George, King of England—Sarah Barclay, my wife; Sarah Barclay, my wife—George, King of England," and so forth. On taking his leave to proceed to Guildhall, his majesty said—"David, let me see thee at St. James's next Wednesday, and bring thy son Robert with thee." David did not care much for the invitation, yet he went westward into the unknown courtly region, to please his guest of the Lord Mayor's show. When making their appearance at the *levée*, David and Robert kept a little in the background; but the king had no sooner espied them, than, throwing aside all restraint of etiquette, he descended from the throne, and, with a hearty shake of the hand, welcomed the linendraper and his son to St. James's. After saying many kind words to both of them, he asked David Barclay what he intended to do with his son Robert: and, without waiting for a reply, exclaimed—"Let him come here, and I will provide him with honourable and profitable employment." The word "profitable" sounded pleasant enough to the ears of David; yet he was too cautious a man to jump into any wild conclusions about courtly honours. Reflecting for a moment, the Quaker, with many apologies, requested permission to refuse the royal offer, adding—"I fear the air of your majesty's Court will not agree with my son." The compliment was by no means a flattering one; yet King George was not offended, but exclaimed, in his peculiar way—"Well, David, well, well; you know best, you know best. But you must not forget to let me see you occasionally at St. James's." How often the linendraper and his son went to St. James's, or whether they went at all, history does not tell: it is highly probable the road from Cheapside to Pall-Mall was not frequently trodden by the two Quakers, father and son. What is certain is, that David Barclay, soon after rejecting the royal offer of honours, established his son Robert as a banker in Lombard Street, in the well-founded expectation that the thousands made in linendrapery would grow into tens and hundreds of thousands in the exercise

of the art of banking. So it happened, indeed; and in the course of time, Robert Barclay, who would have been certainly a bad courtier, became the intelligent founder of one of the most flourishing banking firms of the period.

The mode of conducting the business of banking, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was very different from what it is now-a-days. The banker early attended on 'Change, which was usually over about half-past two o'clock; he then went home to dinner, and not unfrequently to the theatre, and afterwards returned to Lombard Street, to attend to his business, and to finish his correspondence. Late in the day, when all the letters were finished, the parcel was despatched to the post-office, to go by the night mail, leaving London at twelve o'clock. These midnight mails were curiosities, which would astonish a modern Londoner, accustomed to railways, steamers, and express trains of forty miles an hour. The whole correspondence of the British metropolis, involving transactions of perhaps millions in value, was entrusted to a number of ragged little postboys, who carried the letters in pouches slung across the horses' backs.

In 1863, the declared real value of the total imports and exports of merchandise, into and from the United Kingdom, was £444,955,715. In 1864 there was a considerable increase: the value of imports into the United Kingdom had risen from £217,484,024 in 1861, to £248,980,942 in 1863. The whole of this increase had been in colonial produce, the augmentation of which, in the ten years, had been £32,017,710. First in the list of foreign importers, in the place formerly occupied by the United States, stands France; which, in the year 1863, found in the people of Great Britain, customers for the products of her industry to the amount of twenty-four millions sterling, or about a tenth part of the entire total we take from all the countries of the world. Next comes Egypt, which, in the course of a few years, has doubled her import trade with the United Kingdom. Turkey, although she is lower in the list, still continues to make progress. From Japan, the imports more than doubled in 1863, compared with the preceding year. Amongst the remaining countries, the principal of those that present an increase, are China, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Portugal, Denmark, the Philippine Islands, the Argentine Republic, Hungary, Greece, and Hayti. Those showing a decrease are Germany, Russia, Italy, Western Africa, New Canada, and Bolivia.

In 1862 and 1863, it appears, from the Board of Trade returns, the three best customers of Great Britain were India, the United States, and Germany. In the total exports of British and Irish produce, there was an increase of 18 per cent. in 1863, compared with the preceding year. The increase was chiefly due to the largely augmented shipments to British possessions, which took about fifty-one millions of goods, or considerably more than one-third of the sum total of all the exports. In 1864, there was a vast increase of British trade with all the nations of the world. This progress was particularly visible as regards India, the United States, Turkey, and Brazil. In every instance of importance, with the sole exceptions of France, Spain, and Mexico, the amount of British goods exported was larger in 1864. As regards France, the reaction from the rush of trade, consequent on the inauguration of the commercial treaty, appears to be continuous; the British exports thither having been 10 per cent. less in the first six months of 1863 than in the preceding year; while in 1864 they showed a still further diminution of 11 per cent. The five principal articles imported into the United Kingdom, are cotton, iron, wool, tea, and silk. The five principal articles exported, are cotton manufactures, woollen and worsted manufactures, metals, iron and steel, linen manufactures, and haberdashery and millinery. In 1863, the value of imported raw cotton was much larger than that of the exports of manufactured cotton goods. The year 1864 was, in every respect, favourable to trade. The country was tranquil, both at home and abroad; the distress in Lancashire was steadily diminishing; and the harvest was even more plentiful than that of 1863. The exports, accordingly, of British and Irish produce, increased from 146 to 160 millions, showing an increase of nearly fourteen millions, or 9 per cent. The return, indeed,

is not so remarkable as that for the previous year, in which there was an increase of twenty-three millions, or 18 per cent.; but, as the commissioners remark, this extraordinary increase represented, to some extent, a rebound from the depression caused by the American war. In 1860, the British and Irish exports amounted to nearly 136 millions; but, in 1861, they fell at once to 125 millions; and in 1862 they fell again more than another million. If this be taken into account, the increase in the present return will appear even more remarkable than that in the previous return, as an increase on a full, and not on a diminished, amount. Our cotton, woollen, worsted, and linen manufactures provide, as might be expected, the most important elements in this increase. Our exports of foreign and colonial produce, which were not depressed by the calamity of 1860, display the more moderate increase of from fifty to fifty-two millions, or about 4 per cent. Our imports, from which, of course, the materials for this vast stream of exportation are, to a large extent, supplied, show the most extraordinary development of all. They are increasing, say the commissioners, "at a rate which appears almost incredible." In 1863 they showed a rise of twenty-three millions over 1862; and in the succeeding year they again increased by twenty-six millions. Since 1859 they have increased from 179 to nearly 275 millions, or at the rate of nearly twenty millions a year; and as the rate has been increasing the last two years, it would seem that four years more will repeat this astonishing result. Cotton, flax, hemp and jute, tobacco and wool, supply the most important elements in this increase. It is difficult to determine the total proportion of this vast importation which is consumed at home; but it is evident that the general consumption is steadily on the increase, and that, if any article exhibits a decrease, it is either from some temporary cause, or because another is taking its place. Coffee, for instance, shows a small decrease, but only to make way for an increase in chicory and tea; and a small decrease in the year on the consumption of unrefined sugar, had already been converted into a large increase at the date the report was written. The decline during 1864 was simply due to a temporary derangement of the sugar trade, caused by the budget of that year. The stream soon steadied itself, and now flows stronger than ever. The last great feature of these streams of commerce, is the revenue they produce; and if this exhibits a diminution, it is only because we have asked them for less, and not because they had less to give. In point of fact, the less we ask, the more, in proportion, do we receive; and our revenue may be said to be really increasing, though the actual amount of our income is diminished. The customs revenue for 1863 amounted to £23,217,637; and of this we abandoned, principally on the sugar duties, more than a million and a-half; so that all we asked from the customs of 1864, was £21,473,253. Instead of this, however, they have presented us with £22,293,503, or £820,250 beyond what we expected. The same process continued throughout the four following years. Within that time we have relinquished more than six millions of customs' revenue; but of this more than three millions and a-half have been returned to us.

In 1863, there were 10,677 sailing vessels, employing 36,720 men, engaged in the home trade; and 456 steamers, employing 7,095 men. By home trade, it must be remembered, we mean the coasts of the United Kingdom, or ports between the limits of the river Elbe and Brest. In the same year, there were sailing vessels, engaged partly in home, and partly in foreign trade, to the number of 1,720, with 10,831 men; and ninety steam-vessels, with 1,693 men. The number of registered sailing vessels engaged in the foreign trade, with the men employed, exclusive of masters, was, in 1863, 7,360, with 106,100 men. The same year there were employed in the foreign trade, 574 steam-vessels, with 22,288 men. The total number and tonnage of sailing vessels and steamers of the United Kingdom, employed in the home and the foreign trade, inclusive of those engaged partly at home and partly abroad, was, in 1863, 20,877 vessels, 4,795,279 tons, 104,727 men.

The colonies and dependencies of Great Britain embrace about one-third of the surface of the globe, and nearly a fourth of its population. Official returns state

the area of these possessions to be 3,319,649 square miles, or nearly thirty times the extent of the United Kingdom. Of this vast dominion, 933,722 square miles are in India, 1,587,434 in Australia, and 523,162 in North America. The population was, according to the latest return, 144,499,761, or five times the population of the United Kingdom. Of this number, 135,634,244 are the presumed population of British India. The imperial expenditure for the whole of these colonies and dependencies, except the empire of India, amounted to £3,509,465, for the year ending March 31st, 1862. Nearly the whole of the expenditure was incurred for military purposes; the cost of the civil administration not amounting to more than £167,222, or considerably less than one-twentieth part of the whole sum. The total exports of British and Irish produce and manufacture, to the colonies and dependencies of the kingdom, were of the value of £42,245,377 in 1861, of £41,895,039 in 1862, and £50,919,654 in 1863. The total population of these possessions took, per man, 7s. worth of British produce in the year 1863, a sum which we expect to see increased as civilisation is extended, and as peace prevails. We have exploded some fallacies; we have got rid of some erroneous ideas; we have destroyed some restrictions. All the while we were doing this, interested or shortsighted individuals were prophesying evil. We had destroyed the landlords; we were next to ruin the colonies and the shipping interest. So said the Tories all over the land; so said wealthy ship-owners like the late Duncan Dunbar, who had risen from poverty, and left behind him, to go to distant relations, a million and a-half of money. Our new policy has been proved to be the best. The more protection is abandoned, and free trade encouraged, the better is it for all classes and conditions of men—for the colonist abroad, as well as for the manufacturer at home. Englishmen have nothing to fear from the healthful and peaceful revelations of free trade.

As illustrating the enormous extent of our trade and commerce, we add some later returns.

The registrar-general of shipping reports, that, in the year 1865, there were 21,626 British registered vessels (exclusive of river steamers and colonial vessels) employed in the home and foreign trade of the United Kingdom, not reckoning repeated voyages. The tonnage was 5,408,451, and the number of men employed, 197,643. The crews are classified according to capacity, thus—Mates, 24,292; petty officers, 13,546; able seamen, 72,058; ordinary seamen, 19,221; apprentices and boys, 20,063; other persons, 16,241; engineers, 3,178; firemen, 8,724; foreigners, 20,280; Lascars, 40. Comparing these figures with those of the previous year, we find an increase of 113 ships, 199,983 tons, and 1,887 men.

The value of the exports of pig and puddled iron from the United Kingdom has greatly increased of late years. In 1850, the value was £348,074; in 1851, £452,119; in 1852, £557,586; in 1853, £1,056,310; in 1854, £1,244,853; in 1855, £1,072,428; in 1856, £1,385,118; in 1857, £1,609,115; in 1858, £1,084,170; in 1859, £901,927; in 1860, £974,065; in 1861, £1,044,304; in 1862, £1,303,641; in 1863, £1,287,968; in 1864, £1,412,352; and in 1865, £1,591,063. For the first three months of 1866, the value of the pig and puddled iron exported was £298,452, as compared with £252,686 in the corresponding period of 1865, and £256,639 in 1864. The quantities of pig and puddled iron exported, year by year, since 1850, were as follows:—1850, 141,973 tons; 1851, 201,264 tons; 1852, 240,491 tons; 1853, 333,585 tons; 1854, 293,432 tons; 1855, 291,776 tons; 1856, 357,326 tons; 1857, 422,086 tons; 1858, 363,143 tons; 1859, 316,376 tons; 1860, 342,556 tons; 1861, 388,004 tons; 1862, 444,708 tons; 1863, 466,423 tons; 1864, 465,985 tons; 1865, 543,018 tons. For the first three months of 1866, the quantities reached 87,271 tons, as compared with 88,993 tons in the corresponding period of 1865, and 82,925 tons in 1864.

In 1856, the imports of wool into the United Kingdom amounted to 116,211,392 lb. In 1857, the total rose to 129,749,898 lb.; but in 1858 it declined to 126,738,723 lb. In 1859, the imports were 133,284,634 lb.; and in

1860, 148,396,577 lb. In 1861, there was again a check, and the imports receded to 147,172,841 lb. In 1862, there was a great advance, and the receipts rose to 171,943,472 lb. In 1863, there was a further advance to 177,377,664 lb.; in 1864, to 206,473,045 lb.; and in 1865, to 212,206,747 lb. The imports have thus nearly doubled in ten years. The exports of wool have, however, greatly increased during the same period. In 1856, they amounted to 26,679,793 lb.; in 1857, to 36,487,219 lb.; in 1858, to 26,701,542 lb.; in 1859, to 29,106,750 lb.; in 1860, to 30,761,867 lb.; in 1861, to 54,377,104 lb.; in 1862, to 48,076,499 lb.; in 1863, to 63,927,961 lb.; in 1864, to 55,933,739 lb.; and in 1865, to 82,444,930 lb. The excess of the imports over the exports was as follows, in each year:—1856, 89,531,599 lb.; 1857, 93,262,679 lb.; 1858, 100,037,181 lb.; 1859, 104,177,884 lb.; 1860, 117,634,710 lb.; 1861, 92,795,737 lb.; 1862, 123,866,973 lb.; 1863, 113,449,703 lb.; 1864, 150,539,306 lb.; and 1865, 129,761,817 lb.

It appears that the total quantity of cotton imported into the United Kingdom in 1856, was 1,023,886,304 lb.; in 1857, 969,318,896 lb.; in 1858, 1,034,342,176 lb.; in 1859, 1,225,989,072 lb.; in 1860, 1,390,938,752 lb.; in 1861, 1,256,984,736 lb.; in 1862, 523,973,296 lb.; in 1863, 669,583,264 lb.; in 1864, 893,304,720 lb.; and in 1865, 977,978,288 lb. In consequence of the great and general reduction of the European stocks of cotton, the exports of cotton from the United Kingdom have very greatly increased of late, having been—146,660,864 lb. in 1856; 131,927,600 lb. in 1857; 149,609,600 lb. in 1858; 175,143,136 lb. in 1859; 250,339,040 lb. in 1860; 298,287,920 lb. in 1861; 214,714,528 lb. in 1862; 241,352,496 lb. in 1863; 214,702,304 lb. in 1864; and 302,908,928 lb. in 1865. The excess of the imports of cotton over the exports of cotton was thus:—877,225,440 lb. in 1856; 837,391,296 lb. in 1857; 884,732,576 lb. in 1858; 1,050,845,936 lb. in 1859; 1,140,599,712 lb. in 1860; 958,696,816 lb. in 1861; 309,258,768 lb. in 1862; 428,230,768 lb. in 1863; 648,602,416 lb. in 1864; and 675,069,360 lb. in 1865. It was the small increase, in 1866, in the quantity of cotton available for British consumption, which enabled prices to be so well maintained after the termination of the American war. Thus, in 1859, cotton averaged 6·76*d.* per lb.; in 1860, 7·17*d.* per lb.; in 1861, 7·39*d.* per lb.; in 1862, 14·24*d.* per lb.; in 1863, 21·97*d.* per lb.; in 1864, 21·01*d.* per lb.; and in 1865, 16·20*d.* per lb.

As an indication of the wealth of the nation, we may state that, in 1864, the amount of capital invested in railways, shares and loans combined, was £425,719,613, at that time paying, on an average, 4½ per cent. upon the capital engaged in their construction and equipment.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SOCIETY, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

LET us glance briefly at the new generation born and nurtured while Lord Palmerston was running his distinguished career.

It is doubtful whether society had much improved. In the last few years of his life, the *Times* had taken to the discussion of social questions; from which it appeared that wealth and luxury had produced their usual effect, and that the integrity and sternness of principle of an earlier and better day were rare. There were serious controversies, as to anonymas and pretty horse-breakers, admitted into the columns of the *Times*; and Mr. Grantley Berkeley confesses that he had witnessed, on the part of young men, an amount of indecorum which would not have been permitted in his youth.

The *Times*, not very long ago, astonished the public by a fierce attack on tobacco and cigars, and their friends and consumers. The writer evinced an amusing ignorance of the manners and customs of the English. Lord Palmerston was no friend of tobacco. It might have been written at his request; but he was the last man to do anything to make himself unpopular. A good letter on the subject, of course, immediately appeared in reply. The writer, "Nimbus," asked permission to say a word in defence of his favourite vice. "I quite admit," he says, "that the habit of smoking has increased and grown upon the English nation to an immense extent lately; for I am sorry to say that my memory carries me back to a period when the mere act of walking down St. James's Street or Piccadilly, in broad daylight, with a cigar in the mouth, would have cancelled the best reputation in London; whereas now, that cigar is no impediment to the most gracious bow from the haughtiest head, or the sweetest smile from the rosiest mouth. But I also remember that the past generation held him a snob who called St. James's Street anything but 'St. Jeems's Street,' or Rome other than 'Room.' So I maintain that, like these trifles and the hoops of our wives, which are no trifles, smoking is a fashion; and this fashion being adopted by a majority among the males of the kingdom, our iron-plated females have wisely recognised it, as we have done their crinolines, as an accomplished fact. Wisely I say, for they well know that if we have taken up a bad habit we have dropped a worse. Three-bottle men have disappeared. We no longer reel hiccupping and maudlin into the drawing-room after dinner, and we can usually get to bed without assistance. We are no longer Tony Lumpkins in youth, and Squire Westerns in age. We may have lost a certain finikin Frenchified pseudo-politeness of manners; but I think that, on the whole, in spite of their cigars, English gentlemen are as good gentlemen now as ever. Nobody ever smokes in drawing-rooms, or any rooms frequented by ladies. I have travelled much, and smoked much, too, on railways, and I never yet saw smoking obtruded, to the annoyance of other passengers. If railway companies choose to ignore a national want, and do not supply smoking compartments, they cannot complain if the linings of their carriages occasionally give an olfactory contradiction to the stern prohibition hanging above them. Once I confess I did smoke in spite of the strenuous objections of a fellow-passenger; but he had a basket of fish with him. I offered, however, to desist if he threw his fish out of the window; but this he declined to do; so I smoked on. Who shall blame me?"

We have much evidence that the education of the English gentleman is unsatisfactory, and that in too many cases he is a better sportsman or rider than philosopher or student. Physical education is, of course, a great thing; but it is not the end for which man was created. And in the present condition of society, when self-defence is superseded by the protection of the law, perhaps it is of less consequence than at any other time. Our great public schools are expected to do something better than turn out first-rate cricketers, or ardent patrons of the turf. We want men in the higher walks of life—of generous sympathies—of enlightened views—of lofty culture; leaders in reality, as they are socially by position, and wealth and rank. It does not seem that such is the case. Instead, we have effeminate mannikins of the Lord Dundreary class, or fine specimens of animalism of a lower form—of which Mr. Windham is an illustrious type. Our working-men are rapidly becoming intelligent and educated; our middle classes supply us with leading orators and thinkers, and statesmen and divines; but the further we ascend in the scale of society, the more barrenness, intellectually speaking, do we find. Of course, the enervating effects of wealth and rank have much to do with this. At the same time, it must be confessed that not a little of the blame is due to the education given at our public schools. This is more apparent when we recollect the impulse given when a teacher has been found, at a public school, conscious of the peculiar claims of his position, and anxious and able to meet them. No sooner, for instance, had Dr. Arnold remodelled Rugby, than it was at once confessed, even by Dr. Arnold's opponents—for he had many—how much more thoughtful were the

men from Rugby than from other public schools. Even to this day this is manifest. We have only one real statesman amongst the younger portion of the aristocracy at this time—that is Lord Stanley. He was a Rugby boy. This question of public schools is an important one: it concerns the highest and the lowest in the land. The Public Schools Commission have done well in attentively inquiring into the whole matter. In the appendix to the report, the most distinguished men in the universities declared, that the preparation for the university course was imperfectly performed in the great public schools, more especially in the elementary parts of grammar, and in mathematics. Indeed, so imperfect is it, that one-half of the young men are unable to pass their matriculation examination, which is a very simple one. It is also said that their knowledge of the Bible, and of English literature and of arithmetic, is most unsatisfactory. Indeed, it is said that five-sixths of the pupil teachers who received aid from government, were better readers than the men who went up for admission into the universities. The deficiencies of our public schools are great. At Eton, for instance, there is no provision made for the study of English or of French. The head-master, indeed, goes so far as to maintain that the boys should have mastered French previously to going there. The Public Schools Commission appear to have performed their task wisely and well. They sat for three years, and exhibited the most unwearied zeal in eliciting information by every possible means—by printed queries, oral examinations, private letters, and personal visits. They collected thus an immense amount of information, which they have digested with great fairness; and which, in the language of Lord Stanhope, could not but be of signal advantage. Perhaps never was the propriety of the classics being made the leading study in our schools better put. “We are convinced,” write the commissioners, “that the best materials available to Englishmen for these studies are furnished by the language and literature of Greece and Rome. From the regular structure of these languages—from their logical accuracy and expression—from the comparative ease with which their etymology is traced and reduced to general laws—from their severe canons of taste and style—from the very fact that they are dead, and have been handed down to us directly from the periods of their highest perfection, comparatively untouched by the inevitable process of degeneration and decay—they are, beyond all doubt, the finest and most serviceable models we have for the study of language.” Again, they say—“Besides this, it is at least a reasonable opinion that this literature has had a powerful effect in moulding and animating the statesmanship and political life of Englishmen.” It is not, then, of the time devoted to classic literature that we complain. But surely, when a lad, at the age of nineteen, leaves a public school for the university, he ought to be a fair classic; should be able to speak French or German with fluency and correctness; and ought to have some idea of natural science. By all means let English gentlemen be good classics. As Dr. Temple remarks—“Modern literature is not fully intelligible except to those who have studied the classics.” Indeed, we go as far as Mr. J. S. Mill, and assert that classic life contains precisely the true correctives for the chief defects of modern life. But, unfortunately, most of our gentry leave our great public schools as poor classical scholars as they are ignorant of modern languages or of the natural sciences. For gentlemen of leisure, and position, and wealth, no cultivation of the intellect can be too great. It is on their intellectual supremacy that they must depend, if they would guard and preserve their political power. There is no danger of the middle and lower classes not being educated to the best of their ability; they know that knowledge is power; and in spite of the hard struggle of life, and the debasing influence of the search after riches, they will sooner or later attain it. But there is danger to our upper classes lest they forget that it is their privilege to do the state some service—that they abandon their duties—that they sink into sensualists, and thus lower the tone of action and of thought in the community at large. And to this result a low state of education in our public schools would contribute.

Unfortunately, also, middle-class education is very deficient; and hence the taste which has filled London with music-halls, and which has made the Alhambra pay as a place of amusement; while, as a scientific institution, it soon became bankrupt.

It may be asked—Do we degenerate as a race? or is great mechanical and intellectual progress consistent with a state of morality by no means of a progressive order? At the end of her tale of *Lady Audley’s Secret*, Miss Braddon adds a moral drawn from Scripture, and, therefore, to be assumed unquestioningly. She says—“I hope no one will take objection to my story because the end of it leaves the good people all happy and at peace. If my experience of life has not been very long, it has at least been manifold; and I can safely subscribe to that which a mighty king and a great philosopher declared, when he said, that neither the experience of his youth nor of his age had ever shown him the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.” So far, *Lady Audley’s Secret* is a tale of unexceptionable morality; yet the taste which delights even in a truthful picture of feminine rascality and atrocity, is not of the highest or the purest. There was a time when woman, however imperfect in real life—and that she is often sadly imperfect we sorrowfully admit—in the page of the novelist was radiant with every virtue. She was more sinned against than sinning; and the fault was to be laid at the door of her lord and master, man. What an excellent girl was Pamela; how good was Clarissa Harlowe; how virtuous Dr. Primrose’s daughter! Sir Walter Scott’s heroines, if not very clever, or deeply read in science, were good wives and excellent mothers. The lady of the novelist has lost these primitive graces. It may be that the character of the sex has been modified by advancing civilisation; it may be that, as she has become more tenacious of her right, she has become less careful about the commission of wrong. The lady of the modern novel is an enigma; she has no heart; she has every fascination; she is such a one as—

“Idalian Aphrodite, beautiful,
Fresh as the foam new-bathed in Pathian wells,”

and quite as ready for mischief as that same well-known divinity. Perhaps she has rather the advantage of the goddess, as she always dresses remarkably well, and is got up, as the penny-a-liners say, regardless of expense. Of this new theory of woman Miss Braddon has made triumphant use. Mr. Thackeray had a dim perception of the truth; Mr. George Sala saw it more fully; but to Miss Braddon it has been given to develop it in all its entirety. Lady Audley has no redeeming virtue. She begins sinning in the first volume, and does not leave off the bad habit till death finds her unrepentant at Villebrumeuse, where she dies, after a long illness, described as *maladía de languer*. Her character is wonderfully drawn. She is consistent throughout in her unrelenting selfishness, and her power to ruin and fascinate. Bad women, we are told, are worse than bad men. It seems, also, as if we must go to a woman to learn how bad a woman may be. Miss Braddon has thrown her soul into her task; and the result is a masterly performance, and, what common people understand and appreciate better, an extraordinary success. No part of the tale is scamped. Miss Braddon writes with a pre-Raphaelite love of, and eye for, detail; and yet with all the vivacity and freedom of a woman of the world. She never fatigues, nor takes you on one side, to tell you how bad A is, and how good B. We have no stock characters—no bold dragoon, no muscular Christian, nor even a consumptive and deeply interesting curate. To some the absence of these personages may be a serious drawback; but not so will feel the majority: and *Lady Audley’s Secret* had an enormous sale, and is still one of the most popular tales in the market. We do not blame Miss Braddon. Her clear insight into what suits the age, and what it sympathises with, and her remarkable power, which enables her, month after month, and year after year, to supply novels to the public, are not to be made subjects of censure.

There must be the charm of truth about her pages, as well as genius, or their power on the public mind would be limited and evanescent.

The name of Charles Dickens, of course, occupies the first rank among the novelists of the day. His genius is something wonderful; his pathos and humour are exquisite: while his love of all that is good; his deep sympathy with humanity in all its sufferings and trials; his abhorrence of what is false—render his numerous writings most acceptable to all classes and conditions of her majesty's subjects. Every one reads, and every one understands, Charles Dickens. His works are a library in themselves. He commenced with the *Pickwick Papers*, which took the town by storm; they were followed by *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Oliver Twist*, *Barnaby Rudge*, *American Notes for General Circulation*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Dombey and Son*, *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, *Hard Times*, *Little Dorrit*, *Our Mutual Friend*, and Christmas stories innumerable. Mr. Dickens was one of the founders of the guild of literature and art: and as chairman at public charity dinners, is in great request; his speeches, on all such occasions, being generally of the most felicitous character. This popular writer was born at Landport, Portsmouth, February, 1812. His father was a newspaper reporter, and young Dickens gave up the study of the law to follow in his father's steps. His first engagement was on the *True Sun*, then an ultra-liberal paper. He next gained an appointment on the *Morning Chronicle*; and in the columns of the same paper appeared his first work—*Sketches of English Life and Character*, afterwards re-published under the title of *Sketches by Boz*. The first of these sketches was published in the old *Monthly Magazine*. A passenger by the *Britannia*, when Mr. Dickens took his American trip, wrote—"Having crossed the Atlantic in the *Britannia*, with Mr. Dickens, I recollect a few of his observations made to me on the passage. I asked him the origin of the signature "Boz." He said that he had a little brother who used to resemble Moses, in the *Vicar of Wakefield*; that he used to call him Moses also; but a younger girl, who could not then articulate plainly, was in the habit of calling him Bozie, or Boz. This simple and natural occurrence made him assume that name in the first article he risked to the public; and therefore he continued the same, as the first effort was approved of." The *Sketches by Boz* at once attracted considerable attention, and attained great success. Another publisher came to an arrangement with Mr. Dickens, and Seymour, the comic draughtsman; the one to write, and the other to illustrate, a book which should exhibit the adventures of a party of Cockney sportsmen; hence the appearance of the matchless *Pickwick Papers*, a work of which the reader can never tire. After the series had been commenced, poor Seymour committed suicide; and Mr. Hablot K. Browne was selected to continue the illustrations, which he did under the signature of Phiz. Mr. Dickens, in the meantime, had married the daughter of Mr. George Hogarth, an eminent musical composer, and was now on his way to fame and fortune. In 1846 he founded a new morning paper—the *Daily News*—of which he was, for a time, the editor. He organised a large literary staff; he engaged some of the best of the reporters; gathered around him some of the most popular writers of the day: but the paper succeeded so indifferently, that Mr. Dickens retired from his post. He then established *Household Words*, which was a complete success; and in it appeared that admirable little work, his *Child's History of England*. Of late he has principally appeared before the public as reader of his own works, which readings have resulted in immense satisfaction to his hearers, and in great pecuniary gain to himself. In conclusion, we may add, in the words of a cotemporary critic—"Such teeming wealth of invention as we have indicated, not displayed, could only issue from an exuberant vitality, increasing by its own action. In Mr. Dickens this overflowing jovial life shows itself, not alone in literature, but in citizenship. His speeches at public institutions and *soirées*; his aid to social institutions; his researches into the condition of the poor; his theatrical performances—recreations which with others would be labours—all flow from the same exhaustless fount of personal energy. What benevolence has guided his efforts; what generous sym-

pathy he has shown to the literary worker; what manly ground he has taken as to the claims of literature itself, are known to all. As a writer, whether viewed with regard to the number or the truth of his conceptions, it is no hyperbole to call him the Shakespeare of familiar life. As an individual, he has wielded more authority than any previous member of his class, and wielded it for the best ends."

England's chief poet, of course, is Lord Palmerston's county neighbour (for Romsey is but a few miles from the Isle of Wight), Alfred Tennyson. Our age of action, of scheming, and making money, does not seem to be rich in poetical genius. The masters of song have died out, and there are few to take their vacant places. Tennyson was born in the year 1810, in his father's parsonage in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Cambridge, and wrote a lyric poem there. In 1830, he published *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, in his own name, which attracted little attention. In 1842, he came more prominently before the reading world; and though even then he was discouraged by hostile criticism, his growth in public favour has ever since been rapid; and now all the young men and young ladies of the present day swear by Tennyson, as their fathers did by Wordsworth or Scott, Byron, Southey, or Moore. "Tennyson's biography," says a writer in *Men of the Time*, "may be said to be represented by his poems. He has given his life to them. He does not go into society. He has lived alone, or among a few friends, in or near London, for many years; and latterly, since his marriage, in the Isle of Wight. He is understood to be desirous of having this retiring disposition, and dislike of publicity, respected; and what little a curious inquirer might learn of his private life, a right-minded biographer would not be garrulous enough to repeat. This retirement and delicacy, this fastidiousness and sensibility, are apparent in their effect on his works. Care, thought, tenderness, religious sentiment, and brooding meditation are visible therein. He came just in the dead lull which followed the noisy popularity of the great poets of the first half of this century. A new poet with a new manner. He had a prosaic epoch to meet and conquer; could not expect, and did not achieve a hasty fame; hence he had to fall back on his own genius: and circumstances combined with character to make him an elaborate and fastidious artist in expectation. No man more skilfully and curiously labours to perfect his work. He is the most classical man of what has been called the Romantic school. In politics, we believe, he is a Liberal. Besides his salary as laureate, he receives a pension from the crown; but we have understood that this was a kind of compensation for some pecuniary claim which he had on government." In 1847 appeared the *Princess*; in 1850, *In Memoriam*; in 1852, the *Ode* for the funeral of the Duke of Wellington; in 1855, *Maud and other Poems*. Of all the poems here enumerated, *Maud* is, perhaps, from its war-spirit, the one most open to censure. Perhaps no poet, it has been remarked, equals Mr. Tennyson in his sense of rhythm, and the fitness of verbal sounds to ideas and emotions. In the following lines who does not *hear* as well as see:—

"Myriads of rivulets hurrying through the lawn;
The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees."

Or catch the boom of artillery in such a repetition as this—

"Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them volleyed and thundered."

In all his poems similar passages are numerous, testifying to his power to convey feeling and sensation in every page. There is, besides, a delicacy and grace, such as commends itself at once to the most critical, and excites the enthusiasm of the coldest of his readers. Of all modern poets, it may also be said that we have none more thoroughly English—none with a wider range of

power—none abler to seize the traits of outward life, or to clothe human truths with material beauty.

This brings us to the subject of literature. It is by its written thoughts that we can best judge society or an age. Of all works it remains true, that, whatever may have floated upon the wave of time, so as to come within our reach, must have had something in it to keep afloat—that whatever has touched the heart, has stirred the chords of human feeling and human passion, must have had in it something of reality and life. The age may have given it a motley and fantastic garb, euphuism or alliteration; or affected wit or quaint conceit may have disguised: but the fact that it is—that it has not ceased to be when so many other things that were are not—that, when we read it, it makes us feel, in spite of its grotesqueness and antiquity—tells us that these are in it—beauty, vitality, truth. Beneath the gay dress of an harlequin, or the cowl of a monk; beneath the fustian of the peasant, or the purple of the emperor, there is a common humanity stronger than the accidents of rank or fortune. Nothing that my brother has written, or can write—how that heart of his has felt—what it has taken for the beautiful in thought, or the graceful in language—but claims my study and respect. Whatever tells upon the human heart, and modifies the human character, cannot but be worthy of our notice. Whatever one man has looked upon as true, that, though it were scouted before, has henceforth a claim on every heart; and an utterance that, to the best of his ability, every one should seek to understand.

A good deal of interesting information about books has found its way into the newspapers. M. Natoli, minister of public instruction in Italy, has instituted a comparison between the public libraries in Europe, and their contents. He says, that the public libraries of Great Britain contained 1,771,493 volumes, being in the proportion of six volumes to every 100 persons; while in Italy the proportion was 19·5 volumes to every 100 persons. In France there were 4,389,000 volumes, or 11·7 volumes per cent. of population; in Austria, 2,408,000 volumes, or 6·9 volumes per cent. of population; in Prussia, 2,040,450 volumes, or 11·0 volumes per cent. of population; in Russia, 582,090 volumes, or 1·3 volumes per cent. of population; in Bavaria, 1,268,500 volumes, or 26·4 volumes per cent. of population; and in Belgium, 509,100 volumes, or 10·4 volumes per cent. of population. The Italian government is one of the greatest publishers in Europe; and, especially of late, volume after volume, of imposing magnitude, ample margin, and portly type, issues from its press. Official persons, senators, deputies, and others, to whom all these publications are sent, need a set of book-shelves on purpose for their storage. The thing is done in a most liberal way, with a great profusion of paper. It is said that about 6,000,000 francs are annually expended in government printing and publishing. The Americans are crying out about the price of books in that country. The heavy customs' duties on the material that enters into their manufacture; the heavy taxation, in various forms, levied by the internal revenue law; together with the high price of labour there, have made the publishing of books in that country an almost impossible branch of industry. English books, and books printed in England, are now taking the places formerly occupied in booksellers' stores by works of American manufacture. This is a just retribution for the shameless appropriation of English publishers' goods, and English authors' brains, for which the Yankee booksellers have long been notorious. The *Bookseller* says, that 4,204 new books and new editions were published in England in 1865—a much smaller number than we should have supposed. Of these, 849 were religious books and pamphlets; 544 are classed under the head of "Junior Fictions and Children's Books;" and 390 are novels.

From the *Publisher's Circular*, we find that the number of new publications issuing from the press in 1864, was 3,878; falling short, but only to a trifling extent, of that of 1862, which was 3,913.

In history, Mr. Froude has much distinguished himself by his studies and

researches into that of his own land; and his volumes, for interest and literary merit, deserve the highest praise. Mr. Kinglake's *History of the Crimea*, was, perhaps, the most notable book of the year 1863, having rapidly passed through four editions. This work was eagerly expected, and read. Ever since 1856, Mr. Kinglake had had in his hands the whole mass of the papers which Lord Raglan had with him at the time of his death; including the leading military reports of the officers serving under him, his official and private correspondence with sovereigns, ambassadors, ministers, admirals, general functionaries, wild adventurers, and faithful friends. In addition to the knowledge derived from all this invaluable store of material, Mr. Kinglake has been greatly aided by the conversation and correspondence of English statesmen, and eminent soldiers and sailors, on the business of the war—men honourably distinguished by that noble freedom of speech, which rests on the assumption that what is best for England is the truth. He was further aided by Russian sources. Of the literary merit of the work, in spite of its sarcastic tone, there can be no doubt. "The style of composition," writes a critic, "if occasionally diffuse, or tending to monologue, is characteristically fine; the language is lucid and pure, and, if we may say so, rather sculptural than picturesque. There is a sort of placidity in Mr. Kinglake's presentiments of things or persons, that shows an artist-like power of conception as well as of workmanship. Sometimes, as in the description of the Alma, the multiplicity of detail, or of the change in the point of view of the recital, may weaken the effect, or impair the integrity of impression; but, in general, the execution is that of a master in the art of letters." Mr. Grote gave new life to the *History of Ancient Greece*; and Sir Archibald Alison did his best to make Toryism popular. In sacred history a high place must be given to the *History of the Jews*, and of *Latin Christianity*, by the Rev. Henry Milman, Dean of St. Paul's; who, in his earlier years, had gained great repute by his dramatic and poetical works. Nor must we omit the name of Dean Stanley, of Westminster, whose travels in Palestine have lent to his pleasing volumes an additional charm. In that delightful land, half-history, half-biography, our latter literature has been very rich. Amongst the principal contributors to it have been Mr. Hepworth Dixon, editor of the *Athenæum*; Charles Knight; Dr. Hooke, Dean of Chester; G. H. Lewes; Dr. W. Russell, the far-famed correspondent of the *Times*; and John Foster, of the *Examiner* newspaper. Of lady historians, the chief have been Miss Martineau, the advocate of progress; and Miss Strickland, who is a fervent worshipper of the past.

In 1865, Thomas Carlyle, the greatest of our living writers of philosophy and history, concluded his *History of Frederick the Great*. The general opinion of the public was not very favourable to this last effort of the author. It is a great thing, no doubt, that a man of undoubted power should have applied himself to such an important subject as the seven years' war; and should have analysed so marked a character as that of Frederick, the founder of a kingdom which was raised alone, of all the modern states of Europe, on the sole basis of military prowess, without any distinctive nationality: but it was felt that the author of *Sartor Resartus*, of the lives of Schiller and of Sterling, had added nothing to his reputation by his laborious performance. A French work, republished in this country in the same year, also created a very great sensation: we refer to the *Life of Julius Cæsar*, written by the French emperor. This book was brought out with great promise, amidst a thrill of expectation; and Englishmen, though not very partial to emperors, were all eager to see the *Life*. It had a large sale, and was much talked about: the general impression appeared to be, that the illustrious author had added little or nothing to our knowledge; but that he had cleverly vindicated his great uncle, while apologising for the tyranny of the Roman Cæsar. The most popular book of the year was, however, Dr. Livingstone's *Narrative of the Expedition to the Zambesi, and its Tributaries*. The Doctor and his brother Charles, in August, 1859, started from the eastern coast of Africa, and

travelled at first up the river Zambesi and its tributaries; their intended goal being certain lakes, heard of, but never before visited, called Shirwa and Nyassa. Mere geographical discovery, however, is far from being Dr. Livingstone's only aim. He desires to civilise and Christianise the inhabitants, and, if possible, to substitute some lawful and useful commerce, for the profitless and demoralising slave-trade. The year 1865 was remarkable for the sudden rise of a new poetical star—Mr. A. C. Swinburne, whose *Atalanta in Calydon* excited great attention. This has been followed by *Chastelard*, a tragedy, founded on the life of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. Both works have been received with unusual favour, though some faults have been found with his treatment of the latter subject. A critic says—"The power of poetic expression so remarkably displayed in Mr. Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, is not absent from his new work. He still writes with force and beauty, though not without drawbacks of straining and affectation. In a dramatic point of view, too, he shows, up to a certain point, striking qualities." The laureate wreath, however, still rests with Alfred Tennyson, whose subtle and exquisite verse is familiar equally to the statesman, the scholar, and the man of the world. Here, also, we must record the name of Lord Palmerston's friend, Lord Houghton.

Amongst translators Lord Derby holds the lead. His English rendering of Homer was universally admired. His aim seems to have been to give, as simply as possible, a pellucid translation of the original. He has not attempted to produce a rigidly accurate version; nor has he assumed, like Pope, the privilege of a poet, to recast Homer's thoughts in the mould of a poetic imitation. He proposes to be modestly content if "some have recalled to their minds a faint echo of the strains which delighted their earlier days, and recognise some slight trace of the original perfume." He describes his plan of work in the following passage of his preface:—"It has been my aim throughout to produce a translation, and not a paraphrase; not, indeed, such a translation as would satisfy, with regard to each word, the rigid requirements of accurate scholarship, but such as would fairly and honestly give the sense and spirit of every passage and of every line; omitting nothing, and expanding nothing; and adhering, as closely as our language will allow, even to every epithet which is capable of being translated, and which has, in the particular passage, anything of a special and distinctive character."

Of novels the multitude is truly enormous. We have already referred to Miss Braddon, Dickens, and Thackeray: we must add here the names of Wilkie Collins and Anthony Trollope, both of whom seem to possess inexhaustible power. Three ladies also deserve mention—Mrs. Gaskell, author of *Mary Barton*, too soon removed from us; Mrs. Craik, whose *John Halifax* raised her to the first rank of novelists; and Miss Evans, whose *Adam Bede* and *Felix Holt* have been read by tens of thousands. The spirited Irish tales of Lever are also still in great request.

In theology, Dr. Davidson, the Rev. James Martineau, and the Rev. F. D. Maurice, have ably advocated liberal ideas. In these days of free inquiry, when old claims have to be tried at the bar of reason, when men require some firmer ground of belief than the *ipse dixit* of the religious teacher, it is not to be expected that the difficulties of the Old Testament narrative should not arrest the attention of the theological student. That these difficulties have been so often lightly passed over in this country, that they have been evaded rather than fairly met, arises from the unfortunate position in which the clergy of the establishment are placed. On all sides it is admitted that they are sworn to maintain creeds, and articles, and theological formularies, which no man would think of framing at the present day. The layman is thankful that it is no concern of his to reconcile the discrepancies which generally exist between the belief of the priest and the formularies which he has, in a natural or non-natural sense, subscribed. The priest feels it, and his influence with intelligent men is proportionately diminished. Another result is, that every year a lower class of men, as is shown by the Bishop of

Winchester, become clergymen; and another result is, that, in the same proportion, the pulpit of dissent becomes more full of honesty, of talent, and of power. This is not a pleasant state of things for those who believe in the theory of a state church, and who wish to see it embrace, in its extent, the learning and piety of the land. Is there no room for free inquiry? Is the clergyman condemned to a stunted intellectual life? If he devotes himself to theological studies, is he to be censured—to be condemned by bishops, and handed over to the expensive tender mercies of Dr. Lushington? And is he to be driven out from the church he venerates, and given over as little better than one of the wicked? In our day we have seen more than one clergyman of high standing claim for himself that noblest boon of men—the right of free inquiry in matters of religion. Of this class Bishop Colenso is the latest and most illustrious example. This right of free inquiry he has carried out to the fullest extent. How it will affect his status as a church dignitary remains to be seen. That is a question to be settled rather by lawyers than reviewers. But his book, as the great fact of the day, claims attention. It is a contribution to biblical criticism to be chronicled; and it is a book which no one can read without feeling a respect for the piety and honesty of the writer, however the reader may differ from his conclusions. Originally Dr. Colenso was trained to believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible in its fullest sense; and when petty contradictions in it met him, which seemed to conflict with the notion he held of the absolute veracity of every part of Scripture, he deemed the suggestion as one to be stamped out desperately as with an iron heel. Alas! he found no peace in such a course. Nay, more; as a missionary bishop, engaged in translating the Bible into the Zulu tongue, he found his old belief utterly untenable, till, by a stern sense of duty, there was no help for him but to reconsider the whole question of the authenticity of the Pentateuch. “The result of my inquiry,” writes Dr. Colenso, “is this—that I have arrived at the conviction, as painful to myself, at first, as it may be to my readers—though painful now no longer under the clear shining of the light of truth—that the Pentateuch, as a whole, cannot possibly have been written by Moses, or by any one personally acquainted with the facts which it professes to describe; and, further, that the so-called Mosaic narrative, by whomsoever written, and though imparting to us, as I fully believe it does, revelations of the divine will and character, cannot be regarded as *historically true*.” The bishop then proceeds to adduce instances that the books of the Pentateuch contain such remarkable contradictions, and involve such plain impossibilities, that they cannot be regarded as true narratives of actual historical matters of fact. He discusses, for instance, the family of Judah, in the account of which he detects great inconsistencies. Again, he finds that the size of the court of the tabernacle was inadequate to the requirements of the congregation which, according to Leviticus, was there assembled. He maintains that Moses and Joshua could not address all Israel, though the narrative intimates that they did; and that it was improbable that the priests could comply with the command to carry out the ashes of the sacrifice without the camp; that the numbers of the Israelites are contradictory; that the Israelites are described as dwelling in tents, when, in other parts, it is said that they dwelt in booths. Again, he contends that the Israelites could not have left Egypt supplied with armour; that it was impossible that the Passover could be instituted in a single day, as described in Exodus; that they could not have marched up out of Egypt in a single day; that it was impossible they could have kept their sheep and cattle in the wilderness; that the number of the first-born, compared with the number of male adults, is inconsistent with actual births; that, according to the data of the Pentateuch, there could not have been such a number of the people of Israel in Egypt, at the time of the Exodus, as to have furnished 600,000 warriors; that the duties of the priests, at the celebration of the Passover, were such as could not have been performed by the limited number of priests then in office. Again, the war on Midian is narrated, according to the bishop, in a manner involving evident untruth. In the second part the bishop

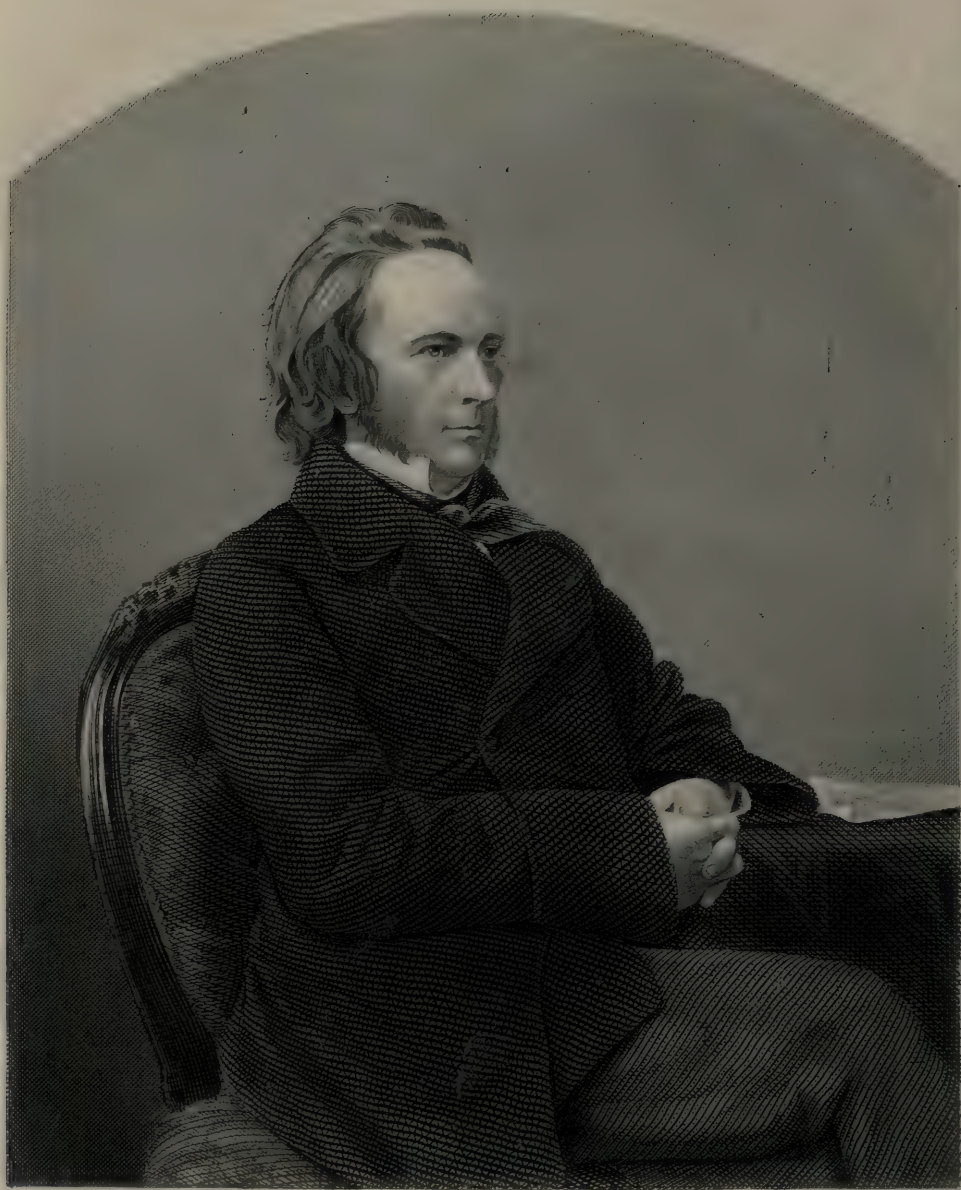
reaches a higher strain of argument. The question is discussed almost entirely on philological grounds. According to him, when we proceed to examine critically the whole book of Genesis, we detect the different hands. One of these writers, it will be found, is distinguished by the constant use of the word "Elohim;" the other by the intermixture with it of the name of "Jehovah." The Elohist was the older of the two writers, and his narrative may have been used by the other as the groundwork upon which he framed his own additions. The bishop arrives at the conclusion, that the Pentateuch, "most probably, originated in a noble effort of an illustrious man, in an early age of the Hebrew history, to train his people in the fear and faith of the living God. For his purpose he appears to have adopted the form of history, based upon the floating legends and traditions of the time; filling up the narrative, we may believe, perhaps to a large extent, where those traditions failed him. In a yet later day, though still, probably, in the same age, and within the same circle of writers, the work thus begun (which was, perhaps, left in a very unfinished state), was taken up, as we suppose, and carried out in a similar spirit by other prophetic or priestly writers. To Samuel, however, we ascribe the Elohist story, which forms the groundwork of the whole." In a third portion of his work, which did not attract much notice, Bishop Colenso argues, that the history, when carefully examined, gives no sign of the Pentateuch itself being in existence in the age of Samuel, David, or Solomon, much less of the Levitical laws being *known, honoured, revered, obeyed, even quoted or referred to*. The book of Deuteronomy is indicated "to have been written in a still later age." Such is a bare outline of Bishop Colenso's opinions—opinions which, he tells us, have been confirmed and strengthened by the criticisms which appeared on his first volume. As to their real value, it is not for us, in these pages, to inquire. If it be that he is a novice in theology, it will be so much the easier for the good bishops who have condemned him, to demonstrate his ignorance and folly.

In mental philosophy, the chief names are those of Sir W. Hamilton, and the Rev. M. Mansel: in natural sciences, Sir David Brewster; Dr. Whewell, the late master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor Faraday; Professor Owen, the great comparative anatomist; Sir John Herschel; Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist; and Mrs. Somerville, far famed for her *Mechanism of the Heavens*, and the *Connection of the Physical Sciences*. In economical science, the first place must be given to John Stuart Mill, M.P., and Herbert Spencer.

A catalogue of periodicals, published by Messrs. Longman at the beginning of the year 1864, gives the number of eighty-one quarterly, 559 monthly, and 254 daily and weekly publications issuing from the London press. Besides these, there are forty-nine *Transactions*, or publications of learned societies and printing clubs; giving a total of 743 metropolitan periodical publications. A small number of works, however, included in this list, are mere serials; that is, works such as cyclopædias, or which it is found convenient to issue in parts, instead of bringing them out in a complete form.

The quarterlies are by far the most important class of periodicals. The *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* take precedence by reason of age; but have to sustain a very formidable competition from their younger rivals. The *British Quarterly Review*, the *Christian Remembrancer*, the *Dublin Review* (the organ of the Roman Catholics), the *Home and Foreign Review*, the *London Review*, the *National Review*, the *North British Review*, and the *Westminster Review*—all aiming to express, with more or less distinction, the opinions of different sects or sections of the community.

The monthly publications—some of them of high literary merit, such as *Blackwood* and *Cornhill*—are very varied in character, price, and aim. More than a score are intended, as their titles indicate, solely for boys and children; and many more certainly do not affect to rise above the level of the meanest capacity. Halfpenny publications are not uncommon among them. The titles of some of them are curious. We find an *Anti-Tobacco Journal*, *Band of Hope*



Review, Band of Brotherhood, British Millennial Harbinger, Cheering Words, Co-operation, Day-star, Dewdrop, Earthen Vessel, Girdle of Truth, Lamp of Love, Last Vial, Pearls from Golden Streams, Progressionist, Rainbow, Sower, Sunbeam, Sunshine, Zion's Trumpet, The Sword and the Trowel, &c., &c. The British workmen and cottagers, the coach-builders and saddlers, the cutlers, the farmers, the paper-makers, and, perhaps, a few other trades, have monthly publications, intended expressly for their improvement or information. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, the Nestor of English periodicals, still survives: law and physic, the army and navy, the voteries of fashion, and the lovers of music, have their several organs. As representative of art, we have the *Art Journal*—a work of very wide circulation, which continues to maintain a high reputation for the excellence of its specimens of engraving. As illustrating a new mania, recently patronised by the large class who have nothing better to do, we may insert here the name of the *Stamp Collectors' Magazine*. Amongst the most popular of the cheap periodicals of the time must be mentioned *Good Words*, edited by Dr. Norman Macleod, one of her majesty's Scottish chaplains; and for which some of the most popular novelists—such as Professor Kingsley and Mrs. Oliphant—write.

The weekly and daily press is an astonishing indication of the mental activity of the times in which we live. The *Daily Telegraph*, price one penny, has a daily circulation of more than 130,000. The *Times* is now reduced to threepence; the *Standard*, the *Morning Star*, are penny papers. The *Daily News*, and its evening edition, the *Express*, for independent and liberal views of politics and parties, may be placed at the head of the class. The *Morning Post*, at one time, was supposed to be the special organ of Lord Palmerston. It was also said that articles from his pen occasionally appeared in the *Globe*.

The *Athenæum* may be considered as the leading literary organ; the old *Literary Gazette*, which, in 1862, assumed the name of *The Parthenon*, having come to an end in 1863, after an existence of forty-six years. The *Critic*, another literary paper of later origin, also expired in that year. A more miscellaneous class of papers—half literary and half political—appears to be chiefly in favour now. Among them, the well-known *Saturday Review* holds the highest place; but the *Examiner*, the *Spectator*, the *Guardian*, the *Economist*, the *Press*, and the *London Review*, maintain a respectable position nevertheless. Six papers entitle themselves illustrated; but such is the progress of wood-engraving, that illustration is the rule rather than the exception. Of the weekly miscellanies of instruction and amusement, *Chambers' Journal*, *All the Year Round*, and *Once a Week*, enjoy extensive popularity. *Punch*, and its young rival *Fun*, aim to be, and often really are, witty and wise. The paper called *Public Opinion*, professes to give, weekly, the cream of the speculations of all the other papers, weekly and daily, upon the most engrossing topics of the day. There are eight weekly publications of which the price is only a halfpenny. *Notes and Queries* is an organ of inter-communication, for literary men, upon curious trifles of literary interest. One very serious and not encouraging sign of the times, is the multiplicity of papers devoted to sporting matters. "It would, indeed," says the writer of the chapter on Literature, in the *Annual Register* for 1863, "be difficult to find any interest which has not its organ: the ladies, the builders, the mechanics, the artisans, the book-sellers, the printers, the grocers, the chemists, the insurers, the masters, the free-masons, the volunteers, the teetotallers, the boys and girls, are all well represented. The *Transactions* and publications of the learned societies form a record of the investigations and discoveries of the most eminent labourers in the various departments of science and art. Of these, in 1863, there were thirty-five issued for public sale, and fourteen distributed to the members of the association alone.

It is little we can find room to say of art. An idea of its state, in 1865, may, however, be gathered from the following extracts from a contemporary critic:—"It may be stated," he says, "that the present exhibition is, upon the whole, the best that any of us can remember. The more complete education of the present

generation of painters is now plainly visible; and we have no longer to deal with a mass of commonplace works, contrasted with a few noble pictures, but to examine attentively the performances of painters who are silently, but rapidly, forming a larger and more consistent school. Even those painters who, like Armitage, Leighton, and Crowe, have been educated abroad, have known how to steer clear of the peculiarities of foreign schools, and to maintain an independence and originality, full of promise for the vigour and stability of our own. They have gained the knowledge acquired by a more severe practice, and apply it, with the force of their English intellects, to the formation of a style that cannot be confounded with any of those now prevalent on the continent; while, at the same time, with a few striking exceptions, we detect no morbid taste for that offensive species of originality which is based on vanity, and displays itself in the exhibition of eccentricities and peculiarities. Surrounded by so many works of excellence, contending against an amount of ability unknown a few years back, it redounds to the credit of most of the academician exhibitors that they have been able so well to hold their own. Landseer, Herbert, Cope, Elmore, Frith, Hook, Poole, Philip, and Stansfield, sustained their well-earned reputation. Millais, John Lewis, and Leighton, lately elevated from the ranks, are, perhaps, the most attractive exhibitors next to Frith, whose pictures, this year, possess an intrinsic interest for the large crowd of sightseers." We must add here the name of Holman Hunt, one of the chief of the pre-Raphaelites. The same critic observes—"Among the younger painters of this year, Mr. S. Solomon, Mr. Burgess, and Mr. G. A. Storey hold the foremost places. The number of landscape-artists on the line was unusually small. Those, however, which were thus honoured, were of more than average merit. The portraits were few in number; but there were some meritorious productions; the names of Knight, Grant, Frith, Boxall, &c., being represented. The architectural drawings were few and far between—a thing easily accounted for when we remember that architects are too busy in the execution of works, to give up much time to the execution of plans." Of sculptors, we have few who deserve remembrance; the chief of them are Messrs. Noble, J. Durham, Mr. Boehm, Mr. and Mrs. Thornycroft, J. Edwards. The popular man for marble statues at this time, whether of princes or heroes, is Mr. Noble. The "Eve at the Fountain" was the *chef-d'œuvre* of E. Bailey. Other distinguished artists are John Bell, the late John Gibson, Lough, McDowell, and Westmacott.

On more than one occasion Lord Palmerston had been a judge in questions of art. He was one of the commissioners present at Gwydir House, Whitehall, July, 1843, when the opinion of that body on the merits of the respective artists contributing to the exhibition of fresco paintings, exhibited in Westminster Hall, was formally pronounced by the selection of six from among their number, whom it had been determined to commission to execute works, on given subjects, for the decoration of the new houses of parliament. The commissioners present were Viscount Palmerston, Lord Mahon, Lord Colborne, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. G. Knight, Mr. Harries, and Mr. Vivian. His royal highness Prince Albert, the president, and the other absent commissioners, having previously recorded their opinion in favour of the artists selected, no difficulty arose from their non-attendance; and some preliminary business having been transacted, the names of the successful competitors were Charles West Cope, John Calcott Horsley, William Dyce, Daniel Maclise, Richard Redgrave, and William Cave Thomas. Mr. Cope had received a first-class prize of £300 for his cartoon of the first "Trial by Jury," in the exhibition of 1843. Mr. Horsley received a second prize of £200, in 1843, for his cartoon of "St. Augustine preaching to Ethelbert and Bertha—his Christian Queen;" and Mr. Thomas had received an additional premium of £100 for his cartoon of "St. Augustine preaching to the Britons."

A characteristic anecdote of Lord Palmerston may be recorded here. On one occasion he had attended at the Royal Academy Exhibition, and had become the purchaser of one of the pictures. The artist took it himself to the statesman's

residence, by whom he was received with the utmost cordiality. His lordship praised the picture; but pointed out one little defect. The grass was long, and yet the picture was filled with a flock of sheep. Grass, his lordship humorously insinuated, after sheep had fed on it, was short. The artist intimated that the sheep had only been turned in on the previous night; and, after a hearty laugh, both parted mutually satisfied, and mutually pleased with each other.

The president of the Royal Academy was the late Sir Charles Eastlake, to which place he was elected on the death of Sir Martin Shee, in 1850, when, also, he was knighted. "He is now," says a contemporary writer, in 1856, "the fêted of the nobility, the guest of royalty, and the accredited *arbitrator elegantiarum* of his time. As the paid director of the National Gallery, the secretary to the fine arts commission, and the art adviser of her majesty and the Prince Consort, he may be said to have reached the culminating point of his career."

Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the new houses of parliament, who died in 1860, deserves, at any rate, a line. The palace at Westminster was commenced in 1840. Her majesty opened the Victoria Tower, and Royal Gallery of State, on the 3rd of February, 1852, when she conferred the honour of knighthood on the architect. Mr. Scott, the chief of the Gothic school in architecture, was the gentleman Lord Palmerston delighted to honour. Of the classic school, Professor Cockerell may be placed at the head.

We must record here the pursuit of meteorological science of the late Admiral Fitzroy, born in 1805; the youngest son of Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the third Duke of Grafton. In 1828 he was appointed to the command of the *Beagle*, a surveying vessel, from which period he commenced his career as a hydrographical officer. On one occasion, the *Beagle* was nearly capsized by a violent gust of wind; but, by dint of great skill and readiness in seamanship, she was righted, and brought with her head to the wind, not, however, without loss of both topmasts, and other smaller spars; her sails, although furled, being torn to pieces. But the severest disaster was the loss of two men, who were blown overboard and drowned. To his sensitive mind this was a severe blow; but to have attempted to render aid in a boiling sea, when all were in similar peril, would have been useless. The impression made on Lieutenant Fitzroy, by this circumstance, was very great; and the lesson derived from it was never forgotten, and ever after he laid great stress on the silent teachings of the barometer. In a second surveying expedition with the *Beagle*, he carried a chain of meridian distances around the globe. He was accompanied, on this voyage, by Mr. Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. In 1834 he was raised to the rank of post-captain, by Lord Auckland. In 1837 he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1838 he was elected an elder brother of the Trinity; and, in 1841, entered parliament as M.P. for Durham. In 1843 he was sent out, by Lord Derby, to New Zealand as governor. On his return, he filled various capacities till 1854, when he was appointed to a new office, organised for the purpose of collecting data from observations at sea, and for deducing results for the promotion of science and navigation. It had its origin in a conference held at Brussels in 1853. The first result of practical utility was the establishment of barometers on the coast for the use of fishermen: these were supplied by the Board of Trade gratuitously, wherever the population was too poor to defray the expense. A small manual, in simple terms and bold type, written by Admiral Fitzroy, was sent with the barometers, and proved of great use.

In 1857, Captain Fitzroy became rear-admiral on the reserve list.

It was not till 1861 that he accomplished the object he had at heart—the system of storm warnings, or warning signals of approaching dangerous gales. On February 2nd, 1861, the first storm warning was issued; and, before the stated limit of time, the storm burst furiously on most of our shores, amply verifying all the signals. The storm warnings gradually gained in public confidence; and became, at length, of such personal interest, that foreign nations eagerly resorted to Admiral Fitzroy for

information respecting them. France was the first to follow and adopt them. The same system was afterwards established in Prussia, Italy, and Holland; and is in progress of adoption in Russia, both on the Black Sea and in the Baltic. Occasional warnings were also sent from the meteorologic office to Hamburg, Hanover, and Oldenburg, at the request and at the expense of the government of those states; likewise to Sweden. In 1862, the *Weather Book* was published. The admiral's overstrained mind never recovered this pressure; and he perished sadly, as we all know. He died deeply honoured and lamented. On his death, the storm signals were discontinued; but, while we write, we find that the underwriters, ship-owners, and members of the mercantile marine service in Liverpool, have adopted a memorial to the Board of Trade, asking that they may be re-established at once.

Some Eastern despot offered, it is said, a handsome reward for a new pleasure. To the modern epicure the gods have decreed such a boon. It appears there is a society for the purpose of introducing eatable birds, beasts, fishes, and vegetables into this country. They have succeeded in introducing the Chinese sheep, the eland, and the yam; and now, with infinite pleasure, we learn that there are most excellent turkeys in Australia and Central America, closely allied, in one instance, to the bustard, but said to be delicious in flavour. "Guans" and "Curassows," too, are fowls with a plumage exceedingly ornamental, and a flavour "well-spoken of." Then there are numerous varieties of grouse, Canadian, American, and Chinese, all more or less eligible; though the utility of any bird which can exist only in the form of game would be somewhat limited. The path of real progress evidently lies in another direction. Ducks and pigeons are the birds to work with. Already a new duck has been produced by hybridisation, of which the qualities are so remarkable, that if they were less strongly vouched for, we should be afraid to believe them. We have it, however, on the authority of Lord Craven, corroborated by the experience of Mr. Grantley Berkeley, that the "pintailed cross" has the charming faculty of always remaining tender. However old he may be, he is never tough, but "may be killed all the year round as excellent for the table, never acquiring the hardness to which the meat of the tame duck is liable when grown to maturity." Yet even this most convenient fowl would be surpassed in merit by the "Wonga" of Australia, rightly designated "the queen of the pigeon tribe." Imagine our dovecotes full of these birds, selling, let us hope, at 1s. or 1s. 2d. a couple, and "combining, in the most delicate proportion, the flavour of the pheasant and the grouse!"

Not merely, however, did science search out new food; but, in 1860, or thereabouts, people began to study how to make land more profitable by the employment of town sewage. In Croydon this had been done with great success, and the produce had been increased threefold in consequence. In 1865, a special act was passed, empowering the formation of a company, having for its object the utilisation of the sewage of the northern side of London, under a concession granted to Messrs. Napier and Hope, by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Besides the right to the sewage, the company will have the privilege of reclaiming about 7,000 acres of sandy freestone between Shoeburyness and the mouth of the Blackwater. The sewage is to be taken from the reservoir at Barking Point, and conveyed to the Maplin sands in pipes; to be then employed in irrigating the reclaimed land; but the pipes may be tapped on the way, if the farmers wish to purchase a supply of the fertilising mixture. The works are estimated to cost £2,400,000, and contracts have been entered into for their execution. The company have the concession of the sewage for fifty-four years, on the terms of taking the whole of the profits for the first four years; and, for the remaining fifty years, dividing the profits equally with the Metropolitan Board of Works, "with a priority of payment to the shareholders, to the extent of 5 per cent." The sewage of the southern side has not been assigned; but several parties are anxious to obtain the appropriation. In 1864, the well-known Essex farmer, Mr. Mechi, wrote—

“The government commission which is experimenting at Rugby is doing good public service, proving that no cost or quantity of ordinary manure can compete with town sewage in the production of grass. Every farmer knows that land which has produced good grass abundantly, will, when broken up, give the best results in cereal and other crops; and yet we hear almost everyone saying that sewage is only good for grass, while, indirectly at least, it is the very best producer of all our food. The objection about over-dilution is a mere bugbear, for every acre of British soil gets an annual rainfall of 2,600 tons. Without this the farmer would be badly off, although he only mixes with it the manure of two or three sheep. Sewage, then, is infinitely stronger than the farmer’s ordinary manure. A practical experience of ten years with home sewage teaches me its value, and makes me regret that I have not a town or village near my farm. Let me recommend every doubter about sewage to read that wonderful book of Liebig’s, just published (*The Natural Laws of Husbandry*), and he will then be astonished that an intelligent agriculturist (Sir John Shelley) should say, in the House of Commons, ‘But of all ‘manure doctors’ (in his opinion) none were so dangerous as those who talked of utilising the sewage of towns.’” In reply to all this, Mr. James Archibald Campbell, writing from Rugby itself, says—“Land here, which has produced good Italian grass abundantly under a plentiful supply of town sewage and other manures, when broken up, has given anything but the best results in cereal crops. As to the sewage being infinitely stronger than farm-yard manure, the expression is vague; but I well know that £50 worth of farm-yard manure will give a more profitable return from arable land than £100 worth of town sewage, because the first can be advantageously applied, whereas the other cannot, on account of its excessive dilution and consequent bulk. But, for the production of grass, any amount may be applied with advantage, if the temperature be sufficiently high.”

But whilst people were discussing how to raise crops, and to create fresh sources of food for the many, in certain quarters it was felt that a man might be over-fed, and that too much flesh was a nuisance, to be got rid of as soon as possible. The leader of this new gospel was an immensely stout man—a Mr. Banting—who, by a judicious system of dieting, exclusive of beer, butter, fat, &c., had reduced himself to a convenient and agreeable size. Mr. Banting, all at once, found himself famous. He published a pamphlet on the subject, which had an extraordinary sale, and out of the profits of which he devoted a very handsome sum to charitable purposes. He was visited by lords and ladies—by philosophers and men of the world. In newspapers and theatres there were constant allusions to his name. In the drawing-room, or on ‘Change, every one talked of the new discovery, and of the benefits to be gained thereby. Writing to the *Times*, Mr. Banting says—“I have reason to believe, from the experience of my own case, and the reports of others, that the quantity of food need only be ruled and governed by appetite, and that quality is the great question to be studied in cases of undue corpulence, like mine, and other diseases for which dietary may be a proper remedy: this will be proved by ventilating the question. One fact is very surprising, which I take leave to state—that in every case in which the system called ‘Banting’ has been adopted, and parties have carefully weighed themselves at starting (without any exception), the greatest amount of reduction has been manifest within the first forty-eight hours. I have many reports of from four pound to eight pound reduction of weight in that time, with great personal benefit otherwise. This fact can be proved by all who choose to try the system, and there can be little risk in the experiment; but I have invariably advised all my correspondents and readers to act advisedly under medical authority, to ascertain clearly the cause of their grievance or suffering before adopting any new system. Many reports have been circulated, most painful and distressing to me, of ridiculous interviews with exalted persons; of my illness from adopting the system, and of my death in consequence; but all such reports are utterly false. I have little doubt that other painful and annoying reports of the illness and death of others are equally so: but a very short time will prove these

facts; and those persons who have, for some unwarrantable reason, or possible mercenary pretext, put them forth, will be conscience-punished, if not utterly ashamed. I do not profess to have a grain of knowledge of the physiological reasons for the extraordinary results of the system, nor can I presume to reason upon any point beyond my own individual experience, which alone is my sheet-anchor; but am satisfied the system is not unworthy of notice; that it is only yet in infancy, but is on the fair road to maturity; and I believe fixed laws will be engendered, to rule in many cases of affliction, through proper dietary, that will be truly beneficial to humanity. Another extraordinary fact I can confidently state from having proved it on three several occasions. It is, that five ounces of loaf-sugar, spread over ten days' consumption, will increase my weight above one pound at the end of that week; and I have therefore great reason to believe that sugar and saccharine matters are the main causes of undue corpulence. I neither ask, claim, nor expect anything for my perseverance in this cause. My only aim is to elicit thorough ventilation of what I believe an important subject for the benefit of humanity; and I believe none so fit and proper as the medical faculty to work out the problem hitherto rather slighted and overlooked."

In 1847, the first application of ether in surgical operations was made. Its use was speedily introduced into all the metropolitan and most of the provincial hospitals, and thence into private practice. A vast number of surgical operations, performed during its influence, appeared in the public journals; by which it was made evident that the ordinary and every-day pains and aches, as well as the most excruciating and extraordinary agonies to which flesh is heir, were equally under the power of this beneficial agent. Towards the end of the year, ether was superseded by chloroform.

In 1850, two magnificent specimens of ancient Assyrian art, part of the result of Mr. Layard's researches in the ruins of ancient Nineveh, arrived in this country, and were placed in the British Museum. They are two bas-reliefs, representing, the one a winged human-headed lion; the other, a winged human-headed bull. Mr. Layard's researches were most successful, and his book on the subject was one of the most popular works of the season when it appeared.

In 1851, among the minor wonders of the Great Exhibition, was a paranthotic bank lock, whose inventor—Mr. Hobbs—offered £5,000 to the person who should succeed in picking it; but no one claimed the reward. At the same time Mr. Hobbs undertook to pick any lock that should be offered him. Of our famous lockmakers, Messrs. Chubb first defied his skill; but their patent lock was opened without much difficulty. Messrs. Bramah had long offered £200 to any who should open one of their celebrated locks without injuring it. Mr. Hobbs accepted the challenge, succeeded, and received the reward, after he had been at work on the lock twenty-one hours.

In 1854, the Minié rifle, a most effective small arm (the invention of Captain Minié, of the French army), was substituted, in the queen's service, for the old musket. A portion of the army sent to the Crimea was armed with this fatal weapon, where it produced such marvellous effects that it was resolved to supply it to every soldier without delay.

In 1851, the Art Treasures Exhibition, at Manchester, was opened, and was a great success. It was valued at £6,000,000, and consisted of paintings by ancient masters, by modern masters, British portrait gallery, sculpture, museum of ornamental art, water-colour drawings, and historical miniatures.

About this time a Female Medical Society was formed in London, for the training and employment of women in obstetrics and diseases of their own sex, the chairman of which is the well-known Mr. Newman, late professor of the Latin language and literature at the London University. There was a time when women gained great distinction as lecturers and professors of medical science; and there is no earthly reason why they should not study and practise the noble art of healing, especially where the fair sex themselves are concerned. Our best book on nursing

is by Miss Nightingale. One of our most valuable works on military hospitals proceeds from the same able pen. In many cases women can understand a case better, and treat it more skilfully than men. Children's and female diseases and complaints might, in the large majority of cases, be better understood and treated by women than by men. Medicine is no mystery. It is practised by women; as it is, more or less, in every family circle; and a cure is often wrought quite as much by the family nurse as by the family doctor. It is to be hoped, then, that the new society will prosper. Several medical men, of high standing in London, have expressed their willingness to assist the movement by their personal co-operation as teachers and managers in the proposed school. The licence of the Society of Apothecaries is open to women, and the curriculum of study will be adapted to the requirements of the hall. The committee appeal to the friends of the movement for aid. In time, they trust, the number of female students will render their institution self-supporting.

A considerable number of persons were invited to the Crystal Palace, in 1860, to witness the exhibition of a new lighting apparatus. For several years back, the ingenuity of inventors has been directed to the discovery of a mode of lighting, more economical, more convenient, and more powerful than that which we now possess by means of the generation of light from coal. The electric light, which has been frequently exhibited in London, was the nearest approach to a mode of lighting calculated to supersede the existing means of producing light from coal; but, though admitted to be extremely powerful, it was deficient in that steadiness, continuity, diffusiveness, and economy which would alone render it available for the practical purposes of life. These, therefore, were the recommendations which any new inventors must associate with their light, in order that it should become of practical importance; and it was for the purpose of showing how far they had succeeded in this respect that they had invited the public to witness the exhibition of their light on a particular evening at the Crystal Palace. The new light is obtained by projecting a jet of oxygen and hydrogen, or oxygen and carburetted hydrogen gases combined, upon a surface of lime, and so regulating the supply, and protecting the lime from crumbling away, as to insure, with perfect continuity, a maximum brilliancy of intensity and continuity. With regard to the power of the lime-light, a single jet of medium size has been found to be equivalent to forty argand, or eighty fish-tail burners, each consuming five cubic feet per hour, or to 400 wax candles of four to the pound. The new light is represented to be peculiarly adapted for coast-lights, steamers, sailing vessels, railway signals, bridges, wharves, churches, factories, public rooms, squares, large and important thoroughfares. From its portability, it is eminently adapted for military operations in the field, both in attack and defence of important positions, as well as the service of the coast-guard, both as an element of protection against surprise, and as a valuable adjunct to the already extensive arrangements for the safety of life. A very important application of the light is its adaptation to the mining service, by which the safety of the miner will be effectually secured by the enclosure of the light, and its supply with oxygen gas, without the necessity for direct communication with the surrounding atmosphere. With respect to the important question of expense, it was stated that the cost of maintaining the light was considerably less than any other known light, in the following proportion:—Oxy-hydrogen lime light, 1*d.* per hour; coal gas, 4*d.*; argand oil, 15*d.*; wax candle, 60*d.* per hour.

In 1859, a company was registered for the establishment, in the metropolis, of lines of pneumatic tube, for the more speedy and convenient circulation of despatches and parcels; and an act of parliament received the royal assent that year, empowering the company to open the streets, and lay down tubes for the purpose. The directors, having satisfied themselves and the shareholders, of the complete mechanical success of the company's system of transmission, by experiments upon a short line of tube at Battersea, and of its economy and peculiar applicability to the purposes in view, determined on laying down a permanent tube of thirty inches

gauge, between the Euston station and the north-western district post-office, Eversholt Street. This tube, with the stations, machinery, and appliances, was completed, and found to work most efficiently. The length of tube open was only a third of a mile. The transmission of the first batch of mail-bags through it, took place on February 20th, 1863. Several of the principal officials of the post-office were present. The whole of the works were in the most admirable order; and, on the arrival of the first mail-train, at 9.45 A.M., the mail-bags, thirty-five in number, were placed in the vans by 9.47. The long chamber was then exhausted; and the train, containing the first mail ever despatched by the agency of the atmosphere, was blown through the tube to the station at Eversholt Street, which was reached at 9.48 A.M. The success was so complete, that the company resolved to continue their works to Holborn at once.

Much was done at this time by the establishment of the Working-Man's College in Ormond Street, owing, principally, to the enlightened efforts of the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the Rev. Charles Kingsley, Mr. Ludlow, and Thomas Hughes—author of a book which, all at once, became amazingly popular, *Tom Brown's School-days*. From the very first, it did much, among the people, to diffuse and purify the taste for art and science.

In 1862, many attempts were made to make discoveries in science by means of the balloon. Messrs. Glaisher and Coxwell undertook several aerial voyages for that purpose. On one occasion they ascended in a balloon from Wolverhampton, and reached a height of upwards of six miles. At the height of five miles and a-half, Mr. Glaisher became insensible, and Mr. Coxwell nearly so, in consequence of the intense cold and rarity of the atmosphere. The ascent was made the first week in September.

In 1861, a telegraphic cable was suspended between the castle and the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, by means of which the time-gun at the castle was discharged simultaneously with the descent of the time-ball on Nelson's monument, Calton Hill, which is acted upon from the Greenwich Observatory.

In 1859, science mourned the loss of a favourite son. Robert Stephenson died on October 12th, at the early age of fifty-six. He will be remembered chiefly for the London and Birmingham Railway, for the high-level bridge over the Tyne, at Newcastle, the viaduct (supposed to be the largest in the world) over the Tweed valley at Berwick, and the Britannia tubular bridge over the Menai Straits—a form of bridge of which there had been previously no example, and to which, considering its length and the enormous weight it would have to sustain, the objections and difficulties seemed almost insuperable. In addition to his railway labours, Mr. Stephenson took a general interest in public affairs, and in scientific investigations. In 1847 he was returned as member of parliament, in the Conservative interest, for Whitby, in Yorkshire, for which place he continued to sit until his death. He acted with great liberality to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, paying off, in 1855, a debt amounting to £3,100, in gratitude, as he expressed it, for the benefits he derived, in early life, from that establishment, and to enable it to be as practically useful to other young men. He most liberally placed at the disposal of Mr. Piazzi Smyth, his yacht and crew, to facilitate the interesting investigations undertaken by that gentleman at the island of Teneriffe; and very valuable results have been obtained. He was an honorary, but active, member of the London Sanitary and Sewerage Commissions; a Fellow of the Royal Society; a member of the institution of civil engineers since 1830, of which institution he was member of council during the years 1845 to 1847; vice-president during those from 1848 to 1855; and president during the years 1856 and 1857. He received a great gold medal of honour from the French Exposition d'Industrie of 1855; and is said to have declined an offer of knighthood in Great Britain. He was also the author of a work *On the Locomotive Steam-Engine*, and another *On the Atmospheric Railway System*, published in quarto, by Weale.

In the death of Sir T. Brisbane, in 1860, science sustained a loss. The *Athe-*

nœum says—"Sir T. Brisbane's colonial administration was very beneficial. Besides performing his government duties, he erected an observatory at Paramatta, and supplied it with books, first-rate instruments, and two assistants from Europe—all at his own expense. He knew that no observations of the stars, in the southern hemisphere, had been made since 1751-'2, when Lacaille made a very valuable series of observations at the Cape of Good Hope; and that a wide field was opened before him at Sydney, for the labours of the astronomer. The result of his observations at Paramatta, besides many valuable papers contributed to the Royal Society and the Astronomical Society, comprises the *Brisbane Catalogue of 7,385 Stars of the Southern Hemisphere*—a most important addition to astronomical knowledge; and so highly esteemed were the results, that the home government, on the representation of scientific men, gave instructions that the Paramatta Observatory should be kept up at the public expense. On Sir Thomas Brisbane's return to Scotland, in 1826, he founded his celebrated astronomical observatory at Makerstoun; and in 1841, he erected another observatory, in the same place, for the purpose of making magnetical observations. The instruments supplied to both observatories were of the best and most costly nature. The sum paid for the clocks alone, in the magnetical observatory, was 1,200 guineas. The work done has been excellent. From 1841 to 1846, magnetical and meteorological observations have been made every alternate hour, except in 1844 and 1845, when they were made every hour, day and night. Since 1846, nine observations have been made daily. The results have been published; and the Makerstoun Observatory has justly acquired the reputation of being one of the best magnetical and meteorological establishments in Scotland. Scientific honours rapidly followed those obtained by Sir Thomas Brisbane for his military deeds. In 1810 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and, in 1828, he was awarded the Astronomical Society's gold medal. He was a corresponding member of the French Institute. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge conferred upon him the degree of D.C.L.; and, in 1832, he succeeded Sir Walter Scott in the presidential chair of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and retained that office during the rest of his life."

In philology, the English have never much distinguished themselves. We have left that department of science chiefly to the Germans. One name, however, deserves recording here—that of Dr. Donaldson. The *Times* of February 13th, 1861, in a friendly article, made known to the world his death. He received his earlier education in the University of London; but proceeded, at the ordinary age, to Cambridge, where he was entered at Trinity some thirty years ago. His distinctions at that seat of learning followed in rapid succession. In 1834, he obtained the highest place but one in the list of classical honours; and displayed, incidentally, such evidence of his powers as attracted the special notice of one of the examiners—the present Bishop of St. David's. The promise of excellence thus given was speedily fulfilled; for, within five years of his bachelor's degree, he produced his *New Cratylus*, a work of extraordinary character from so young a writer. This—his first contribution to philological science—was followed by a long and successful series of publications, elucidating the genius and structure of the two classical languages, and illustrating Greek and Latin by ingenious comparisons with parent or kindred tongues. A scholar of such eminent proficiency had, of course, no difficulty in securing his share of academical endowments; and the prize of a Trinity Fellowship fell to his lot in the year after his degree. This preference, however, he did not long retain. In a short time he married, and succeeded to the mastership of King Edward's School, in the town of Bury St. Edmund's, where his abilities were devoted, for some years, to the work of direct education. At this period of his life, having included the Oriental languages in the ever-widening range of his studies, he published an essay, in which the freedom of speculation on a Biblical question provoked the censure of orthodox critics. Though the work reached a second edition on the continent, it found little favour at home; and though it was written in the Latin tongue, and addressed exclusively to the

learned world, it did not escape popular or hostile comment. It was just at this time, however, that the great universities of the kingdom were thrown open to studious and independent residents by the gift of free constitutions; and Dr. Donaldson returned to a community in which, if learning was to be encouraged, and labour rewarded, there should surely have been a place for him. He was not disappointed.

The *Athenæum* published the following correspondence, in 1864:—

“Sion House, Lower Clapton, N.E., Sept. 5th.

“Sir,—I beg to call your attention to the accompanying declaration, now in course of signature among scientific men, which it is proposed to issue when a sufficient number of names have been obtained. I trust you will approve of the spirit of the document, and the terms in which it is expressed, and solicit the favour of your signature to be appended to the memorial.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“CAPEL H. BERGER.

“Sir John Herschel, Bart., K.H., F.R.S., &c.

“THE DECLARATION.

“‘We, the undersigned students of the natural sciences, desire to express our sincere regret that researches into scientific truth are perverted, by some in our own times, into occasion for casting doubt upon the truth and authenticity of the Holy Scriptures. We conceive that it is impossible for the Word of God, as written in the book of nature, and God’s Word written in Holy Scripture, to contradict one another, however much they may appear to differ. We are not forgetful that physical science is not complete, but is only in a condition of progress; and that, at present, our finite reason enables us only to see as through a glass darkly; and we confidently believe that a time will come when the true records will be seen to agree in every particular. We cannot but deplore that natural science should be looked upon with suspicion by many who do not make a study of it, merely on account of the unadvised manner in which some are placing it in opposition to Holy Writ. We believe that it is the duty of every scientific student to investigate nature, simply for the purpose of elucidating truth; and that, if he finds that some of his results appear to be in contradiction to the written Word, or rather to his own interpretations of it, which may be erroneous, he should not presumptuously affirm that his own conclusions must be right, and the statements of Scripture wrong; rather leave the two side by side till it shall please God to allow us to see the manner in which they may be reconciled; and, instead of insisting upon the seeming differences between science and the Scriptures, it would be as well to rest in faith upon the points in which they agree.’

“Upwards of 210 names have already been received, including thirty F.R.S.’s, forty M.D.’s, &c. Among them are the following:—Thomas Anderson, M.D.; J. H. Balfour, M.D.; Thomas Bell; J. S. Bowerbank, LL.D.; Sir David Brewster; James Glaisher; Thomas Remer Jones; James P. Joule, LL.D.; Robert Main; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson; Thomas Richardson, Ph.D.; Henry D. Rogers, LL.D.; Adam Sedgwick, M.D.; Alfred Smee; John Stenhouse, LL.D., who has kindly offered to receive signatures at his laboratory, Rodney Street, Pentonville, London.”

“Collingwood, Sept. 6th, 1864.

“Sir,—I received, some time ago, a declaration for signature, identical with its wording, or at all events in its obvious purport, with that you have sent me. I considered that the better course was to put it aside without notice. But since it is pressed upon me, and to prevent a repetition of a similar appeal, it becomes necessary for me distinctly to decline signing it; and to declare that I consider the act of calling upon me publicly to avow or disavow, to approve or disapprove, in writing, any religious doctrine or statement, however carefully or cautiously

drawn up (in other words, to append my name to a religious manifesto), to be an infringement of that social forbearance which guards the freedom of religious opinion in this country with especial sanctity. At the same time, I protest against my refusal to sign your 'Declaration' being construed into a profession of atheism or infidelity. My sentiments on the mutual relations of Scripture and science have long been before the world; and I see no reason to alter or add to them. But I consider this movement simply mischievous, having a direct tendency (by putting forward a new shibboleth, a new verbal test of religious partisanship) to add a fresh element of discord to the already too discordant relations of the Christian world. I do not deny that care and caution are apparent on the face of the document I am called on to subscribe. But no nicety of wording, no artifice of human language, will suffice to discriminate the hundredth part of the shades of meaning in which the most world-wide differences of thought on such subjects may be involved; or prevent the most gently worded, and, apparently, justifiable, expressions of regret, so embodied, from grating on the feelings of thousands of estimable and well-intentioned men, with all the harshness of controversial hostility.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. F. W. HERSCHEL.

"Capel H. Berger, Esq."

Sir John Bowring, who also had a copy of the same circular addressed to him by Professor Stenhouse, made the following reply, declining to subscribe to it:—

"Claremont, Exeter, August 27th.

"Dear Sir,—In the general spirit of the document to which my adhesion is asked, I cordially concur. That all truths must ultimately harmonise—that one truth cannot be inconsistent with another truth—are propositions, axioms rather, which cannot be contested: to proclaim an approval of them is as much a work of supererogation as it would be to publish an avowal of agreement with the demonstration of a mathematical problem. But it appears to me, the period has arrived when we should endeavour to emancipate ourselves from the tyranny of all dogmatising creeds, all enforced confessions, all foregone conclusions, all compromising declarations; perseveringly carrying out, to their necessary consequences, our own investigations and convictions; and encouraging others to exercise the same right, and discharge the same duty. I do not know how the cause of truth and the interest of religion can be better served, than by allowing the utmost latitude to inquiry. It is not possible, nor, if possible, desirable to prevent comparisons between the historical revelations of the past, and the scientific discoveries of the present time. The Bible must be brought into the broad daylight, out of the darkness to which ancient authority condemned it; it must be tested by inquiring knowledge, and taken from the custody of contending ignorance; it must be cleared from its cobwebs, and purged from its corruptions. Nothing less ought reasonably to satisfy those who believe; nothing more can fairly be demanded by those who doubt: but thus much may be asked in the interest of all. There is no 'presumption' in giving to the world conclusions soberly, seriously, and reverently formed, be those conclusions what they may. The best resting-place for 'faith,' or hope, or comfort, will, after all, be found in allowing to the intellectual faculties, with which God has blessed us, their widest influence and action over the whole field of thought. By 'proving all things,' we shall be able to 'hold fast that which is good;' and we may be fully assured, that the great verities which have stood the storms and shocks of agitated centuries will remain unbroken through coming ages.

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"JOHN BOWRING.

"Professor Stenhouse, F.R.S., &c., London."

On the vexed question of man's existence upon earth, and of his origin, whether from one parent or more, various opinions were entertained. Dr. Darwin opposed

the Biblical account of the origin of man, and Sir Charles Lyell the Biblical account of his antiquity. According to Sir Charles, men were cast upon the earth, in the language of Horace, "a dumb and filthy herd;" and they were here, living in a climate as cold as that of Greenland, thousands and thousands of years before our common chronology makes them inhabitants of earth. The evidence for this is to be found in the well-known flint implements discovered in France and elsewhere. Mr. Whitley maintains that some of the so-called flint implements have been undoubtedly formed by natural causes, and not by the hand of man; and, secondly, that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that even the most perfect flint implements are manufactured tools, but that the contrary opinion is the more probable. Mr. Whitley clearly establishes these two propositions. The absurdity of supposing these flints to be the weapons of men is evident from their number. It has been calculated that 800 acres of hunting-ground produce only as much food as half an acre of arable land, and on this basis the ratio of the lost axes to the savage population would be as 6,000,000 to one. Again he asks, what could be their uses? The cold existing at the period referred to must have been intense. France had then no tree large enough to form a canoe, or to require stone wedges to split it, and no harvest would ripen requiring stone implements to prepare the ground for tillage. Mr. Whitley truly tells us—"A few scattered flint chips and almond-shaped stones are too slender a foundation on which to build a history of pre-Adamite man existing through a thousand centuries as a dumb and filthy herd." The whole pamphlet is to be specially commended to Sir Charles Lyell, of whom Mr. Whitley speaks in proper terms of respect. The witnesses, as he maintains, break down under cross-examination; and the special jury by whom the cause must be heard, can arrive at no other conclusion than that of "Not proven." The whole case affords a good illustration of the notable saying of Locke, that "Men see a little, presume a great deal, and jump to a conclusion." Mr. Whitley is no careless theorist. He is a practical geologist of more than twenty years' standing. He has studied the drift-beds of the west, the flint, gravel, and surface deposits of the south and east, and the terraces and river-beds of the valley of the Somme. This paper was prepared for, and inserted in, the second number of the journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and is now reprinted in a separate form by permission of the council.

In 1861, the first of the iron-clad ships which will be required for the "reconstruction" of the British navy was launched at the beginning of February, from the building-yards of the Thames Iron Company, Blackwall. This new engine of naval destruction was called the *Warrior*; and, at the time of its launch, was the largest man-of-war in the world. The *Black Prince*, the companion vessel to the *Warrior*, was ready soon after; and these two were each of them nearly twice the size and tonnage of what the *Observer* calls "the much-talked-of *La Gloire*." Sir John Pakington performed the office of sponsor to the *Warrior*—a departure from the usual rule, which generally appoints a lady to officiate at the ship-builder's font. The *Warrior* is completely built of iron; *La Gloire* is only iron-plated. The lines of the *Warrior* are said to be extraordinarily fine, notwithstanding that her total weight, when she is complete and afloat, is 10,000 tons. The list of iron ships built by the British government, on the new plan, is almost as long as the catalogue of ships in Homer. They were—the *Warrior*; the *Black Prince*; a ship at Chatham, larger than either of these named; three frigates, for which contracts had been received by the Admiralty; and two steam rams; the *Defence*, building on the Tyne; the *Resistance*, on the Thames; and others. Much was thought of this gigantic effort for the reconstruction of our navy: but when the American war broke out, a considerable amount of new light was cast upon the subject; and in many quarters it was felt that we had been too precipitate.

In another branch of self-defence—that of gunnery—we were, it now began to be felt, equally reckless, extravagant, and precipitate. Sir W. Armstrong had been patronised by the government in a most extraordinary manner. Mr. Whit-

worth, of Manchester, claimed to produce a better gun; and Captain Blakely professed to beat them all. In 1855, the captain took out a patent for a method of forming guns with an internal tube of cast-iron or steel, enclosed in a case of wrought-iron or steel, heated and shrunk upon the cylinder. In his specification he says—

“The improvements relate, first, to a method of forming guns with an internal tube or cylinder of cast-iron or steel, enclosed in a casing of steel. I sometimes form the outer surface of the inner tube somewhat conical, the greatest diameter being just in front of the trunnions, and tapering both ways, and apply the outer casing in the form of collars or rings driven thereon; and in some cases I apply two or more layers of such rings, according to the strength sought to be obtained, the trunnions being of one piece with one of the rings. The outer casing may, however, be applied in the form of collars or rings, heated and shrunk upon the cylindrical surface of the inner cylinder or tube; but I do not claim as my invention the method of forming guns, or cannon, by the application of collars or rings, heated and shrunk upon a cylindrical inner tube, save and except when the internal diameters of such collars or rings are, previously to being heated, so much smaller than the external diameter of the inner tube on which they are shrunk, that, after being cooled, the outer casing, formed by the rings or collars, is in a state of tension or permanent strain, similar to that produced when the rings or collars are forced upon a conical surface, as before described, and the inner tube is, in both cases, similarly compressed.”

The Ordnance Select Committee, in 1861, reported to the late Lord Herbert, Secretary of War, that Captain Blakely's method, and no other, is the principle employed in the manufacture of the Armstrong guns; and it appears to them that whatever dispute there may be as to originality or priority of invention, and the use of terms between Captain Blakely and Sir W. Armstrong, there is little or none in the matter of fact. “Both make, or propose to make,” says the report, “strong guns in the same way.” The only difference between the two is, that the Armstrong gun is not lined with steel, while that of Captain Blakely is. Sir William Armstrong, in a letter dated 21st January, 1857, thus writes to Captain Blakely:—“Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 9th has reached me here. At present I am making no guns except for experimental purposes. If you have a valid patent for any method of construction which I may adopt, I shall, of course, on being satisfied of that, negotiate with you before I use it commercially. Until then the question may fairly stand over. You will observe that I make no claim to exclusive invention of anything in my letter to the *Times*, but have confined myself to a simple description of what I have done.” In 1859, Sir W. Armstrong again wrote to the captain:—“I have received your note of yesterday, and assure you I have no intention of doing you any wrong. At the same time I must inform you that the guns which are being made under my direction have no interior lining of steel, and are not in any way affected by your patent.” It turns out, however, that that is exactly what the Armstrong gun now is. Captain Blakely, in 1859, commenced a correspondence with the War Office on the subject of his claim, but in vain; and, at the same time, commenced an action against the Elswick Ordnance Company. The latter action was discontinued in consequence of the War Office refusing to listen to Captain Blakely's claims unless he discontinued his proceedings against the company. It is hard, we confess, for the captain to have had to suffer the treatment which he did from our government. In 1854, he first brought his plan before government. He says—“I had no idea of a patent, or making any monopoly; I tendered it to the government simply as a suggestion that occurred to me, and I did not take any great credit to myself upon the subject.” And yet successive governments refused repeated offers from Captain Blakely to be allowed to try his gun. This is the more remarkable, as in an experiment made at Shoburness, Captain Blakely's gun underwent a competitive trial with a cast-iron gun and a brass one, both in use in the service; in the course of which the cast-iron one

gave way after 351 rounds, and the brass one after 479; whilst the Blakely stood 3,389 shots. The government seems to be gradually coming round to the captain's system, and making them without acknowledging it; Armstrong's system of breech-loading and multi-grooved rifling being done away with. One thing was very clear to the nation, that the expenses of the experiments at Shoeburyness, continued day after day, and year after year, were as frightful as they were generally unsatisfactory. First ships were iron-plated, to see how they could resist guns; and then guns were made stronger and larger, to see how they could smash iron-plated ships. So long as the nation can ensure its security, it will not, and does not grudge the cost: but the worst part of it is, that the more we spend, the more we find that there is to be done; till, at length, Europe may say real war is better and less costly than this intolerable state of armed peace.

The creation of a calculating machine was one of the most remarkable triumphs of science in later years. Mr. Babbage had long laboured at it. In 1823, the idea of combining an act of mechanical computation with that of simultaneous printing, in order to obtain results with the positive certainty of their being exempt from error, seems first to have occurred to him in 1823, when he commenced the construction of his calculating machine, or difference engine, which, however, was abandoned in 1842. The earliest piece of mechanism to which the name of a calculating machine could be applied, was invented by Pascal, and consisted of a series of figure-wheels, having cylindrical bands not unlike Babbage's machine; and a complicated machine was invented by Leibnitz; but the accuracy of their results depended more or less upon manipulation, the arithmetical operations being executed from wheel to wheel by hand; and they were both constructed with a view to perform particular arithmetical operations. An account of the principle and action of Mr. Babbage's machine, by Dr. Lardner, appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1834; and it was the perusal of that article which induced Mr. George Scheutz, a Swede, to construct a machine for a similar purpose.

The following brief but lucid statement of Mr. Colebrooke, in his address to the Astronomical Society on Mr. Babbage's machine, also clearly enough expresses the distinguishing characteristic of the Swedish calculating machine:—"It proposes to calculate a series of numbers following any law by the aid of differences; and that by setting a few figures at the outset, a long series of numbers is readily produced by a mechanical operation. The method of differences, in a very wide sense, is the mathematical principle of the contrivance. A machine to add a number of arbitrary figures together is no economy of time or trouble, since each individual figure must be placed in the machine; but it is otherwise when the figures follow some law. The insertion of a few at first determines the magnitude of the next, and then of the succeeding. It is this constant repetition of similar operations which renders the computation of tables a fit subject for the application of machinery. Mr. Babbage's invention puts an engine in the place of the computer—the question is set to the instrument, or the instrument is set to the question; and by simply giving it motion, the solution is wrought, and a string of answers is exhibited. * * * * It not only saves time and trouble in transcribing results into a popular form, and setting types for the printing of the table, but it likewise accomplishes the yet more important objects of insuring accuracy, and obviating numerous sources of error through the careless hands of transcribers and compositors."

The first machine which the Scheutzes (father and son) constructed was made at Stockholm, and showed undoubted proofs of great mechanical genius. After passing through some years of trial and difficulty, Mr. George Scheutz produced the first model of his machine; and having satisfied himself of the practicability of his scheme, he immediately recommenced his experiments with renewed energy—expending much capital, as well as devoting all the time he could spare from his labours as an eminent printer, on which the support of his family depended.

His son, Mr. Edward Scheutz, at that time a student in the Royal Technological School of Stockholm, anxious to assist his father, abandoned the career he had chosen, and, working with him for several years, produced, after many trials and alterations, a larger and improved machine; but the economy they had been compelled to use in its construction, contributed greatly to render this new model still unsatisfactory in its working, though correct in principle.

After many years of indefatigable labour, and the sacrifice of a large portion of his fortune, he determined to apply for assistance to the Swedish government, to enable him to construct a more perfect instrument. After some difficulty the Diet consented to advance about £280; but required a guarantee for the amount in the case of failure; and, under these conditions, would have ended, unknown and unappreciated, the vast exertions of two men of great ability and enterprise, had not some liberal members of the Swedish Academy expressed their sympathy by rendering themselves partly responsible for the amount. By means of the assistance thus afforded them, the Messrs. Scheutz, after working with indefatigable industry, were gratified by seeing the new machine completed before the end of October, 1853.

A further grant from the government, of about £560, was made soon after the machine was finished; but the sums placed at the disposal of the Messrs. Scheutz were very far from replacing the money only that had been expended during a period extending over nearly twenty years. Nevertheless, to quote the words of Mr. Babbage, "Sweden has thus secured for herself the glory of having been the first nation practically to produce a machine for calculating mathematical tables by differences, and printing the results."

In 1854, the inventors visited England, and were warmly received by Mr. Babbage, Dr. Farr, and other scientific authorities. The machine was exhibited in one of the apartments belonging to the Royal Society at Somerset House, where its mechanism was explained by Mr. Garrett, to whom the inventors have expressed themselves greatly indebted for promoting their undertaking in every way. The machine was afterwards exhibited in Paris, at the Great Exhibition, and a gold medal was awarded to the inventors.

It was again brought to England, and set to work out some specimen tables, and was eventually purchased by a liberal American, as a gift to the Dudley Observatory, at Albany; but, says the writer of the account from which we have taken the above particulars, no news has reached us of any work it has performed there.

Dr. Farr had, some years previously, expressed an opinion as to the probability of calculating some of the fundamental columns of a life-table by machinery; and anxious to demonstrate that the calculating machine was not a mere philosophical curiosity, but an instrument of practical utility, the registrar-general, at his instance, recommended her majesty's government to order a new and superior machine to be constructed, for the purpose of performing the numerical computation necessary in the calculation of life-tables. The machine was constructed by the Messrs. Donkin, at a cost of £1,200; and the result has been, the production of a valuable and elaborate volume of life-tables, for single and joint lives—based on the observations of births and deaths registered in seventeen years. The tables in this volume have since been selected by her majesty's government for the insurance of the lives of both sexes, as they appear to give the most accurate estimate of the probabilities of English life. But the first adaptation of this machine to the computation of life-tables was made by Dr. Farr, in the construction of a life-table in the healthy districts of England.

The machine is limited to calculations involving a regular series, and is not intended for the solution of isolated questions requiring special answers. In the construction of mathematical tables, the functions are often required at very close intervals, and for values increasing by small steps. In these cases general methods of interpolation come into use, the intervening values of the functions being

supplied by the machine by the addition of differences. By means of logarithms, questions of a peculiar kind, including calculations in the higher branches of mathematics, can be reduced to very simple formulas, and brought into such compass as will readily admit their insertion in the machine. "The art," says Dr. Farr, "is to shape the formulas and the numerical operations so that they can be executed by the machine, which only performs the operation of addition; but, by various expedients, is made to perform, also, subtraction, multiplication, and division. By a well-known artifice in numbers, adding the arithmetical complement of one number to another number, and throwing away the unit of the highest order in the result, it is made to perform subtraction."

Association has done much for science; distinguished professors have met together, and thus aided, and instructed, and encouraged each other. London is full of learned and philosophical societies; the principal, of course, being the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which holds its annual congress in one or other of our leading towns, and which has done much to advance, and, at the same time, popularise science. A list of some of the leading societies of 1865 will give an idea of their number and aim. They are—the Acclimatisation and Ornithological Society; the Aëronautical Society; the Anthropological Society; the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; the Art-Union of London; the Arundel Society; the British Archæological Association; the Camden Society; the Cavendish Society; the Chemical Society; the Ecclesiological Society; the Entomological Society; the Epidemiological Society; the Ethnological Society; the Genealogical and Historical Society; the Geological Society; the Geologist Association; the Hakluyt Society; the Harveian Society; the Hunterian Society; Institute of Actuaries; Institute of Painters in Water-Colours; Linnæan Society; London and Middlesex Archæological Society; London Institution; London Library; London Mechanics' Institution; Mathematical Society; Medical Society of London; Meteorological Society; Metropolitan Sanitary Association; Microscopical Society; Numismatic Society; Obstetrical Society of London; Palæontographical Society; Pathological Society; Pharmaceutical Society; Philological Society; Philharmonic Society; Ray Society; Royal Academy; Royal Academy of Music; Royal Agricultural Society of England; Royal Asiatic Society; Royal Astronomical Society; Royal College of Physicians; Royal College of Surgeons; Royal Geographical Society; Royal Horticultural Society; Royal Institute of British Architects; Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society; Royal Society; Royal United Service Institution; Society of British Artists; Society for the Encouragement of Arts; Society of Painters; Society of Schoolmasters; Statistical Society; Surrey Archæological Society; Syro-Egyptian Society; Zoological Society of London, &c., &c.

In 1843, government established a School of Design at Somerset House, in which were taught drawing, colouring, designing, and practical geometry. Some few years later, two private schools (one of which was the Female School of Art, in Queen Square) were opened on a similar plan. The commencement was on a small scale; but the demands for admission were soon so numerous, that provision was made for the reception of a larger number of pupils; and the success of this generous experiment increased every day. To the instruction given in the government schools, were added painting on china, wood-engraving, and lithography. These schools do not give their pupils the benefits of education alone; they furnish them with the means of deriving the utmost advantage from their acquirements and labours; for they are permitted to dispose of the designs and paintings; and so highly are they esteemed, that the manufacturers vie with each other in purchasing them. "The success of both schools and pupils," says a French artist, "is a triumphant answer to the opponents of the scheme." This example gave fresh courage to the friends of female culture in every rank of life. There was a growing dissatisfaction both with private instruction and with that of ladies' seminaries; the latter especially were generally confessed to be at once pedantic

and superficial. The idea was started of establishing schools of a superior order, something approaching to, though still very far removed from, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The first was established in Harley Street, under the title of Queen's College; and it has continued to be the most important, the crown having granted it a charter of incorporation. It possesses several free scholarships; one founded by the queen, the others by subscription. Professors of first-rate eminence have responded to the appeal made to them. They gave lectures on various subjects, many of which had been long regarded as beyond the pale of female intellect. Certificates are granted in theology, mathematics, Greek, and Latin. Ere long other colleges sprang up in different parts of the metropolis, or in the principal provincial towns—the Ladies' College, in Bedford Square; the Clifton College, &c. In all, the studies are of a far higher order than those in use in ordinary boarding-schools; and it is evident that this new system cannot fail to exercise a favourable influence on the rising generation. In 1858, the leaders of the woman movement started the *Englishwoman's Journal*, to be devoted exclusively to their service. It died, unfortunately, a natural death; not, however, without attaining its end—that of awakening public attention to the existing condition of women in this country.

With the surplus profits from the 1851 International Exhibition, the commissioners purchased an estate at South Kensington, on a part of which cheap temporary structures were raised to house the department that was formerly located in Marlborough House, and the various collections belonging to it; the schools of design have been consolidated and placed under the control of the department, which is, in great measure, under the direction of Mr. N. Cole. The committee of council on education, through the science and art department, afford assistance to the public in art instruction, by—I. The establishment of a national training school for art at South Kensington, to which male and female students are admitted, when properly qualified; receiving, in aid of their maintenance, an allowance proportioned to their attainments. When students have obtained the requisite certificates of qualification, they are recommended as teachers to the local schools of art; and as long as they perform their duties, they receive from the department, in augmentation of their income, payments, regulated by competency and successful result of teaching. II. Establishment of local art schools, or drawing unions. A school of art, or local union, for obtaining instruction in drawing, can be formed wherever the public provides and maintains suitable premises. Towards the erection of new premises, the department is authorised to make grants; and an art master will be recommended by the department, on condition that five public schools for the poor, or 500 children, are found to whom drawing may be taught; that pupil teachers of public schools for the poor are taught at a low charge; and that an evening class is held three times a week, at a fee not exceeding sixpence a week. The local committee must show that there is a reasonable prospect of the master obtaining a livelihood by teaching drawing. III. Annual inspections. IV. National competition. V. Circulation of books, and examples from the central museum. VI. Grants for purchases of examples, and directions how to conduct schools of art in accordance with the principles here laid down.

An architectural museum was formed in 1851, in Cannon Row, Westminster, to supply the means of referring to, and studying, the architecture of past ages, and the allied arts. The South Kensington Museum was commenced in 1856. When completed, it was passed over, by the commissioners of 1851, to the science and art department. Since that period, permanent brick structures, under Captain Fowke, have been added. The art museum, which forms a portion of it, is now admitted to be one of the best collections of the kind in Europe. The Geological Museum, Piccadilly, contains admirably arranged collections, in connection with the government school of mines.

A subject of great importance, initiated in Lord Palmerston's time—the inquiry into the causes of cholera, and the best means of preventing its spread in

Europe—has had some considerable light thrown on it by the investigations of the International Sanitary Conference, which concluded its sittings at Constantinople. The commissioners deal chiefly with the problem of excluding the cholera from Europe. They deny, upon very plausible grounds, that it is self-generating, and that it can be carried by the atmosphere. They observe that it travels along a regular highway, and that it never travels faster than does the usual passenger traffic; though this fact might, perhaps, be hard to demonstrate. They hold that the means of infection are the excretions of choleraic patients—even of those in the first stages—and that the channels through which it is taken up are the lungs and stomach. The poison must therefore be, not only subtle and penetrating, but volatile. It has also the quality of retaining its strength for a long time, except when neutralised by certain specifically destructive substances—a property observable in the lower form of animal life, and in the germs of vegetation. As, however, it requires either to be swallowed or breathed, and as it can only be conveyed from one place to another by mechanical transportation, the two points on which the committee have chiefly concentrated their attention are, the place of its residence, and the modes by which it is carried therefrom. It exists permanently, as the commissioners say, in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, from which point it appears to start periodically on its journey through the rest of Asia and through Europe. The filthy habits of Asiatics keep the disease alive, and promote its extension; for though only cholera can produce cholera, sickness, dirt, and bad ventilation are highly favourable to its development. The Mecca pilgrimages, and all other religious expeditions common in the East, satisfy both the conditions of unhealthiness and actual transport. In some of these pilgrimages it is the fashion for the travellers to carry with them the bodies of their deceased relatives, in order that the latter may be buried in certain spots supposed to possess peculiar sanctity. It must be admitted that these facts indicate to European governments, and especially to England, the necessity of undertaking a very laborious office. This country alone has the power, and must feel the obligation, of dealing with the disease in its birthplace. To do so will probably bring our agents into contact with that mixture of laziness, conceit, and superstition which make up Oriental obstructiveness, and is not unlikely to excite some physical resistance. Once, however, let it be established that the cholera starts from a place under British rule, and England, however heedless of her own safety, could hardly disregard the remonstrances of those European nations which the pest so frequently devastates. The means to be used are just such as should be employed in an infected London district; though, of course, the application of them in India must, for many reasons, be peculiarly difficult. Another remedy which the commissioners recommend equally to all European governments that can exercise it, is the enforcement of a rigorous quarantine at every port and station through which the disease ordinarily travels. Whether the commissioners are mistaken or not in holding that cholera is never self-generating, on three practical points their judgment is correct. These are—the place from which the disease starts; the mode in which it is conveyed hither; and the means by which that conveyance may be interrupted.

But we may not dwell longer on “the fairy tales of science.” Lord Derby told an audience that he was born in the pre-scientific era. Lord Palmerston might safely have said the same. Yet we know no period of history in which greater progress had been made in a scientific direction, or in which science was the means of disseminating wider benefits. It is satisfactory to find that, in all such matters, England was abreast of all her rivals; and in mechanical contrivance and enterprise, construction of iron machinery, railways, steam-ships, or telegraphic wires, considerably a-head. It is to be regretted that so much of this enterprise and ingenuity has been applied to purposes of destruction—that there should be still such faith in standing armies and physical force. Is it not time that—

“The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.”

CHAPTER XXX.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATION.

THE illustrious Robinson Crusoe tells us, that his head began, when he was a boy, to be early filled with rambling thoughts; and that though his father had given him a fair education, and designed him for the law, yet that nothing would satisfy him but going to sea. In geographical science, England, with her hardy sons, has always taken the lead; the causes of which pre-eminence have been, rather love of adventure, or the spirit of commercial enterprise, than the lust of power. In 1861, we were all glad to learn that the Australian continent had been crossed; but grieved, indeed, were we to find that, in the expedition, three of the explorers had miserably perished.

The character of the interior of the Australian continent had long been a mystery which it was felt ought to be cleared up; and, in 1860, an exploring expedition was organised at Melbourne. There was a committee, and plenty of funds; and, in August of that year, the expedition, well provided, and under the command of Richard O'Hara Burke, started from Melbourne. Towards the end of September it reached the Darling River, where Mr. Burke established a depôt of provisions, in charge of Mr. Wright; he himself and seven others pushing on for Cooper's Creek, to which place Wright was instructed to follow. Cooper's Creek lies almost due north from Melbourne, from which it is distant 700 miles, and seems to have been the most northern point theretofore reached by explorers; so that it lay on the threshold of the unknown region. Here it was the intention of Mr. Burke to form his principal depôt of supplies. He arrived at the spot about the middle of November. Wright's party was obstructed in its progress by disease and by the natives; and, towards the middle of December, Burke, impatient at longer delay, resolved to set out on his "dim and perilous" journey through the unknown regions of the continent. He left at Cooper's Creek four of the seven who accompanied him thither, Mr. Brahe being in charge of the party. Brahe's instructions were, to remain until Burke should return, or until their provisions ran short. The leader of the expedition himself, with three companions—Mr. Wills, Mr. King, and Mr. Gray—and having with him one horse, six camels, and three months' provisions, started northwards on the 16th of December. What were the privations and sufferings of this party on their exploring route, who can tell? The intrepidity and fortitude of the travellers were, however, equal to the enterprise. The southern point of the Gulf of Carpentaria, which opens into the Indian Ocean, was reached successfully by the party on the 11th of February; the great feat having been performed, for the first time, of a successful journey right across the Australian continent, from south to north. Now occurs the first illustration of what our antipodean contemporaries unite in thinking gross and unaccountable neglect on the part of the Melbourne committee. Although it was known that the southern point of the gulf was the place which the explorers aimed at reaching, no preparations had been made there to receive them: no succour, no supplies awaited their arrival; nothing had been done. They rested three days, and then faced southwards on their return. If the exploratory journey had been filled with privations and sufferings, what must the return have been?

We continue the narrative in the words of the *Melbourne Age*, of November 25th:—"We now come to the last and saddest, though glorious, episode of the tragic story. Strangely enough, a rumour, which cannot be traced to any satisfactory foundation, reached us a considerable time since from South Australia, and seemed like a premonition of the authentic tale of suffering, heroism, and death,

which soon shocked the ears and grieved the hearts of the entire community. The story, which now appears almost in the light of a prophecy, told us how some blacks from the far interior had seen three white men, famished and naked, existing rather than living on a raft in a creek in the midst of the barren wilderness, where no white man had ever penetrated before. The picture was, it must be owned, sufficiently horrible to contemplate; but it fell short of the awful reality yet to be revealed. The full extent of the calamity was revealed to us only on the evening of the 2nd of November. It then appeared that, on the very day on which Mr. Brahe left Cooper's Creek, in consequence of the illness of one of his men—Patton—and within seven hours of his departure, Messrs. Burke and Wills arrived, with King, at the *depôt*. They had actually succeeded in their great enterprise, and just retained sufficient vitality to reach the spot where they had hoped to find succour, but where, by an unaccountable and terrible fatality, it was denied them. So utterly worn out were the survivors of countless perils and inconceivable privations, that their strength was insufficient to admit of their travelling more than five miles a day; and at this tardy pace they well knew that they could not hope to overtake their former companions, although the latter had so recently started on their way towards the settlements. Nor did the marvellous fatality which seemed to pursue them end even here. It is a necessary precaution of explorers, when they have buried stores or provisions in the ground, to adopt various expedients to remove all traces of the soil having been disturbed, lest the aborigines should carry off the hidden property. Mr. Burke and his companions, having dug up the provisions left behind by the *depôt* party, effaced very carefully all indications of what they had done, and then went away a short distance, leaving no memorial of their visit except a letter buried in lieu of the provisions. Had they omitted leaving some traces of their visit, they were not, even in this terrible extremity, beyond the reach of aid. Brahe and Wright returned almost immediately to the *depôt*, to make a last examination of the place; but not perceiving any indications of white men having visited the place, they took their final departure, leaving their famishing comrades forsaken and destitute in the wilderness. The scenes which followed are almost too painful to describe. The first attempt of the dying men—for so indeed they were at this time—was to make towards the outlying settlements of South Australia, which were distant about 150 miles. Gray, we should add, had died of exhaustion a few days after leaving the Gulf of Carpentaria, on the homeward journey. They lived from this period almost exclusively upon "nardoo," a seed which grows upon a plant resembling clover, and which is pounded into a sort of flour by the natives. The last scene of all we give in the following extract from the narrative of John King:—"Mr. Wills and I used to collect and carry home a bag each day, and Mr. Burke generally pounded sufficient for our dinner during our absence; but Mr. Wills found himself getting very weak, and was shortly unable to go out to gather nardoo as before, nor even strong enough to pound it; so that, in a few days, he became almost helpless. I still continued gathering; and Mr. Burke now also began to feel very weak, and said he could be of very little use in pounding. I had now to gather and pound for all three of us. I continued to do this for a few days; but finding my strength rapidly failing, my legs being very weak and painful, I was unable to go out for several days, and we were compelled to consume six days' stock which he had laid by. Mr. Burke now proposed that I should gather as much as possible in three days, and that with this supply we should go in search of the natives—a plan which had been urged upon us by Mr. Wills as the only chance of saving him and ourselves as well, as he clearly saw that I was no longer able to collect sufficient for our wants. Having collected the seed as proposed, and having pounded sufficient to last Mr. Wills for eight days, and two days for ourselves, we placed water and fire-wood within his reach, and started. He then gave Mr. Burke a letter and his watch for his father, and we buried the remainder of the field books near the gunyah. In travelling the first day, Mr. Burke seemed very weak, and

complained of great pain in his legs and back. On the second day he seemed to be better, and said he thought he was getting stronger; but, on starting, did not go two miles before he said he could go no further. From the time we halted, Mr. Burke seemed to be getting worse, although he ate his supper. He then said to me—‘I hope you will remain with me here until I am quite dead; it is a comfort to know that some one is by: but when I am dying it is my wish that you should place the pistol in my right hand, and that you leave me unburied as I lie.’ That night he spoke very little, and the following morning I found him speechless, or nearly so; and about eight o’clock he expired. Two days after leaving the spot where Mr. Burke died, I found some gunyahs, where the natives had deposited a bag of nardoo, sufficient to last me for a fortnight, and three bundles containing various articles. I also shot a crow that evening, but was in great dread that the natives should come and deprive me of the nardoo. I remained there two days, to recover my strength, and then returned to Mr. Wills. I took back three crows; but I found him lying dead in his gunyah, and the natives had been there, and had taken away some of his clothes. I buried the corpse with sand, and remained there for some days; I tracked the natives who had been to the camp by their footprints in the sand. The natives, hearing the report of the gun, came to meet me, and took me with them to the camp, giving me nardoo and fish. They took the birds I had shot, and cooked them for me. The following morning they commenced talking to me; and putting one finger on the ground, and covering it with sand, at the same time pointing up the creek, said, ‘White fellow;’ which I understood to mean that one white man was dead. They appeared to feel great compassion for me when they understood that I was alone on the creek, and gave me plenty to eat. They also used to assist me in making a gourley, or break-wind, whenever they shifted camp. I generally shot a crow or a hawk, and gave it to them in return for these little services. They were very anxious to know where Mr. Burke lay; and one day, when we were fishing in the water-holes close by, I took them to the spot. On seeing his remains the whole party wept bitterly, and covered them with bushes. After this they were much kinder to me than before; and I always told them that white men would be here before two moons; and in the evenings, when they came with nardoo and fish, they used to talk about the ‘white fellows’ coming, at the same time pointing to the moon. From this time to when the relief party arrived—a period of about a month—they treated me with uniform kindness, and looked upon me as one of themselves. The day on which I was released, one of the tribe, who had been fishing, came and told me that the white fellows were coming; and the whole of the tribe who were then in camp sallied out in every direction to meet the party, while the man who had brought the news took me across the creek, where I shortly saw the party coming down.”

In 1861, there was a fierce controversy raised in England, by the appearance of M. du Chaillu’s *Travels in Equatorial Africa*. Travellers have the privilege of uttering strange tales; but, in many quarters, it was considered that he had abused that privilege. In the unexplored parts in which he travelled, he found that monstrous and ferocious apé, the gorilla. The country M. du Chaillu explored, lies between two degrees north, and two degrees south, of the equator, extending a distance of 400 miles to the interior. That district contains a greater variety of tribes than has been found in any other part of the African continent. Each tribe considers itself as a separate nation, and has a distinguishing name of its own, though many speak the same language. The common notion is, that the negroes living under the equator must be blacker than any others; but M. du Chaillu’s observations contradict that opinion, for he met with none that could properly be called black; and he saw several Albinos, who, though perfectly white, had woolly hair, and the features of negroes. It is M. du Chaillu’s opinion, that those who inhabit a damp and moist, woody, and especially a mountainous country, are less black than those who live where the atmosphere is dry. Some of the tribes with whom he sojourned are decided cannibals; and he felt

somewhat alarmed lest they should have a relish for white flesh. The negroes of the intense south of the equator are more intelligent and civilised than the others. They possess very imaginative minds, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars; they possess much power of dissimulation, and are far from being the stupid people commonly supposed. M. du Chaillu considers the natives of Africa are divided into two distinct families, separated by the chain of mountains, which he discovered in the interior only, which is supposed to cross the continent; the river system of the region he considered well adapted for commercial enterprise. For eight years he was familiar with the part of the country concerning which he writes. The four years recorded in his volume were devoted to a systematic examination of the interior. He travelled about 800 miles, always on foot, and unaccompanied by white men. He shot, stuffed, and brought home 2,000 birds, of which more than sixty are new species. He killed upwards of 1,000 quadrupeds, of which 200 were stuffed and brought home, with more than eighty skeletons. Not less than twenty of these he maintains to be species hitherto unknown to science. In the course of his travels he suffered fifty attacks of African fever; taking, to cure himself, more than fourteen ounces of quinine. Of famine, long and continued exposure to the heavy tropical rains, of attacks from ferocious ants and venomous flies, he had his share. He had a narrow escape, on one occasion, from being made king; and, if his account of the way in which they make kings among the Myongives be correct, perhaps that was the greatest danger of all. M. du Chaillu's book, published by Murray, and supported by Professor Owen, was exposed to the severest criticism. In reply, M. du Chaillu wrote, in the *Athenæum*—"I hope that neither in my book nor in my lectures I have pretended to be infallible as a naturalist, artist, or traveller; yet I maintain that I have discovered, in Equatorial Africa, the new mammals and birds given as such in the list at the end of my volume. All of these were described in the published proceedings of two of the most scientific societies in America (with which Mr. Gray ought to be acquainted), some of the birds as far back as 1855; and I defy him to produce specimens existing in any European museum before that time. My map, at which he sneers, is a mere sketch-map, it is true; but it was carefully prepared from observations made on the spot with the compass, and I will vouch for its general accuracy. My illustrations (prepared, not in this country, as he asserts, but in America) were taken either from my rough sketches, or from the actual objects, with the exception of four or five out of a total of seventy-four. Would it not have been more fair of Mr. Gray, before giving vent to insinuations that I had never visited the countries which I describe, nor collected in those countries my natural history specimens, to have applied to my friends at Corisco, and on the Gaboon, whose names are mentioned in my book? Mr. Gray pretends to be in communication with the missionaries and traders in those parts; and, therefore, this course would have been the more obvious, as he would have saved himself from the imputation of uttering mere calumnies."

The controversy thus originated became very furious. At the close of the meeting of the Ethnological Society, in July, 1861, when nearly half the visitors had left, an extraordinary scene occurred. It appears that M. du Chaillu could no longer curb his feelings in reference to some very offensive personal observations and interruptions made by Mr. Malone (a visitor), and which were held to be of such a character as not to warrant publicity. M. du Chaillu, when the room was about one-third full, as we are informed, heeded not benches or chairs, but, stepping over them, approached Mr. Malone, and touched him on the shoulder, holding his fist in his face. Having asked how Mr. Malone dared to have spoken of him in the way he had, he spat in his face. Mr. Malone called for protection from the chairman; and, while in the act of retiring from the room, M. du Chaillu vociferated—"Coward! coward!" There were several ladies and gentlemen in the room, but nothing further occurred. People seem now inclined to believe in gorillas; at any rate, M. du Chaillu must have lived in a very savage country. Though he was,

undoubtedly, much annoyed by the insulting behaviour of Mr. Malone, he had no right so far to forget himself. M. du Chaillu and Mr. Malone have written explanations respecting the unexpected *fracas*. The traveller says—"At a meeting of the Ethnological Society, on Tuesday, owing to a gross personal attack upon me by an individual present, apparently one of those who have, for a month past, incessantly persecuted me by casting doubt upon my veracity, I deeply regret that, in a moment of great irritation, I was guilty of conduct most unbecoming, which is peculiarly contrary to the usages of society, and which I was never before guilty of. I beg, therefore, to express my deep and sincere apology for what occurred. I have also felt myself bound to apologise to the members of the Ethnological Society, through their president." Mr. Malone gives the following account of the affair:—"My part in the meeting was now to come to an end, and I was preparing to go, when, to my astonishment, I saw, standing before me on a form, a little figure with dark threatening eyes and hands. It was M. du Chaillu. I did not hear or heed what he said, for I instantly received the outrage described in the *Globe* extract. The statement that no one interfered to protect me from further anticipated outrage, is not correct. I was soon joined by Dr. Hunt, the honorary secretary, who had first gone after M. du Chaillu to arrest his further progress. I was offered many regrets for what had occurred; and one gentleman, an officer in the Indian service, previously unknown to me, gave me his card, and permitted me to call him as a witness in case of need. He approved fully of the manner in which I received the outrage. All that remains for me to do, is to ask that M. du Chaillu be excluded from the future meetings of this society. That is the only 'revenge' I think it right to take. I think it is due to the visitors who assist the society in discussion, that such exclusion should be decided upon. I cannot otherwise accept the invitation, which it is due to myself and to the society to state, I have received from Dr. Hunt to attend future meetings."

In 1864, the geographical lions of the London season were Captains Speke and Grant, who asserted themselves to have succeeded where Bruce had failed. In the autumn of this year, Captain Speke suddenly died, from the accidental discharge of a gun while out shooting. Since the days of Bruce, more than one effort had been made to follow up the sources of the Nile. Indeed, Africa seems to have always had an attraction for adventurous Britons. Excited by the exploits of Captain Cook, they looked round for fresh worlds to conquer. It all at once became impressed upon men's minds, that within the continent of Africa there was a land entirely unknown—a land abounding with ostrich-feathers, and slaves, and gold—a land guarded as securely as the garden of the Hesperides. It was known that a river, navigable by large vessels, rolled through those regions; and on its banks rumour placed the far-famed city of Timbuctoo. But what became of this river? In vain was the appeal made to ancient or modern geographers. The Niger was described as flowing east to west, and as ending its course in a large inland lake. In this passage from *Æschylus* some enthusiasts discovered a prophecy and a promise:—

"Seek

A land far distant, where the tawny race
Dwell near the fountains of the sun, and where
The Nigris pours his dusky waters; wind
Along his banks, when thou shalt reach the fall
Where from the mountains, with papyrus crowned,
The venerable Nile impetuous pours
His headlong torrent; he shall guide thy steps
To those irriguous plains whose triple sides
His arms surround: there have the fates decreed
Thee and thy sons to form the lengthen'd line."

In 1788, the African Association was formed to settle this question. It sent out Ledgard.

Lord Palmerston was a young man when Park went out at the head of a

government expedition, to discover the sources of the Niger. When Park, at last, after many delays and troubles, saw the Niger once more, out of a party of thirty-eight, only seven remained; and these were all sick—some of them sick unto death. When the boats were ready, only four men besides himself were alive, and one of the four had gone mad. Unsubdued and hopeful, Park wrote to Lord Camden—"I shall set sail to the east, with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Nile, or perish in the attempt. Though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I myself were half dead, I would still persevere; and, if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would, at least, die in the Niger." And he did so. It was discovered, in 1811, that he had been obliged to fight his way down the Niger. In the Haoussa country, he had been attacked in a narrow part of the river from the shores. He defended himself for a long time; then clasping one of his companions in his arms, he sprung into the river and was drowned.

Government then sent out a double expedition—one to ascend the Congo, under Captain Tuckey: another to descend the Niger, under Major Peddie. Insurmountable barriers prevented the meeting, which was fondly anticipated; and both expeditions failed: their leaders also perished. Others followed—Ritchie, Denham, Clapperton. It was reserved for Richard Lander, who had accompanied the latter as his servant, to strike into the Niger, and to follow it down into the sea.

The friends of Africa were enthusiastic. They must have an expedition to explore the Niger; to examine the capabilities of the country; to enter into treaties with the native chiefs for the abolition of the slave-trade; to clear the road for commercial enterprise; and to afford that enterprise, the security which alone seemed necessary for its development. Sir T. Fowell Buxton, and his friends, were also extremely anxious that this opportunity should not be lost, of putting the natives in the way of cultivating the soil, and drawing forth its varied and numerous resources. A company was to be formed for this purpose, while the British government should enter into treaties with the native chiefs. The idea originated with Sir Fowell Buxton, in 1838. The government acceded to his theory. On December 7th, Sir Thomas writes—"Glenelg intimated that the ministers were unanimous, and that they had resolved, with some modifications, to act upon the propositions. I am told that Lord—— said it was the boldest conception that had been struck out in our days." Shortly afterwards Lord Glenelg resigned; but his successor, Lord Normanby, was equally in earnest on the subject; and the whole cabinet appears to have considered the advantage which would accrue to England, as well as to Africa, from the opening of so vast a field of commercial speculation, as sufficiently important to warrant their carrying it into effect. Mr. Buxton spent some months in the neighbourhood of London, incessantly engaged, both in communications with the government, and in endeavouring, with great success, to excite the interest and obtain the co-operation of many of his friends. In this, his biographer tells us, "as in previous undertakings, he acted in complete concert with Dr. Lushington, with whom every plan was carefully discussed, and who bore his full share of the burden."

At Dr. Lushington's house was held a preliminary meeting of a few select friends, before whom Mr. Buxton, in the first instance, wished to lay his views. He writes—"We have had a very highly satisfactory meeting. I felt that I had my case well up, and was troubled with no worrying doubts. Every one expressed that they were perfectly satisfied upon every point. Lord Ashley was very hearty indeed. The view I took about the climate of Africa was this:—I stated that my plan was to employ only a few Europeans, and to depend chiefly on the people of colour. I said, at once, that I gave up all the mouths of rivers, and all the swampy ground, and looked only to the high ground at the foot of the Kory Mountains; that I would not pledge myself to the healthiness of even that part, but that I expected it would prove very different from the general notions of African climate."

The first meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave-Trade, and

the Civilisation of Africa, was held in July, 1839. The Bishop of London, Lord Ashley, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Thomas Acland, and other influential individuals took part. Considerable funds were raised. Mr. Buxton writes—"It was a glorious meeting, quite an epitome of the state. Whig, Tory, and Radical, dissenter, low church, high church, top high church, or Oxfordism, all united. I was unwell, and made a wretched hand of my exposition; but good men and true, came to my aid, and supplied my deficiencies, and no one better than the Bishop of London. We determined to form two associations, perfectly distinct from each other, but having one common object in view—the putting an end to the slave-trade and slavery. One of these associations to be of an exclusively philanthropic character, and designed mainly to diffuse among the African tribes the light of Christianity, and the blessings of civilisation and free labour. The other to have a commercial character, and to unite with the above objects the pursuit of private enterprise and profit."

A few days afterwards, Lord Normanby announced to a deputation—consisting, among others, of the Bishop of London, Lords Teignmouth, Euston, and Worsley, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Dr. Lushington—that the government had come to a conclusion to send a frigate and two steamers to explore the Niger, and, if possible, to set on foot commercial relations with the tribes on its banks. Sir Edward Parry, the comptroller of steam and machinery, was appointed to prepare these vessels; and thus began the Niger expedition. Ships were built expressly for the purpose.

In June, 1840, a public meeting on the subject was held in Exeter Hall, Prince Albert in the chair; and formed, as the papers of the time note, "a most grand and magnificent display of international feeling." So pleased was the government with the idea, that Mr. Buxton, about the same time, was raised to the rank of a baronet. The summer was spent in active preparation. Three iron steamers—the *Albert*, the *Wilberforce*, and the *London*—were fitted out; and, to the great satisfaction of all who were interested in the subject, the command was given to Captain Henry Dundas Trotter; Commander William Allen was appointed to the *Wilberforce*; and Commander Bird Allen to the *London*. These gentlemen, and Mr. William Cook, were the four commissioners empowered to make treaties with the native chiefs for the abolition of the slave-trade. Several scientific gentlemen were engaged to accompany the expedition—De Vögel, as botanist; Mr. Roscher, as mineralogist and miner; Dr. Stanger, as geologist; and Mr. Fraser, curator of the Zoological Society of London, as naturalist. Mr. Uwins, a draughtsman, and Mr. Ansell, a practical gardener or seedsman, were also appointed; and the Church Missionary Society was allowed to send the Rev. Frederick Schön, and the Rev. J. Crowther, an African negro (in 1864, created an African bishop), to examine into the practicability of establishing missions on the banks of the Niger.

In 1841, the expedition sailed. Before it started, the steamers destined for the purpose were visited by Prince Albert. Sir Fowell Buxton writes to Miss Gurney—

"I went an hour before he was expected, and found everything in the most perfect order, and the officers in full dress. Trotter looked remarkably well in his uniform, and I was glad to have the opportunity of seeing him actually engaged in the command of his people. At the appointed time, two carriages and four drove on the quay, containing Prince Albert, Mr. Anson, Major Keppel (our late member for Norfolk), and half a dozen others. I was upon the quarter-deck, and Professor Airey with me, near the steps, which the prince immediately came up. He greeted me with the most good-natured familiarity, and expressed his pleasure at seeing me on board my fleet. He then closely examined everything, and seemed to take a great delight in the whole concern, and to understand mechanics. He was especially delighted with a buoy fixed ready at the stern of the ship, to be let down at a moment's notice. It contained a light which (at least they said so)

water only inflamed. I said to Keppel (not intending that the prince should hear me; which, however, he did), 'I wish his royal highness would order one of his suite—yourself, for example—to be thrown overboard, that we might save your life by this apparatus.' The prince took up the idea, and seemed half inclined to set Keppel a swimming, in order that we might have the gratification of the salvage. After examining everything in the *Albert*, the boat came alongside; the prince and six of his attendants got in, and I was also invited, and was not very far from having reason to regret the honour. The wind was blowing hard, and the tide rolling along at its full force. Our sailors were not accustomed to the navigation of the Thames; so that the tide ran away with us, and dashed us with considerable violence against a yacht at anchor, the *William and Mary*. We got entangled among the ropes attached to her anchor; and a cry was raised from the vessel—'You will be dragged over, lie down!' Down went his royal highness flat to the bottom of the boat, and without ceremony we all bundled down too. As it was the rope scraped along my back. When we got clear the prince sprang up, laughing heartily at the adventure, saying, 'I have had one ducking before this year, when I fell through the ice; and I thought we were going to have a second, of a much worse kind.' The alarm felt on board the vessels at our situation was very considerable, and Bird Allen had ordered his boats to be lowered. After visiting the two other vessels, the prince took leave of Trotter and the company, and expressed himself highly pleased with what he had seen."

The Niger expedition began to ascend the Nurr branch of the river on the 26th of August, 1841. The chief source of apprehension lay in the deadly climate; but against its dangers every human precaution had been taken. Every one was in the highest spirits, cheered by the novelty and beauty of the scenery, and by the exhilarating effect of the air. After Sunday Island, where the influence of the tide gave place to the constant northward current of the river, a marked change took place in the scenery. The banks began to be slightly elevated above the water; and, instead of the mangrove, a variety of beautiful palms and other trees formed a forest so dense, that, for upwards of a hundred miles (except where spots were cleared for cultivation), the eye could not penetrate more than a few yards beyond the water's edge. These clear spots, containing yams, cocoas, cassidas, Indian corn, plantain, and especially sugar-cane, began to appear immediately after leaving Sunday Island, and gradually became more frequent. Solitary huts were now succeeded by clusters, and clusters of huts by villages; the villages became larger and more populous; while the natives showed themselves less timid, and often came in their canoes to hold intercourse with the ships. Their timidity at first had been great; but their disposition was invariably friendly. For the first fifty miles there was little appearance of trade; but afterwards large canoes were seen carrying palm oil, destined for Brass Town and Bonny.

As they proceeded, the amount of cultivation of yams, bananas, and plantains, indicated still more extensive habitations. Some of the officers went into the country, and were much pleased with its openness and beauty. Here and there some nice plantations, fenced in, contained cassida, yams, pompions, Indian corn, and sugar-cane—all kept clean, and in the best condition of culture. The people were found to be industrious, and more advanced in civilisation than their neighbours lower down the river; their grounds much better cultivated, manufactures more encouraged, and their social comforts increasing. Up to this time all had gone on well. The Delta had been passed, and the valley of the Niger entered under circumstances seemingly the most auspicious.

On the 4th of September, unfortunately, fever of a most malignant character broke out in the *Albert*, and, almost simultaneously, in the other vessels. The expedition, notwithstanding, proceeded towards the confluence of the Niger and Tchadda, at which point an agreement had already been made for the cession of land for a model farm. A tract of land was chosen near Mount Patteh, where the

soil, though not of the best quality, grew a considerable quantity of cotton; and there seemed every probability that cotton would grow on the hills. There were, on all sides, traces of the ravages of the slave-trading Fulatahs; but, as the commissioners observed, "The mere occupation of one or two stations, by a few British subjects, would have the effect of establishing confidence among the natives, who, once assured of the protecting care of Great Britain, would be equally induced to build up their former habitations, and thus furnish a useful population, and have a beneficial effect on the surrounding tribes." As soon as the land had been selected for the model farm, the people in the vicinity brought abundance of provisions to the new settlement for sale; and those who had nothing to dispose of, came and hired themselves as labourers. Nothing could exceed the good feeling shown by the natives on every occasion. Cotton cloths of good manufacture, spun cotton, calabashes beautifully carved and ornamented, tobacco, camwood balls, shea butter, dried buffalo flesh, and dried fish, were brought on board in great quantities. As with most Africans, trade seemed to be the dominant passion of the people. "So far," says Mr. Commissioner Cook, "the object of the expedition had been attained; and everything promised a favourable termination to the mission." But now sickness broke out on board, and with such appalling rapidity, that Captain Trotter deemed it advisable to send the sick men back to sea in the *London*. The intelligence that one of the steamers had returned to Fernando Po, and that nine men had died of the fever, reached England in December. On the 21st of September, Captain Trotter was compelled to direct the *Wilberforce* to return as well; whilst he and Captain Bird Allen pushed forward in the *Albert*, in the hope of reaching Rabba, a very large town, the capital of the Fulatahs. After leaving the confluence, the banks of the river were found to be better peopled; and a great many villages were observed. In the market-place of Goree were not less than from 1,500 to 2,000 people. The articles exposed for sale were—bags of salt from Abba; robes of various colours; country cloths; camwood in balls; iron work, as hoes and shovels; Indian corn; ground nut; twine silk; seed of various kinds; shea butter; straw hats, with enormous brims; platters of wood and calabashes beautifully carved. M. Schön, also, mentioned "several large bags of cotton in its raw state." Egga was the largest town seen on the banks of the river; the population was reckoned at 7,000 or 8,000. The people were, in general, tall and well made; the form of the head, the countenance, and the lighter shade of the colour of the skin, indicated an intermixture of the Caucasian with the Negro race. The manufacturing of country cloths was found to be the principal occupation of the people. There were found to be no less than 200 looms in different parts of the town.

At Egga, Captain Trotter had reached a point 350 miles from the sea. He had accomplished his object with respect to two of the three kingdoms to which he had been sent; but he was now compelled to relinquish the hope of reaching the town of Abba, and so completing his work. "A very little mediation on our part," he observes, "might probably have had the effect of making the Nufi nation more independent and less oppressed, and have tended materially to the diminution of the slave-trade." But the sickness on board became so very alarming, that it was found absolutely necessary, on the 4th of October, to steam down the river with all speed. Captain Bird Allen, who had been most anxious to persevere, and, in fact, almost all the officers and men on board, except the negroes, were seized with the deadly fever. Captain Trotter himself was, at length, disabled by it; and, at this critical period, the engineers, also, were too unwell to perform their duty. Dr. Stanger, the geologist, however, having learned how to manage the steam-engines from a scientific treatise on board, undertook to work them himself; and Dr. M. Williams, in addition to the laborious duties in attending the sick, conducted the ship down the river, with the assistance of only one white sailor, in the most able and judicious manner.

While the *Albert* was still 100 miles from the sea, its disabled crew were

surprised and delighted by seeing a steamer coming up the stream towards them. It proved to be the *Ethiopé*, commanded by Captain Bucroft, who had been directed, by Mr. Jamieson, to afford any assistance to the expedition. This timely assistance was of the greatest importance. Captain Bucroft and his engineer took charge of the *Albert*, and brought her safely to Fernando Po. It was hoped that Captain Bird Allen, and his gallant fellow-sufferers, would rapidly revive under the influence of its purer air; but many were already too far sunk to receive benefit, and the mortality was most painful. Of the 301 persons who composed the expedition when it commenced the ascent of the river, forty-one perished from the African fever. It may be worth while to observe, that, of the 108 Africans on board, not one died from the effects of the disease. Captain Bird Allen fell a victim to it at Fernando Po, on the 28th of October.

"Thus," writes Mr. Charles Buxton, "failed the NIGER EXPEDITION. From the facts stated by all the different gentlemen who were on board, and who have written accounts of what they saw, and also from the direct assertions of the four commissioners, it would appear that nothing but the climate prevented the expedition from fulfilling the most sanguine hopes of its supporters."

Pecuniarily Sir Fowell Buxton was a loser by the event, as he had subscribed very largely towards the scheme he had so much at heart; but the deep disappointment he felt, when all the truth became known, arose from higher feelings than pecuniary ones. "His health," writes his son, "which had been undermined before, gradually became more feeble; and he could no longer sustain any mental effort, especially if attended by any sense of responsibility." To a man the law of whose nature it was to be at work with head, hand, and heart, it was no slight trial to be thus prematurely laid aside. He was only fifty-five years of age; but already the evening had come of his day of ceaseless toil; nor was its close brightened by the beams of success and joy. The idea of what he termed incomparable horrors of the slave-trade, had fastened itself upon his mind with the most vivid reality; the burning and plundered villages of Africa, the ships traversing the Atlantic with their cargoes of natives—these pictures were ever before him. When unconscious that he was observed, he would, at times, utter such groans as if his heart were sinking beneath its load. But his grief was not of that kind described by an old divine, which runs out in voice. He rarely spoke of the expedition; to Captain Bird Allen's death he could scarcely allude at all: but his grave demeanour, his worn, pale face, the abstraction of his manner, and the intense fervour of his supplications that God would pity "poor Africa"—these showed too well the poignancy of his feelings.

All the spring of 1842 was spent by Sir Fowell Buxton in a succession of painful efforts to gather some benefit for Africa from the wreck of the Niger expedition. The model farm was still in existence; and to obtain the promise of an occasional visit to it, from a government steamer, was one of the principal objects at which he aimed. The heads of the African Civilisation Society obtained an interview with Lord Stanley, which Sir Fowell thus describes:—"Lord Stanley received us very kindly; and Lushington opened our case with great skill and boldness too. How hearty my prayer had been for him and myself, that utterance might be given to us—that we might speak with all boldness as we ought to speak! Then followed Sir R. Inglis, saying strong things in a very mild voice, and in a very gentle manner. Then Acland put in a few words extremely well; and then I spoke, contending that, one point excepted—that of the climate—we had met with success in every particular; and that it would be most wicked and shameful to abandon Africa in consequence of anything that had occurred. After hearing all we had to say, he offered, very frankly, to send round the cabinet any paper which we should transmit to him embodying our ideas, and stating what we would wish."

A public meeting of the African Civilisation Society was held in June. Lord John Russell, with generous boldness, came forward and took a prominent part in

the proceedings, boldly asserting the soundness of the principles on which the scheme had been founded. The Bishop of Oxford spoke with hereditary eloquence and feeling. He fully admitted the disappointment; but, like Lord John Russell, he did not fear to uphold the principles which had actuated them; the righteousness of their cause, and the certainty of ultimate success if discouragement did not paralyse their exertions. Amongst the speakers were the Bishops of Gloucester and Norwich, Lords Mahon, Sandon, Teignmouth, and Fortescue, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Sir T. D. Acland. In July of the same year, Lieutenant Webb courageously volunteered to go up the Niger, in the *Wilberforce*, to visit the model farm. He found the settlers all well. A large portion of ground had been cleared; and from twenty to thirty acres were in good order, mainly planted with cotton, the growing crops of which were very promising. On the other hand, owing to the murder of Mr. Can, while returning to the model farm from Fernando Po, the settlers had been deprived of all effective superintendence. Mr. Moore, the negro in charge, had no authority over his companions; and, in consequence, the most complete disorganisation had taken place. These evils Lieutenant Webb expected to remedy, by leaving Mr. Hensman, the surgeon *pro tempore* of the *Wilberforce*, as superintendent; but sickness appearing on board, Mr. Hensman could not be spared. Lieutenant Webb, therefore, broke up the settlement, and brought all the people away. The tribes which had been collected round the farm expressed the deepest regret at its being removed, and even displeasure that the white man should come and sit down among them "to teach the fashion," and then go away. For a moment Sir Fowell Buxton was ruffled by this bitter disappointment. He writes—"As to the model farm, it makes me mad to think that it was going on so well—our experiment likely to be successful—and that they were torn away because Lieutenant Webb had not a superintendent to spare them."

Very soon came the end. In January, 1843, Sir Fowell proceeded to London, to bear his part in the painful duty of dissolving the African Civilisation Society. In reply to the summons to attend the meeting, he says, in a letter to the Rev. J. M. Trew, "I feel as if I were going to attend the funeral of an old and dear friend." After the resolution for suspending the operations of the society had been passed, he addressed the meeting in a tone of deep feeling. He warmly thanked the committee for their past exertions; and although he insisted strongly that the expedition had not failed in any one of its great objects, still he admitted that there was a necessity for the step which had now been taken. He alluded to the attacks of the papers; but added, that painfully as he felt all the disasters which had attended the expedition, he did not accuse himself of having been imprudent or over-sanguine in the measures which he had proposed.

A less gloomy, and not less glorious, period of African exploration is that of the Nile, says Mr. Winwood Reade, which belongs almost exclusively to the present generation. The Geographical Society is as important a body as the African Association. Sir Roderick Murchison is no unworthy successor of Sir Joseph Banks, and has often acted as ambassador from science to the state. The question of the sources of the Nile, as far as public curiosity is concerned, is as fairly settled now as the Niger's mouth is; and the splendid journey of Sir Samuel and Lady Baker surpasses the individual exploits of ancient or modern times.

Bruce, as we have intimated, went up the wrong branch. The White Nile, or Bahr-el-Abiad, was the right feeder to follow, and one the source of which was to be sought, not eastward in Abyssinia, but due south from Khartoum, in some then unexplored and unimagined region of interior Africa, the distance of which could not be told, but which was certainly more remote and less accessible than by Abyssinia. The ancient geographer Ptolemy, indeed, had considered this to be the true Nile; and though Bruce died happy in his Abyssinian delusion, the world reverted at last to the ancient notion, and knew that not till some more fortunate explorer than Bruce should stand at the head of the White Nile, far, far to the

south of its junction with the Blue Nile at Khartoum, would the problem of 3,000 years be solved. But how far to the south of this spot was a mystery. Gradually, successive expeditions, creeping up the White Nile above Khartoum, explored its course for nearly 800 miles of direct distance beyond that point; one of these expeditions, sent by the Pasha of Egypt, in 1841, reaching as far as to 4 deg. 42 min.; and another, in 1850, as far as 4 deg. 9 min. N. lat.: but the account brought back by all was, that the origin of the stream was still further to the south, probably to the south of the equator. This corresponded with information obtained, by Dr. Krapf and other explorers of Eastern Africa, from the coast; and at length it became the settled but somewhat vague belief of the geographical mind—a belief even indicated by dotted lines on maps of Africa—that the sources of the Nile were to be found in an undefined region of mountains and lakes lying south of the equator, and some hundreds of miles west from the Indian Ocean. An undefined region, we say; for though the names and positions of some mountains, 200 miles or so from the east coast were known, and there were rumours of lakes to the west of those, and the far-famed Mountains of the Moon further inland, the relations of these lakes and mountains to each other were matters, for Europeans at least, of mere imaginative speculation. The honour of breaking into this unknown region of sub-equatorial Africa, and of dispelling the mist that there involved the nature and whereabouts of the Nile's source, if not of actually setting foot upon the exact spot beyond possible dispute—this great honour was reserved for Captain Speke. He is famous by two expeditions. In the former, undertaken for general purposes of East African exploration, rather than with a view to the discovery of the source of the Nile, Captain Speke was associated with Captain Burton. Captain Speke reached, crossed, and travelled along the borders of a great lake called Tanganyika, situated about 700 miles due west of Zanzibar; and he also reached, on the 30th of July, 1858, the southern extremity of another broader lake, situated more to the north, but not so far inland by about 200 miles, called Lake N'yanza. It was when gazing on this latter lake, known since then as Victoria N'yanza, he conceived the idea that it was in that body of waters, 3,740 feet above the sea-level, and composed of the accumulated drainage of the high lands and mountains around, that the great Nile, the Mediterranean mouths of which were more than 2,300 miles away to the north, had its origin. Full of this idea, which he was not able to verify in that expedition, he returned home; and it was on the very day after his return to London, he tells us—*i.e.*, on the 9th of May, 1859—that his new expedition was resolved on. He had called on Sir Roderick Murchison, the president of the Royal Geographical Society; and to him he explained his views with respect to the N'yanza Lake. Sir Roderick at once perceived their importance, and said to him, "Speke, we must send you there again." Accordingly the new expedition was organised. It was proposed by some that Captain Speke should adopt the method of all previous explorers who had sought to penetrate the mystery of the Nile's source, and, starting from Egypt, push his way up the river's course till his search should lead him either to the N'yanza, about which he had formed his foregone conclusion, or to some result that should disprove the conclusion. But he adhered to his original and meritorious idea of attempting the problem, not by this obvious and commonplace plan, which had so often failed, but by a plan which may be called the reverse—that of a march inland from the east coast, so as to again reach the N'yanza Lake; investigate that lake; find that outlet of it which he believed to be, or to lead to, the White Nile; and then verify his conjecture to the world by descending the detected river, and reappearing in Egypt. And so, after the necessary delays of preparation, he found himself, on the 2nd of October, 1860, with Captain Grant as his single European companion, on the east coast of Africa, opposite to the island of Zanzibar, with civilisation and white faces left behind him, and the perils of his extraordinary expedition in front. Plunging into African darkness at that spot, the two travellers disappear, it may be said, from human ken for two years and five months; and when they emerge again

it is at Gondokoro, on the Nile, where Mr. Baker, who has gone up the river so far on the chance of tidings of them, meets them on the 15th of February, 1863, and whence the famous intelligence quickly reaches England—"Speke and Grant are found, and the Nile is done for." The proceedings of the two years and five months that elapsed between their disappearance into Eastern Africa, on the mainland opposite Zanzibar, and their reappearance to European eyes at Gondokoro, Captain Speke's large volume has narrated; and thence we may determine whether and how far Captain Speke has settled, by this laborious expedition, the great problem on account of which he undertook it.

The route taken by the travellers was, in a great measure, determined by the obstacles they encountered in their progress, and by their conjectures, in moving on, as to what way of approach to the lake would be the easiest. They approached it at last, as we have said, not at its southern extremity, where Speke had discovered it in 1858, but by a circuitous way round its western flank, leading them into the important African kingdom of Karague. By far the most interesting portions of Captain Speke's book, are his accounts of this kingdom of Karague, the dominion of the good King Rumanika, where he spent about two months (November, 1861—January, 1862); and then of the still more powerful kingdom of Uganda, stretching along the whole north-west shore of the lake, and governed by the terrible King Altesa, under the influence of his mother, the Queen-Dowager N'yamasoré, where he remained no less than six months (January—July, 1861); during which time he was on the skirts of the lake, and had the pleasure of sailing on its waters.

At length the travellers "got the road"—i.e., obtained permission to depart—from the capricious Mtesa, King of Uganda; and, proceeding northwards, struck the Nile at Urondogani, some forty miles from the lake, July 21st, 1862. Thence they reversed their course, actually tracing the banks of the river back to the point of its junction with the N'yanza, July 28th; after which their homeward journey may be said to have begun. Descending to their former station of Urondogani, they there embark on the Nile, and sail down a portion of its course; when their homeward progress is interrupted by a detention in the kingdom of Unyaro, which is the next kingdom to Uganda, north of the N'yanza. Here they are detained, with fresh troubles, for three months (August to November, 1862); but at last, getting away from Unyaro and its feeble fidgety King Karamsi, they recommence their march, strike the Nile again, and cross it; avoid a great bend of it, and again strike it; and so, on the 15th of February, 1863, reached Gondokoro, where they find, not Consul Petherick, whom they had expected, but Mr. Baker; and whence the news of their reappearance, and of the successful performance of the great feat they had projected, was quickly flashed to England. Ere long they followed in person, to tell their story more fully, and to write their accounts of it.

And is, then, the great feat performed? Is the Nile "done for?" This is a question on which, ever since the publication of Captain Speke's volume, geographers are at variance. That the Nile is as good as "done for"—that Captains Speke and Grant have taken the entire mystery out of the problem, and brought it to the daylight of solution—all must admit; the question is only as to the completeness of the solution. On this point Captain Speke's own summary of the results of his expedition, as they presented themselves to his mind when he stood at the junction of the Nile with the Lake N'yanza, will have a force now with which no personal jealousies can mingle. The points upon which doubt and difference of opinion may still exist, are indicated by Captain Speke himself. That the Nile is fed from the Lake Victoria N'yanza, a great reservoir of waters gathered from rains among mountains in that high equatorial table-land, and that the outlet at Ripon Falls is one of the main channels by which it is fed, may be set down as proved. But, is there no other lake or reservoir to the east or north-east of the Lake N'yanza, whence there may be larger feeders of the Nile than that from N'yanza, at Ripon Falls? And, again, supposing all the upper waters of the Nile

to come from the Lake N'yanza, how is the lake itself fed? May it not be, after all, but a kind of intermediate reservoir; and may there not be rivers flowing into it, which, if traced to other accumulations of water, would more truly be the original sources of the Nile? It was felt, in many quarters, that a more complete inspection of the Lake Victoria N'yanza, than Captains Speke and Grant were enabled to make, was requisite; as also a more uninterrupted tracing of the upper course of the Nile, than it was possible for them to attempt. Dr. Barth, however, accepted what they had done as virtually a solution of the greatest geographical problem of history.

Sir Roderick Murchison, writing under date of the 24th September, to the *Athenæum*, says—"Sir, I beg to state, through your medium, that my geographical friends and myself have resolved to bring about the erection of a suitable monument, to commemorate the exploits of the man who, of all Europeans, first crossed central equatorial Africa, from south to north, with his companion Grant; and who (setting aside all disputes respecting the source of the Nile) unquestionably determined the existence and the position of the great water-basin whence the Nile flows. Yesterday, in company with the gallant Captain Grant, who had travelled from the north of Scotland, and Dr. Livingstone, I followed the remains of my lamented friend to the family burying-place of the Spekes, in the church of Dowlish Wake; and now that he has been cut off in the zenith of his intrepid and brilliant career, I feel confident that this appeal will meet with a generous response."

One form of geographical enterprise, that of scaling the hitherto untrodden peaks and passes of the Alps, was in great favour with Englishmen at this time. An Alpine Club had been formed expressly for the purpose; and, by their enterprise and daring, won great renown. Some terrible accidents, however, happened. One of them, which occurred in July, 1865, and which sent a thrill of horror all through Europe, is thus described by Mr. Edward Whymper, president of the Alpine Club:—"On Wednesday morning, the 12th of July, Lord Francis Douglas and myself crossed the Col Theodule, to seek guides at Zermatt. After quitting the snow on the northern side, we rounded the foot of the glacier, crossed the Furgge glacier, and left my tent, ropes, and other matters in the little chapel at the Lac Noir. We then descended to Zermatt, engaged Peter Taugwalder, and gave him permission to choose another guide. In the course of the evening, the Rev. Charles Hudson came into our hotel with a friend, Mr. Hadow; and they, in answer to some inquiries, announced their intention of starting to attack the Matterhorn on the following morning. Lord Francis Douglas agreed with me it was undesirable that two independent parties should be on the mountain at the same time, with the same object. Mr. Hudson was, therefore, invited to join us; and he accepted our proposal. Before admitting Mr. Hadow, I took the precaution to inquire what he had done in the Alps; and, as well as I remember, Mr. Hudson's reply was—"Mr. Hadow has done Mont Blanc in less time than most men." He then mentioned several other excursions that were unknown to me; and added, in answer to a further question—"I consider he is a sufficiently good man to go with us." This was an excellent certificate, given to us as it was by a first-rate mountaineer; and Mr. Hadow was admitted without any further questions. We then went into the matter of guides. Michael Croz was with Messrs. Hadow and Hudson; and the latter thought, if Peter Taugwalder went as well, that there would not be occasion for any one else. The question was referred to the men themselves, and they made no objection.

"We left Zermatt at 5.35 on Thursday morning, taking the two young Taugwalders, as porters, by the desire of their father. They carried provisions amply sufficient for the whole party for three days, in case the ascent should prove more difficult than we anticipated. No rope was taken from Zermatt, because there was already more than enough in the chapel at Lac Noir. It has been repeatedly asked, 'Why was not the wire-rope taken, which Mr. Hudson brought to Zermatt?'

I do not know; it was not mentioned by Mr. Hudson; and, at that time, I had not even seen it. My rope alone was used during the expedition: and there was, first, about 200 feet of Alpine Club rope; secondly, about 150 feet of a kind I believe to be stronger than the first; thirdly, more than 200 feet of a lighter and weaker rope than the first, of a kind used by myself until the club rope was produced.

"It was our intention, on leaving Zermatt, to attack the mountain seriously—not, as it had been frequently stated, to explore or examine it; and we were provided with everything that long experience has shown to be necessary for the most difficult mountains. On the first day, however, we did not intend to ascend to any great height, but to stop when we found a good position for placing the tent. We mounted, accordingly, very leisurely; left the Lac Noir at 8.20, and passed along the ridge connecting the Hörnli with the actual peak, at the foot of which we arrived at 11.20, having frequently halted on the way. We then quitted the ridge, went to the left, and ascended by the north-eastern face of the mountain. Before twelve o'clock we had found a good position for the tent, at a height of 11,000 feet; but Croz, and the elder of Taugwalder's sons, went on to look what was above, in order to save time on the following morning. The remainder constructed the platform on which the tent was to be placed; and by the time this was finished the two men returned, reported joyfully that, as far as they had gone, they had seen nothing but that which was good; and asserted positively that, had we gone on with them on that day, we could have ascended the mountain, and have returned to the tent with facility. We passed the remaining hours of daylight—some basking in the sunshine, some sketching or collecting; and, when the sun went down, giving, as it departed, a glorious promise for the morrow, we returned to the tent to arrange for the night. Hudson made tea, myself coffee; and we then retired each one to his blanket bag—the Taugwalders, Lord Francis Douglas, and myself occupying the tent; the others remaining, by preference, outside. But, long after dusk, the cliffs above echoed with our laughter, and with the songs of the guides; for we were happy that night in camp, and did not dream of calamity.

"We were astir long before daybreak on the morning of the 14th, and started directly it was possible to move, leaving the youngest of Taugwalder's sons behind. At 6.20 we had attained a height of 12,800 feet, and halted for half-an-hour; then continued the ascent without a break until 9.55, when we stopped for about fifty minutes, at a height, probably, of about 14,000 feet. Thus far we had ascended by the north-eastern face of the mountain, and had not met with a single difficulty. For the greater part of the way there was, indeed, no occasion for the rope; and sometimes Hudson led, and sometimes myself. We had now arrived at the foot of that part which, from Zermatt, seems perpendicular, or overhanging, and we could no longer continue on the same side. By common consent, therefore, we ascended for some distance by the *arête*—that is, by the ridge descending towards Zermatt—and then turned over to the right, or to the north-western face. Before doing so, we made a change in the order of ascent; Croz now went first; I followed; Hudson came third; Hadow and old Taugwalder were last. The change was made because the work became difficult for a time, and required caution. In some places there was but little to hold, and it was therefore desirable that those should be in front who were least likely to slip. The general slope of the mountain at this part was less than 40°, and snow had consequently accumulated, and filled up the irregularities of the rock face, leaving only occasional fragments projecting here and there. These were, at times, coated with a thin glaze of ice, from the snow above having melted and frozen again during the night. Still, it was a place over which any fair mountaineer might pass in safety. We found, however, that Mr. Hadow was not accustomed to this kind of work, and required continual assistance; but no one suggested that he should stop, and he was taken to the top. It is only fair to say that the difficulty experienced by Mr. Hadow at this part, arose, not from fatigue, or lack of courage,

but simply and entirely from want of experience. Mr. Hudson, who followed me, passed over this part, and, as far as I know, ascended the entire mountain without having the slightest assistance rendered to him on any occasion. Sometimes, after I had taken a hand from Croz, or received a pull, I turned to give the same to Hudson; but he invariably declined, saying it was not necessary. This solitary and difficult part was of no great extent—certainly not more than 300 feet high; and after it was passed the angles became less and less as we approached the summit; at last the slope was so moderate that Croz and myself detached ourselves from the others, and ran on to the top. We arrived there at 1.40 P.M.; the others about ten minutes after us.

"I have been requested to describe particularly the state of the party on the summit. No one showed any signs of fatigue, neither did I hear anything to lead me to suppose that any one was at all tired. I remember Croz laughing at me when I asked him the question. We had, indeed, been moving less than ten hours, and during that time had halted for nearly two. The only remark which I heard suggestive of danger was made by Croz; but it was quite casual, and probably meant nothing. He said, after I had remarked that we had come up very slowly, 'Yes, I would rather go down with you and another guide alone, than with those who are going.' As to ourselves, we were arranging what we should do that night on our return to Zermatt.

"We remained on the summit for one hour; and during the time, Hudson and I consulted, as we had done all the day, as to the best and safest arrangement of the party. We agreed that it would be best for Croz to go first, as he was the most powerful, and Hadow second; Hudson, who was equal to a guide in sureness of foot, wished to be third; Lord F. Douglas was placed next, and old Taugwalder, the strongest of the remainder, behind him. I suggested to Hudson that we should attach a rope to the rocks on our arrival at the difficult bit, and hold it as we descended, as an additional protection. He approved of the idea, but it was not definitely settled that it should be done. The party was being arranged in the above order while I was making a sketch of the summit, and they were waiting for me to be tied in my place, when some one remembered that we had not left our names in a bottle; they requested me to write them, and moved off while it was being done. A few minutes afterwards I tied myself to young Taugwalder, and followed, catching them just as they were commencing the descent of the difficult part described above. The greatest care was being taken—only one man was moving at a time; when he was firmly planted the next one advanced, and so on. The average distance between each was probably twenty feet. They had not, however, attached an additional rope to rocks, and nothing was said about it. The suggestion was made entirely on account of Mr. Hadow, and I am not sure it even occurred to me again.

"I was, as I have explained, detached from the others, and following them; but after about a quarter of an hour Lord F. Douglas asked me to tie on to old Taugwalder, as he feared, he said, if there was a slip Taugwalder would not be able to hold him. This was done hardly ten minutes before the accident, and undoubtedly saved Taugwalder's life.

"As far as I know, at the moment of the accident, no one was actually moving. I cannot speak with certainty, neither can the Taugwalders, because the two leading men were partially hidden from our sight by an intervening mass of rock. Poor Croz had laid aside his axe; and in order to give Mr. Hadow greater security, was absolutely taking hold of his legs, and putting his feet, one by one, into their proper positions. From the movements of their shoulders, it is my belief that Croz, having done as I have said, was in the act of turning round to go down a step or two himself; at this moment Mr. Hadow slipped, fell on him, and knocked him over. I heard one startled exclamation from Croz, then saw him and Mr. Hadow flying downwards; in another moment Hudson was dragged from his steps, and Lord F. Douglas immediately after him. All this was the work of a moment; but imme-

diately we heard Croz's exclamation, Taugwalder and myself planted ourselves as firmly as the rock would permit; *the rope was tight between us, and the shock came on us both as on one man.* We held; but the rope broke midway between Taugwalder and Lord F. Douglas. For two or three seconds we saw our unfortunate companions sliding downwards on their backs, and spreading out their hands endeavouring to save themselves; they then disappeared one by one, and fell from precipice to precipice on to the Matterhörn glacier below, a distance of nearly 4,000 feet in height. From the moment the rope broke it was impossible to help them.

"For the space of half-an-hour we remained on the spot without moving a single step. The two men, paralysed by terror, cried like infants, and trembled in such a manner as to threaten us with the fate of the others. Immediately we had descended to a safe place I asked for the rope that had broken, and to my surprise—indeed, to my horror—found that it was the weakest of the three ropes. As the first five men had been tied while I was sketching, I had not noticed the rope they employed; and now I could only conclude that they had seen fit to use this in preference to the others. It has been stated that the rope broke in consequence of its fraying over a rock: this is not the case; it broke in mid-air, and the end does not show any trace of previous injury.

"For more than two hours afterwards, I thought every moment that the next would be my last; for the Taugwalders, utterly unnerved, were not only incapable of giving assistance, but were in such a state that a slip might have been expected from one or the other at any moment. I do the younger man, moreover, no injustice when I say, that immediately we got to the easy part of the descent, he was able to laugh, smoke, and eat as if nothing had happened. There is no occasion to say more of the descent. I looked frequently, but in vain, for traces of my unfortunate companions, and we were in consequence surprised by the night when still at a height of 13,000 feet. We arrived at Zermatt at 10.30 on Saturday morning.

"Immediately on my arrival I sent to the president of the commune, and requested him to send as many men as possible to ascend heights whence the spot could be commanded where I knew the four must have fallen. A number went, and returned after six hours, reporting they had seen them, but that they could not reach them that day. They proposed starting on Sunday evening, so as to reach the bodies at daybreak on Monday; but, unwilling to lose the slightest chance, the Rev. J. M'Cormick and myself resolved to start on Sunday morning. The guides of Zermatt, being threatened with excommunication if they did not attend the early mass, were unable to accompany us. To several, at least, I am sure this was a severe trial; for they assured me, with tears, that nothing but that which I have stated would have prevented them from going. The Rev. J. Robertson, and Mr. J. Philpotts, of Rugby, however, not only lent us their guide, Franz Ardermatton, but also accompanied us themselves. Mr. Puller lent us the brothers Lochmatter; F. Payot and J. Tiarraz, of Chamouni, also volunteered. We started with these at 2 A.M. on Sunday, and followed the route we had taken on Thursday morning until we had passed the Hörnli, when we went down to the right of the ridge, and mounted through the seracs of the Matterhörn glacier. By 8.30 we had got on to the plateau at the top, and within sight of the corner in which we knew my companions must be. As we saw one weather-beaten man after another raise the telescope, turn deadly pale, and pass it on without a word to the next, we knew that all hope was gone. We approached; they had fallen below as they had fallen above—Croz a little in advance, Hadow near him, and Hudson some distance behind; but of Lord F. Douglas we could see nothing. To my astonishment I saw that all of the three had been tied with the club, or with the second and equally strong rope, and consequently there was only one link—that between Taugwalder and Lord F. Douglas—in which the weaker rope had been used.

"The letters of the Rev. J. M'Cormick have already informed you respecting

the subsequent proceedings. The orders from the government of the Valais to bring the bodies down were so positive, that four days after the events I have just related, twenty-one guides accomplished that sad task. The thanks of all Englishmen are due to these brave men, for it was a work of no little difficulty, and of great danger. Of the body of Lord F. Douglas they, too, saw nothing; it is probably arrested in the rocks above. No one can mourn his loss more deeply or more sincerely than myself; for, although young, he was a most accomplished mountaineer, hardly ever required the slightest assistance, and did not make a single slip throughout the day. He had, only a few days before we met, made the ascent of the Gabelhorn, a summit far more difficult, I believe, to reach than the Matterhorn itself.

"I was detained in Zermatt until the 22nd of July, to await the inquiry instituted by the government. I was examined first; and, at the close, I handed in to the court a number of questions which I desired should be put to the elder Taugwalder; doing so because that which I had found out respecting the ropes was by no means satisfactory to me. The questions, I was told, were put and answered before I left Zermatt; but I was not allowed to be present at the inquiry; and the answers, although promised, have not yet reached me.

"This, sir, is the end of this sad story. A single slip, or a single false step, has been the sole cause of this frightful calamity, and has brought about misery never to be forgotten. I have only one observation to offer upon it. If the rope had not broken you would not have received this letter, for we could not possibly have held the four men, falling as they did—all at the same time, and with a severe jerk. But, at the same time, it is my belief that no accident would have happened had the rope between those who fell been as tight, or nearly as tight, as it was between Taugwalder and myself. The rope, when used properly, is a great safeguard; but whether on rocks, or whether on snow or glacier, if two men approach each other so that the rope falls in a loop, the whole party is involved in danger; for should one slip or fall, he may acquire, before he is stopped, a momentum that may drag down one man after another, and bring destruction on all; but if the rope is tight this is all but impossible."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE LAST OF LORD PALMERSTON AS PREMIER.

IN the course of our narrative we have now reached the summer of 1865, when the general election was held, and when it was to be seen how far his lordship had deserved well of his country. To remain at peace with all the world—to develop the industry of the nation—to render the country secure by means of its army and navy, particularly the latter—were the main particulars of the Palmerston programme.

Let us glance first at the state of the navy. England has always held that her navy is her great source of security and power. In a letter to Lord North, in 1773, George III. writes—"I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation of Lord Sandwich's plan for having the guard-ships always ready for immediate service: that will, I am persuaded, prevent many wars; for by that means we have over twenty large ships ready before the enemy can equip one; consequently about the start of three months, which is an immense advantage in all military operations." Similar feeling has been, more or less, cherished by all our statesmen; even by such men of peace as Mr. Cobden, who was quite ready to admit that we

required a navy superior to any other power. This is one reason why the Admiralty has been generally exposed to very severe criticism; another may be found in the fact that its accounts have been kept in such a state as generally to defy all comprehension.

An important pamphlet, entitled *The Naval Expenditure from 1860 to 1866, and its Results*, has been published by Mr. Ridgway, of Piccadilly. It is evidently intended as a defence of the late Board of Admiralty, and may be considered as officially inspired. The following is a summary of its contents:—The opening paragraph states that the department of the Admiralty has for a long time been the subject of accusation and complaint, and that these have been always to the same effect—namely, that for the money expended year by year upon the navy, the country has not received an equivalent return. After stating that the permanent officers of the department are prohibited from vindicating their proceedings, and that outsiders are without the necessary information, even if they were willing to incur the trouble of defending them, the writer proceeds to name a definite accusation which has been made against the late Board. It is to the effect that the Admiralty had, in the course of six years, wasted no less than £70,000,000, which had been voted for the purposes of the navy; and that, in consequence of such great waste, the ships and guns now possessed by this country were inferior to those of other powers. These statements the writer believes to be incorrect. The late Board, instead of having neglected their duties, devoted themselves to the advancement of those measures on which the future interests of the British navy must depend. Before proceeding to a discussion of the measures to which he alludes, and which are classified under six heads, it is thought necessary to refer to the condition of the navy in previous years. For twenty years preceding the Russian war, comparatively small demands were made for the expenditure of the navy; and yet, in each session of parliament, outcries were heard for reduction and retrenchment, the estimates of the year 1835 being pointed to as the model for imitation. In 1852, our steam fleet consisted of five steam-ships of the line, and four ships with auxiliary engines. There were, however, twelve other steam-ships in process of construction. The navy estimates for that year were £5,700,000. Two years later, the prospect of a war with Russia led to a rapid augmentation of the estimates. In 1854, they were over £10,000,000, and the actual expenditure of the year exceeded these by about £5,000,000. In March, 1854, war was declared, and the Admiralty was called upon to provide a naval force. By great exertions a fleet was sent to the Baltic. The composition of the crews was imperfect, there being a lamentable deficiency of petty officers and first-class seamen. Vessels and gun-boats were finished or built hastily, the timber used being unseasoned; and the cost of maintaining and repairing them has been an ever-recurring source of inconvenience and complaint. This, the writer thinks, made it obvious that retrenchment and economy are not always synonymous terms, and hence it was that, on the return of peace, the estimates were not reduced to their previous amount. In December, 1858, Lord Derby appointed an official committee, to report, first, on the causes which occasioned the continued large expenditure—the last estimates which had been voted exceeded £8,000,000—and secondly, on the naval force of this country, as compared with the force of foreign powers, especially that of France. In the January following, the report was made. It showed that the number of steam-vessels, which was only 177 in 1852, had been increased to 464; that whilst the ships of the line built, being built, or converted as steamers, were seventeen in 1852, exclusive of four block-ships, in 1858 fifty ships were in various stages of progress, in addition to nine block-ships. In other ways the committee showed an increase in expenditure; but instead of assisting to reduce the estimates, they recommended that money should be voted for the rapid conversion of ships of the line, as well as for the completion of the ships in progress. These recommendations were adopted by the government, and Sir John Pakington laid the subject before the House of Commons in a speech which

created considerable alarm. Besides a large addition to the vote for dockyard wages and materials, he proposed a special vote of £250,000 for building two iron-plated frigates. The proposals were received favourably by parliament; but before much progress had been made with the estimates, an adverse vote on the Derby-Disraeli Reform Bill led to the resignation of ministers. In acceding to office, Lord Palmerston and his colleagues agreed to adopt the estimates of their predecessors; indeed, three months of the financial year had passed before the new Admiralty Board entered upon their duties. When they met, under the Duke of Somerset, they found the daily business of the office heavily augmented by the last estimates. The war with China followed, and led to a large increase in the estimates of 1860. In each succeeding year the estimates were reduced. In the six years—1860 to 1865—the total amount voted for the navy was £69,107,900. A tabular statement of the actual votes for each of the six years is given as an appendix to the pamphlet; and a reference to them shows that half of the whole amount—or, indeed, nearly £36,000,000—was taken for wages, victuals, half-pay, pensions, medicines for the navy, and allowances to the reserve force. Thus it appears that, during the period referred to, the charge for men was about £6,000,000 a year, or more than the whole navy estimates in the year 1852. In that year the estimates were £5,835,588. The writer states that there is no charge against the Board of Admiralty for extravagance in regard to the pay or the pensions of the navy. On the contrary, the Board claim credit for having given effect to various recommendations of committees and commissioners upon the important subjects of manning the navy and creating a reserve of seamen. The work done by the late Board is then described in detail under the following heads:—1. The manning of the navy. 2. The establishment of a reserve of seamen. 3. The construction of iron-clads and other ships. 4. The armament of the navy. 5. The improvement of dockyards and docks. 6. The introduction of more accurate estimates and accounts. On the accession of the late Board to office, there was so great a want of seamen, that a high bounty had been adopted to attract men to the royal navy. Many of the men so obtained were in every way unfit for the service. A better system has now been introduced, and a better class is obtained. The course pursued by the Admiralty in providing ships and armaments, has resulted in creating a most powerful fleet of iron-clads, armed, or in progress of being armed, with guns unsurpassed by the artillery of any other country. Docks and basins have been improved, and larger dockyards commenced on a scale adequate to the requirements of the royal navy in future years. Looking at what is shown to have been done, the writer asks those who have accused the late Board, to point out any six years in the history of the British navy wherein such immense changes have been accomplished as within these last six years. If parliament should determine upon a considerable reduction of the navy estimates, such a result must be attained, not by departmental retrenchments, but by a change of public policy. If our naval forces were withdrawn from distant stations, a reduction could easily be made in the number of ships in commission; the work in our dockyards would be diminished; the demands for naval stores lessened; establishments abroad, coal depôts, and other sources of expenditure would be abolished, and the general duties of the navy would be restricted to the defence of our own coasts, and the few military positions which it might be deemed necessary to maintain. There is no doubt that the adoption of such a policy would be seriously detrimental to the future efficiency of the British navy. A reduction of 12,000 or of 15,000 men might be obtained by abandoning the Pacific, the south-east coast of America, and the stations to the eastward of the Cape; but such a course would disorganise the whole system of the navy, and leave this country, in a few years, without experienced officers or well-trained seamen. From these considerations, taken in connection with other requirements for the maintenance of the navy at home, there is but little prospect, for some years to come, that the naval estimates can be reduced below the sum of ten millions. Those who hold that a minister of

marine would be more acceptable to the country than a Board of Admiralty, are told that a change of name would be immaterial; the conduct of business must be much the same under either system. In the last sentence a hope is expressed that one result of the pamphlet will be, to secure for future administrations a fairer and more dispassionate consideration than has been vouchsafed to the late Board of Admiralty.

Our army expenditure for the year ending December 31st, 1864, is returned at £14,774,242 6s. 1d.; and on fortifications, during the same interval of time, we had laid out £720,000. In that year, also, the excess of income over expenditure was £2,241,969 16s. 9d. Our Indian kingdom was maintained at a cost, in 1865, of £46,547,384. In the same year the amount of the national debt was—of the unredeemed funded debt, £775,768,295; the estimated capital of terminable annuities was £21,778,603, and of the unfunded debt, £10,742,500; a total of £808,288,398, a decrease of £4,940,736 from the total of the previous year. Much in the way of economy has yet to be effected, if we are to pay off our national debt, or to place ourselves on a level of taxation with other nations. It is not pleasant to reflect that the cost of each British soldier is estimated at £101 12s., while that of each French soldier is but £43 1s.

If we consult the returns of population and taxation of the European states, we shall find that of the latter we have our fair share. We find France, with a population of 37,382,225, receives an average contribution from each inhabitant of £2 5s. 8d.; England, with a population of 29,070,932, demands £2 6s. 1d. Each individual in Russia pays 16s. 3d.; in Italy, £1 15s. 11d.; in Austria, £1 1s. 10d.; in Spain, £1 12s.; Prussia, £1 2s. 2d.; Turkey, 7s. 8d.; Netherlands, £2 8s. 7d.; Sweden and Norway, £1 9s. 2d.; Belgium, £1 6s. 9d.; Bavaria, 16s. 7d.; Portugal, 19s. 1d.; Hanover, £1 12s. 10d.; Saxony, 16s. 8d.; Denmark, £1 2s. 7d.; Baden, 19s. 1d.; Würtemberg, 14s. 10d.; Greece, 11s. 11d.; Switzerland, 6s. 1d.; Hesse-Darmstadt, 16s. 8d.; Hesse-Cassel, 19s. 5d.; Nassau, 18s. 9d.; Oldenburg, £1 4s. 3d.; Anhalt, £1 16s. 6d.; Holstein and Lauenberg, 8s. 10d.; Brunswick, 17s. 8d.; Saxe-Weimar, 18s. 2d.; Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, 8s. 11d.; Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, £2 1s. 3d.; Saxe-Meiningen, 17s. 3d.; Saxe-Altenburg, 17s. 9d.; Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, £1 8s. 11d.; Saxe-Coburg Gotha, 11s. 4d.; Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, 18s. 10d.; Waldeck, £1 2s. 9d.; Hesse-Homburg, £1 11s. 8d.; Reuss Schleitz, 10s. 1d.; Schaumburg Lippe, £1 1s. 9d.; Lippe Detmold, 6s. 3d.; Reuss Greiz, 13s. 11d.; Lichenstein, 15s. 4d. Of course, now that Europe has been mapped out anew, fresh returns are required; but such was the relative taxation of its various kingdoms in the last year of Lord Palmerston's life. Deeply have we still to deplore the war policy of Mr. Pitt. The interest per head of our public debt is 17s. 8d.; of that of the Netherlands, 14s. 10d.; of that of France, 9s. 6d.; of that of Italy, 7s. 3d.; of that of Denmark, 7s. 2d.; of that of Austria, 6s. 8d. In Belgium, the charge is 5s. 2d.; in Portugal, 5s. 11d.; Bavaria, 4s. 9d.; Spain, 3s. 10d.; Saxony, 3s. 8d.; Hanover, 3s. 4d.; Sweden and Norway, 2s. 10d.; Russia, 2s. 7d.; Prussia, 2s. 5d.; Turkey, 1s. 11d.; and Switzerland, 1d. Most of these national debts were created in Lord Palmerston's lifetime. Price said of Lord North that he doubled the national debt. "What would he have said," observes Bishop Watson, "had he lived to see the state of the debt at the death of Mr. Pitt? Lord North's American war rendered it difficult for a man of £500 a year to support the station of a gentleman, and Mr. Pitt's French war made it impossible."

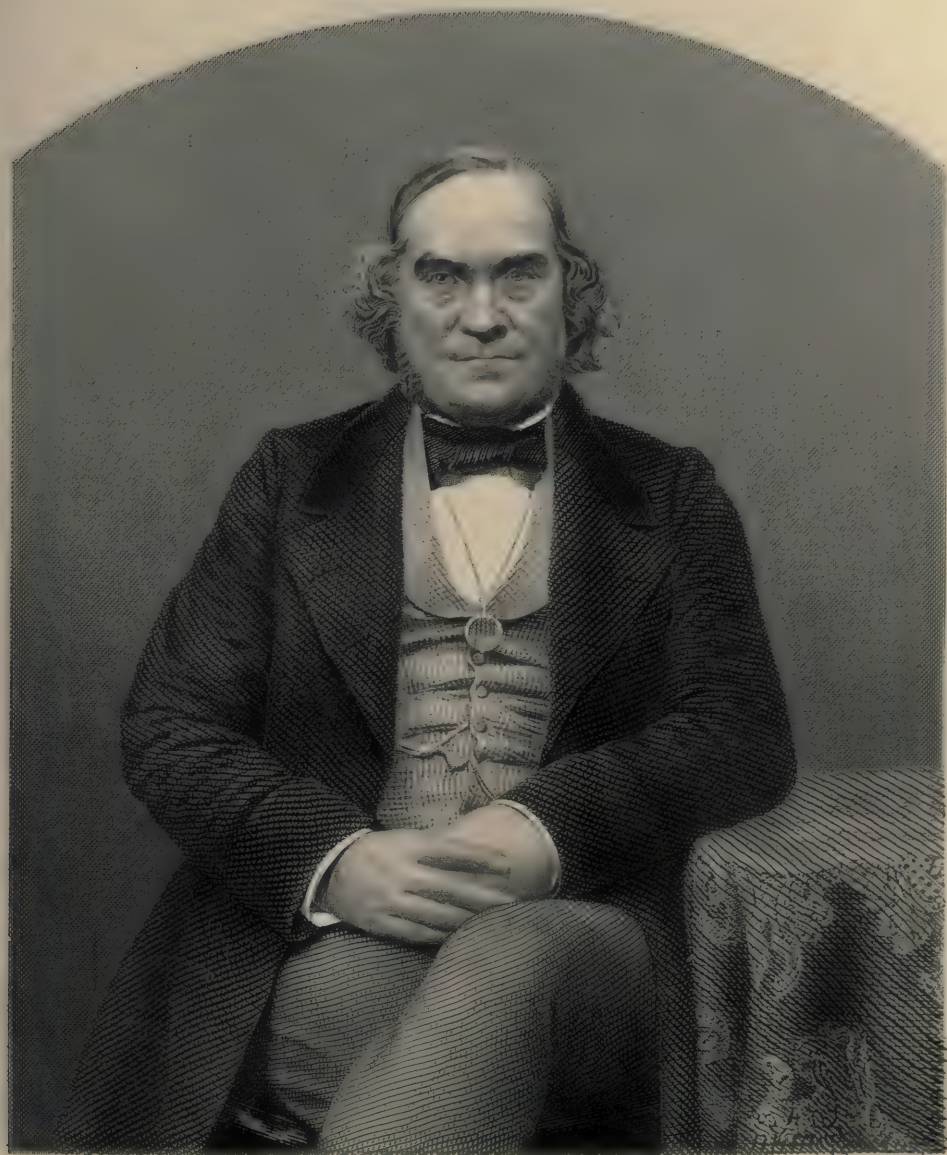
A learned German, M. Haussener, has just published some statistics, from which we extract the following:—"The wars which have been waged from 1815 to 1864 have caused the death of 2,762,000 men, of whom 2,148,000 were Europeans, and 614,000 from other quarters of the globe; which gives an average of 43,800 per annum. These figures do not include the deaths caused by epidemics resulting from war. The most sanguinary hostilities of that period are these—The Eastern war of 1856, in which 508,600 men fell, in the following proportions:—

256,000 Russians, 98,800 Turks, 107,000 French, 45,000 English, and 2,600 Italians. In the Caucasus (1829-'60), 330,000 men lost their lives. The revolt in India (1857-'59) cost 196,000 lives. The Russo-Turkish war (1820-'29), 193,000. The Polish insurrection (1831), 190,000. The whole of the French campaigns in Africa (1830-'59), 146,000. The Hungarian insurrection, 142,000. The Italian war, 129,870, of whom 96,874 died on the field, or from their wounds; and 33,000 from various diseases. The total number of lives lost in Europe, during the wars from 1792 to 1815, amounted to 5,530,000, which gives, for the twenty-three years, an average of 240,434 deaths per year." Was it not time, we may well ask, for the world "to creep into a younger day?" The merit of Lord Palmerston was that he perceived this as much as any man, and acted accordingly. He never despaired; he was always hopeful of the future. Lord Sidmouth died despairing of his country; Lord Eldon did the same. "The doctrine of no king is reviving here," wrote the latter, in 1832; "to which is added what Queen Charlotte, in George III.'s time, escaped—no queen." "A parliament," wrote the Duke of Wellington about the same time, "will be returned, by means of which no set of men whatever will be able to conduct the administration of affairs, and to protect the lives and properties of the king's subjects. I hear the worst account of the elections; indeed, I don't believe that gentlemen will be able to offer themselves as candidates." It was not in this way that Lord Palmerston reasoned or wrote. He had seen the country prosper under reform and free trade—the people more loyal, more industrious, more intelligent, and better off. Unexampled prosperity had been the unvarying result of changes which the opponents of them had invariably declared would bring utter ruin on all classes and conditions of their fellow-countrymen. George III. wrote to his friend, Lord North—"I own myself a sincere friend to our constitution, both ecclesiastical and civil; and, as such, a great enemy to any innovations; for, in this mixed government, it is highly necessary to avoid novelties. We know that all wise nations have stuck scrupulously to their ancient customs." Happily for Lord Palmerston, he could not only spell but think better than his royal master.

At the same time Lord Palmerston was not fond of innovations; nor was he one of those rashly given to change. Like the late Lord Melbourne, he was quite disposed to let well alone, in his old age especially; and, as regards home politics, not needlessly to give offence.

In a speech delivered to his constituents at Lewes, the Hon. Mr. Brand, the Liberal whipper-in, and a gentleman, therefore, whose word may be implicitly relied on, stated, that when Lord Palmerston's government was compelled to withdraw the Reform Bill of 1860, he stated to the Premier his opinion that it would be difficult to carry any measure of reform unless it were divided into two parts; one dealing with the franchise, and the other with the distribution of seats. Lord Palmerston's reply was characteristic, for he said it was quite plain that the then House of Commons was not inclined to deal with the question in any shape; and that was why it was not mooted again till the parliament was dissolved, in 1865. As usual, Lord Palmerston was right in his conclusion. He was not a man of deep convictions. Indeed, he often seems to have improvised them on the spur of the moment; but the events of the session of 1866, when the cabinet was upset on the question of reform, in spite of the powerful advocacy of Mr. Gladstone, certainly testified to the wisdom of Lord Palmerston, and to his thorough acquaintance with the opinions of the House of Commons, and of the nation at large. And it was this faculty which helped so much to keep his lordship before the public. He was no rash theorist, or one-sided *doctrinaire*. If he feasted the great, he never forgot the small; if he sided with reformers, he could see something to admire in the Conservatives. He never forgot that England was a country with old institutions. Lord Palmerston sympathised with the new, as well as the old.

On one occasion he presided at the distribution of prizes at University College, London.



JOHN B. HENRY

In July, 1862, there was a grand gathering of great men and others in the venerable halls of Oxford. The occasion was the annual commemoration of the founders and benefactors of the university. The proceedings were rendered more than usually interesting by the announcement that, on this occasion, the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law would be conferred, among other personages of distinction, on Lord Palmerston. The doors of the theatre were opened at ten o'clock, and in a very short time the building was completely packed, the gallery being filled by undergraduates, the semicircle by ladies, and the area by Masters of Arts, and the general public. No sooner was the theatre filled than the usual cries began; cheers being given for those who were most in favour, varied by groans and hisses for those whose popularity was not great among the undergraduates. The most enthusiastic cheers were given for the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Alice, Lord Palmerston, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Derby, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli. The reception accorded to Earl Russell was not very enthusiastic; while mingled cheers and groans were given for Mr. Bright, Dr. Lushington, and others. Opinions in reference to foreign matters were expressed in cheers for Garibaldi and the Confederate States of America; cheers and groans for the Emperor of the French and General Butler. Nor was the university itself forgotten; the proctors not being very warmly received; while the University Rifle Corps, and the University Eight, received due honours. In the midst of the noise occasioned by these proceedings, the doors were thrown open, and the procession appeared, headed by the Vice-Chancellor, and several of the most distinguished visitors, among whom were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, Viscount Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, Archdeacon Clerke, &c., followed by the heads of colleges, professors, &c.

The proceedings were then gone through in the customary form, the degree of D.C.L. being conferred on Lord Palmerston; his Excellency Comm. Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Emperor of the Brazils; the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Walker Head; Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram; Sir Roundell Palmer, M.P.; the Rev. J. A. Jeremie; Professor Wheatstone; T. Watson, Esq., President of the Royal College of Physicians; and H. Taylor, Esq.

On the termination of the proceedings in the theatre, the greater part of the company repaired to the Town Hall, for the purpose of witnessing the presentation of an address to Lord Palmerston, from the corporation of Oxford. The hall was crowded; and his lordship, on entering the room, accompanied by the Mayor of Oxford, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Cardwell, M.P., and aldermen and other members of the corporation, was loudly cheered.

When the mayor and the more distinguished visitors had taken their places on the platform, an address was read to Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston then rose, amid loud cheers, and said—"Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen of the corporation,—I can assure you I feel highly gratified, and extremely proud to receive this testimony of good-will from the corporation of this ancient city—a city famous in history, famous in some of the most remarkable periods of our history, and always distinguished by unshaken loyalty to the crown of the realm. I appear before you, I hope, an emblem of that harmony which ought always to prevail in cities which are the seats of education for the youth of the realm; for I come before you in a garb which denotes that I have had the honour of becoming a member of the University of Oxford; and I also meet with a most cordial reception from the corporation of the city. There have occasionally, in some seats of learning, been dissensions between 'town' and 'gown.' I trust that the union of town with gown may be perpetually to the benefit of both. You have been pleased to express your approbation as to the manner in which the government of the country have succeeded in steering an even course, preserving, on the one hand, peace to the country, and, on the other, maintaining unimpaired the rights, the honour, and the dignity of this empire. Well, gentlemen, the merit

is due to that body of able men who are placed at the head of the different departments of the state. I have had the good fortune to be associated with some of the most able and distinguished statesmen whom this country at present produces; and when you say that the nation ought to feel thankful for the course which has been pursued, I may, in return, say that this nation ought to be grateful to the city and University of Oxford, for having contributed to that administration whose actions have obtained the approbation of the country, two of its most distinguished members—the one my right hon. friend, whom I have the pleasure of seeing present on this occasion (Mr. Cardwell), who represents the town, and the other, my friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who so worthily represents the university. I can assure you that it will be the anxious study of her majesty's government to pursue that course of policy which I am persuaded is the desire of all parties in this country; for, however various political parties may differ as to some particular questions of internal and domestic policy, it is the pride of this country, that when questions touching the great interests of the nation in its relations with foreign states—questions touching the honour and dignity of England—come to be discussed, all party differences vanish before the importance of the matter, and all parties unite in one common endeavour to maintain unimpaired that dignity, and to preserve uninjured those interests. Gentlemen, I beg to assure you that I feel proud of the honour which you have conferred upon me by the address which has been presented, and that I shall ever preserve in my memory the pleasure which I have received, and the honour which has been done me this day, both in respect of the gown which I now have the honour to wear, and the address which you have just been so kind as to present to me." Cheers were then given for Lord Palmerston and Mr. Cardwell, and the proceedings closed.

We have dwelt on this peculiar trait of his lordship's character, because it actually swallowed up all the rest. At the general election of 1865, his name stood for everything. The contest was not between Whig or Tory, between free-trader or protectionist, between churchman or dissenter (of course, there were such issues raised, and elections decided in accordance with them; but such cases were few, and far between), so much as between members who were pledged to give Lord Palmerston a full and efficient support, and those who declined to do anything of the sort. So much so was this the case, that on his re-election for Birmingham, in reply to a question put by an elector, whether Mr. Bright did not think the increase of the number of Lord Palmerston's supporters would be fatal to the progress of reform?—

Mr. Bright said—"For two or three years I have not made it my business, either in parliament or out of parliament, to assail Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston is an octogenarian. He has lived a great deal longer than most of us will live; and I confess I have no wish to enter the lists with an old man upwards of eighty years of age. I have great sympathy with old age, as much as anybody has; and I should be very glad to see Lord Palmerston spend several quiet and pleasant years in that retirement for which I think he is eminently fitted. But there is another section of the cabinet to which we owe the various excellent measures which have been described to you, and my sympathies go with that section. I find, every session, that it is more powerful in the cabinet, and, I believe, in the House. I dare say it may soon be powerful enough to become the whole cabinet. We may then have a better government than we have had for many years. I must, however, say, without offence, that the party whom I suppose my friend who put the question represents (the Conservatives), are a party that apparently nobody will have. As far as we can learn—I may quote an observation Lord Derby made, I dare say very cleverly, I will not say offensively, in speaking of me—we have no cause for thinking that the queen wishes to have them. It is quite obvious that the last House of Commons, although elected at their call, would not have them; and I suspect, when this election is over, it will be proved conclusively that the country will not have them. I undertake to say, that if there was a fair representation of the people, if every constituency was large enough not to be either

bribed, cajoled, or coerced, that great party, as it is represented to be, would shrink up to such small dimensions, that very few benches in the House of Commons would seat the whole of them."

At the same general election, Lord Palmerston was returned at the head of the poll for Tiverton, though he obtained for his colleague, not Mr. Denman, the Liberal, but a Conservative, Mr. Waldron. At the nomination, Lord Palmerston delivered an address, in the course of which he reviewed the history and position of his government. After some personal and local references, his lordship said—

"Gentlemen,—The course pursued by the government of which I have had the honour of being a member for the last six years, is written in the statute-books of the land—is written in the history of Europe—is written in the transactions of the world. We have, I flatter myself, without the fear of contradiction, honourably and faithfully performed the duties which our sovereign and the parliament confided to our hands. There cannot, I am sure, be found in the annals of the United Kingdom a period of six years during which the nation has enjoyed more advantages at home, more respect and honour abroad, than during the existence of the late parliament. Industry has been relieved from many of those shackles which previously cramped its exertions. Wealth has been accumulated; and, with regard to some individuals who have been more successful than others in the pursuits of commerce and manufactures, has been accumulated in a degree which is almost fabulous. Indeed, to one who did not know it to be true, that degree might appear to be a great exaggeration of the fact. We are told of individual men who have amassed a million, even a million and a-half—nay, more, men hardly known to the bulk of their countrymen, except as honest, industrious, painstaking men, have acquired an amount of wealth which in former times would not have been deemed possible. Well, the public wealth has increased with the aggregation of individual riches; and every man who has made these large accumulations of wealth has been a benefactor to his country, not only by the employment which he has given to thousands under his care, but also by the contributions which he makes to the revenue, and, consequently, to the prosperity of the nation. In fact, the wealth of the country has increased so rapidly, that my right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been unable to stop that increase by a great remission of taxation. He has done his best: he has taken off tax after tax—income-tax, sugar-duties, tea-duties, fire-insurance duty; indeed, he has gone through all the catalogue of taxes, nibbling here, cutting down there; but, in spite of all his exertions, the country has been determined to produce a large revenue, and, by that large revenue, accompanied by a great alleviation of burdens to each individual, we have succeeded in making, for the first time, some noteworthy impression upon the public debt; while we have also maintained all our establishments, army, navy, militia, and volunteers, in a state of perfect efficiency. And, gentlemen, let me say, that is no small matter; because, depend upon it, the money which is spent upon national defences in time of peace, provided always it is not carried to excess, is the best security against the recurrence of war. A country which accumulates wealth, and does not maintain a sufficient means of defence, is like a banker who would fill his chest with gold, and leave his doors unbolted, and his windows unbarred. We know what the result would be to the banker; and history and experience tell us what has been the result of a similar policy to nations. At the same time, our means of defence, in order to be sufficient, need not, and never ought to be carried to the extent to which continental nations carry the numerical force of their armies—armies which are destined apparently more for aggression than for internal security; but we ought to have a proper regard to those defences which secure the people of this country from those innumerable and indescribable evils which befall a country that is the seat of military operations. Along with that security and that precaution, it is the duty of a government to maintain, by every means consistent with national honour and

self-respect, the most friendly relations with all the great powers of the world. Well, gentlemen, we have done that. We are upon good terms with all the great powers of the world; and the way in which we have observed neutrality in that afflicting war which has desolated the provinces of North America, in spite of the strong expressions of passionate partiality which broke forth from different classes of the country—some in favour of the North, others in favour of the South—I say that the steadfast and persevering manner in which we refused every solicitation, and solicitations, too, which came from America as well as from England, entitles us, I think, to the thanks, as they contributed to the welfare, of the country. While the South imagined, at the outset, that by stinting us in our supply of cotton we should be compelled to take part with them, the North imagined that their determination to abolish slavery in the South, would enlist in their favour the philanthropic feelings of the British nation, and that, on that account, we should assist them. Well, that cotton famine was a great calamity to this country. It lasted several years, and its pressure was extreme. But noble, on the other hand, was the conduct of that part of our manufacturing population who were thrown out of employment by the cessation of the cotton supply. They showed that they had rightly understood the position of things. They knew full well—they could not be ignorant of it—that that pressure, that diminution of supply, was not owing to any act whatever of their rulers. They saw that it was the result of events over which the government of their country could have no possible control. That was one motive which induced them to bear the pressure with patience. But, on the other hand, they saw the readiness with which their fellow-countrymen stepped forward to contribute to the relief of their necessities. They saw that our poor-law arrangements provided great means of relieving their distress; but they saw also that the nobles and gentry of the land came forward with magnificent contributions in aid of the resources furnished by the poor-law, to avert from them some of the evils which the cotton famine inevitably inflicted. Well, that was a great drawback from our national prosperity. Then, again, we had, in the sister island, three successive bad years; and those who know Ireland, and are aware how much the great bulk of her agricultural population depend upon the produce of their small bits of land, will well understand how great was the calamity of those successive failures of the harvest. But, in spite of these local calamities, in spite of these partial drawbacks from the advancing prosperity of the country, I maintain that the wealth and welfare of the United Kingdom have increased in a greater degree, and in a more rapid manner, during the last six years to which I have referred, than in any equal period of our history. Again, it has been thought by some that her majesty's government have been too much occupied with political matters, and have not sufficiently attended to the extension of our commercial intercourse with other countries. Far is the truth from such an assertion. We have been assiduously engaged in Europe in extending, not only by our example and our precept, but also by our treaties, those principles of free commercial intercourse which have so well succeeded in this country, and which we are telling foreign nations would succeed equally with them. We have greatly enlarged, to the advantage of both nations, the commercial relations between England and France; and, depend upon it, gentlemen, that one of the securities for a friendly understanding between two great countries, is the fact that each country has a commercial interest in maintaining peace and friendship with the other. We were assisted in that by the late Mr. Cobden; and most honourable and successful were his exertions in carrying locally into effect the instructions which he received from the government. His conduct was, indeed, in all respects, noble; for he declined those offers which it was my duty to make to him of rewards from the crown, preferring that reward which a good conscience affords to a man who has well and faithfully served his country. Gentlemen, there were, among the French people, great prejudices to be overcome. There were separate interests, which would, as they thought, be thwarted, and possibly ruined, by the

competition of British manufactures. They seemed to suppose, as many men do in many continental states, that commerce is a one-sided operation, and that the manufacturers of England are silly enough to what they call 'inundate' foreign countries with their manufactures, without requiring, in exchange, an equal value in the manufactures and produce of the industry of those foreign countries. They have found out their mistake. Other nations in Germany are beginning to be undeceived; and I trust that the doctrine of the great advantage which freedom of exchange in productions invariably bestows upon a nation is making its way; that while we ourselves shall derive great benefit from its universal adoption, we shall also have the consolation of thinking that we are conferring benefits equal to those we receive, and that therefore we are the friends of humanity at large. There was one remote part of the world which men, in their ignorance—I should rather say in their unacquaintance—had magnified into an unapproachable region, with which it was vain to expect any friendly or commercial intercourse—I mean China and Japan. Well, with both China and Japan we are now upon friendly terms, and our commerce with both is rapidly and most prosperously increasing. I have here behind me an honourable friend of mine, Sir John Bowring, who had much to do in carrying out these great and advantageous transactions, and to whom great merit must be attributed for having been the first almost to deal with the Japanese question. Then, I say, seeing that the prosperous and successful exertions of industry, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial, are the foundation of national wealth, national welfare, and national happiness, a government which, like ours, have laboured incessantly and successfully in extending our commercial relations with foreign nations, deserve, as I think, the confidence and support of their fellow-countrymen. I trust, then, gentlemen, that I shall find the electors of Tiverton in the same mind as the House of Commons lately dissolved was, and that they will give a fair and honest support to me as representing here that successful government; and that I shall not be deceived in the expectation I have formed that I shall again carry away from this town that honour which I have for so many years—and I may say for so many parliaments—enjoyed of being one of its representatives in the imperial parliament. I wish you, gentlemen, a good-day; and, as is said in the play, 'We will meet again at Philippi,' by which I mean at the hustings and the polling-booth to-morrow."

The principal incident of the general election was the triumph of the stupid party (as Mr. Mill terms them) at Oxford, by the rejection of Mr. Gladstone, and the election, in place of him, of Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone had long outgrown Oxford; and the time had come for it to serve him as it did Sir Robert Peel, and as Cambridge did, years before, Lord Palmerston. In 1825, Mr. C. W. Wynn, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, writes—"I have heard nothing lately about Lord Palmerston; but, from all accounts, his re-election for Cambridge is so doubtful (to say the best of it), that I fully expect him to withdraw from it into the upper house." Mr. Wynn was not quite right in his anticipations. Lord Palmerston represented the University of Cambridge till the reform era; and he was far too sensible a man to exchange the Commons for the Lords—the substance for the shadow of power; and thus it came to pass that, in 1863, his name was a tower of strength. The opposition were dispirited. As long as his lordship was in office, they felt that they had no chance. No other name had such weight with the parliament or people of England.

As soon as the election was over, it was evident, on all sides, that it had been conducted with a greater disregard of morality, and with a more unblushing system of bribery and corruption, than had ever been the case, at any rate, since the Reform Bill. It is true, at Lambeth the working-men had returned their friend and champion, Mr. Thomas Hughes; that at Westminster the election of John Stuart Mill had been secured; that Brighton had ousted a Tory of local standing, and returned the well-known and highly accomplished Professor Fawcett: but still people could not shut their eyes to the fact, that many of the candidates,

without regard to party, had obtained their seats in the most unjustifiable manner. It was clear that the wealth of the nation was great, and that the number was very considerable of new men who were prepared to pay any price to get into parliament, not with a view to political life or official distinction, but merely on account of social considerations. To many of them a seat in parliament meant admission into the most select and agreeable club in the metropolis; and for their wives, and sons and daughters, admission into circles to which in no other manner could they find their way. Lord and Lady Palmerston were celebrated for the skill with which they practised the subtle arts of high life; and many were the indignant utterances of stern patriots in the Commons, as they saw their fellow-members thus seduced from their allegiance to the cause of the people, and learning, in the agreeable *soirées* of Cambridge House (Lord Palmerston's town residence) to speak a very different language to that which they had used when, far away in some northern democratic borough, they had pledged themselves to demand and support a full and efficient measure of parliamentary reform. Also, in commercial circles, much was gained by being an M.P. As a director or chairman of a limited liability company, it was considered of the first importance to secure the services of a member of parliament. It conferred respectability at once upon an undertaking, and ensured for it, for a time, the requisite amount of public favour. There is no reason to suppose that the men who thus purchased their seats were, in vulgar language, for sale themselves. They were not venal, as were the M.P.'s of Sir Robert Walpole, or of George III. They were too rich to be moved by common pecuniary considerations. They bribed, as we have intimated, more for the gratification of personal vanity, than from real culpable motives. In thus acting, they, perhaps, unconsciously supplied thoughtful men with a good argument for an extension of the franchise. It was clear that, in the House of Commons, bribery was regarded as a very venal offence. It was clear, also, that in many of the boroughs the voters were thoroughly corrupt. Bridgenorth, Bridgewater, Devonport, Helston, Lancaster, Northallerton, Nottingham, Reigate, Totnes, Windsor, Great Yarmouth, were subsequently shown to have been thoroughly rotten and demoralised.

So gross was the bribery in some of these cases, that a lengthened investigation took place, which was not concluded till the year 1867. As illustrating the system, which had grown up since the Reform Bill, we make a few extracts from the Blue Books, published by the parliamentary commissioners.

We begin with Lancaster. The Blue Book, the result of this commission, was laid before parliament in February, 1867. The commissioners report that they sat for some thirty days in August and September, and five days afterwards in January; and the report then winds up with the following summary:—"On the 29th of June an active canvass was begun on the part of Messrs. Fenwick and Schneider on one side, who acted throughout in close coalition, and Mr. Lawrence on the other, and pursued on both sides with due decorum, as if they really believed the result of the election would be affected by it." The managers on each side knew better, and consequently substantial means were soon forthcoming to fight the battle; and it was fought in a manner to entitle both sides to the title of "Liberal," in the only sense that a Lancastrian would honour. The commissioners notice, that the two election agents, although their accounts of the candidates' disbursements "were prepared without any relation to the real truth of the case," admit a scandalous abuse of the expenses allowed to be legal. Thus the Liberals pay £309, and the Conservatives £171, for the employment of voters and others as commissioners, canvassers, runners, and staffmen; while for this little town, the two sides spent an aggregate sum of £855 4s. 4d. on carriages and the conveyance of voters, though the whole number of country voters cannot exceed 330. But this semi-legal corruption was as nothing to what went on more secretly. Mr. Schneider, who, as the new man, was to bear the greater part of the expenses, retained the services of Mr. H. Welch, a grocer in the town, and

intrusted to him the sums he proposed to use for the purpose of the election. Mr. Welch makes a statement from memory of the moneys he received. They amount, altogether, to £6,055 10s. No part of this was applied to the discharge of the so-called legal expenses, which amounted to £1,404 4s. 2d. So "that the total cost of this election to Messrs. Fenwick and Schneider, appears to have been £7,459 14s. 2d." On the Conservative side, the cashier was Wilson Barker, a draper, and he furnishes a clear account of his receipts and disbursements. The amount, altogether, was £7,061 2s. The legal expenses of the Conservative candidate were also £1,129 3s. So that, in the most regular and methodical manner, with a supreme commander-in-chief on each side, the two parties spent, in the corruption of this little borough, upwards of £15,000. The consequences may be imagined. "We have spoken," say the commissioners, "of a make-believe canvass, carried on by the candidates and their supporters. The real canvass was a very different matter. About three weeks before the election, the emissaries of either party began to go among the lower class of electors, assemble them at public-houses, treat them, and discuss the merits of the respective candidates. Among voters of this class, the whole affair was regarded as a contest between Liverpool and Barrow. If Lawrence was wealthy so was Schneider. There would be a great advance in the price of votes. They would decide for whom to vote when the time drew nearer; and when the time drew nearer, there was no shame, nor even the flimsy disguise of cant words. They ran from one party to the other, proclaiming the last offer, demanding an increase, avowing that they were for the highest bidder. One witness tells us that the terms used were those of a cattle-market, only that 'the beasts sold themselves.' The voters 'struck work;' they spent the nights in public-houses, and the days in wandering about, begging from the known assistants on either side, a few shillings to enable them to continue their debauch. One witness describes how he kept a small sum by him in a drawer, for the low voters who came to him, from time to time, for a shilling or two to 'fuddle' with when they were dry of a morning." The Liberal party had over forty public and beer-houses in Lancaster, and four in the adjoining village of Skerton. Out of 1,339 persons who actually voted at the last election, 884 received money or other valuable consideration for their votes; while a further number of 139, of whom eighty-nine were voters and fifty non-voters, were engaged in corrupting their fellow-citizens. The commissioners do not hesitate to fix the guilt of this enormous corruption, as far as the Liberal party is concerned, on the two unsuccessful candidates themselves, Messrs. Fenwick and Schneider. They add, that "with regard to the latter, at least, a deliberate and long-formed determination had existed of carrying his election at any cost, by corrupt means, and in defiance of the law." Of both of them the commissioners say—"The very gold destined to be used in bribing in several instances passed through these gentlemen's hands: * * * * thus conclusively establishing their personal knowledge of, and privity to, the manner in which their election was conducted." Mr. Lawrence they do not acquit of blame; but they do not find that he was cognizant of the acts of bribery committed in his name. On Mr. H. T. Wilson rests the guilt of the corruption on the Conservative side. "It now only remains for us to report to your majesty what we find in reference to the matter into which we were directed to inquire. That corrupt practices very extensively prevailed at the election of July, 1865. We find that 844 persons were guilty of bribery at the said election, by receiving money or other valuable consideration for having given, or to induce them to give, their votes. We find that a further number of 139 persons were guilty of corrupt practices at the said election, by corruptly giving or promising money or other valuable consideration to voters, for the purchase of their votes, or on account of their having voted, or by corruptly advancing money for the purpose of bribery, or by treating; and we further find, that of the said 139 persons, eighty-nine were electors, and fifty (named in Schedule B of this report) were not voters for the

borough. Finally, we report to your majesty that, with rare exceptions, corrupt practices have for a long time prevailed at contested elections for members to serve in parliament for the borough of Lancaster."

The report of the Great Yarmouth Bribery Commission was issued about the same time. It gives a minute and interesting narrative of the bribing at the election in 1865, on both sides, with which the public was made familiar during the progress of the inquiry; and, in addition to this, a similar account of the bribery practised at the two elections immediately preceding, in 1859 and 1857.

The committee find, in respect of the first election—That corrupt and illegal practices extensively prevailed thereat. That the said election was conducted, on behalf of Sir Edmund H. K. Lacon, and Mr. James Goodson, in a corrupt and illegal manner.

Secondly.—That the said election was conducted by, and on behalf of, Mr. Alexander Brogden, and on behalf of Mr. Philip Vanderbyl, in a corrupt and illegal manner.

Thirdly.—That ninety-eight persons, whose names are set forth in Schedule A, annexed to this report, committed corrupt practices, and were guilty of acts of bribery in respect of the votes of other persons. That 430 persons, whose names are set forth in Schedule B, annexed to this report, committed corrupt practices, and were guilty of acts of bribery, in respect of their own votes. That twenty-nine of the persons named in the last-mentioned schedule, and whose names are set forth in Schedule C, annexed to this report, were guilty of acts of bribery on both sides.

The report of the royal commissioners, appointed in 1864, to inquire into the corrupt practices alleged to have taken place at parliamentary elections for the borough of Totnes, has also been presented. The commissioners (Mr. M. Bere, Mr. C. E. Coleridge, and Mr. F. D. Longe) state, that at the outset of their inquiry they were met by considerable difficulties, consequent on the change made in the law by the Act 26th and 27th Vict., cap. 29, whereby their power to refuse certificates of indemnity is restricted to cases in which witnesses refuse to answer questions; the law having formerly enabled them to refuse certificates to those who did not answer questions to the satisfaction of the commissioners. Many of the witnesses to whom the commissioners would have refused certificates under the earlier act, were entitled to claim them under the present act. The commissioners had to deal with every variety of falsehood and prevarication: wilful perjury was confessedly committed in several instances; contradictory statements on oath were continually made; and few witnesses showed any disposition to tell the whole truth without the pressure of cross-examination. The consequence of such reticence had been that the inquiry was much prolonged; yet, after all, the commissioners could not pretend to have discovered all the facts connected with the elections that had taken place in the borough. The inhabitants of Totnes were chiefly small shopkeepers, and persons connected with agricultural pursuits. The commissioners gave a detailed account of the progress of electioneering affairs in the borough for a long series of years, and illustrate their statement by recounting various acts of bribery. The lamentable condition of the inhabitants, on the retirement of Mr. Dent, in 1862, may be judged by the following extract from the report:—"The disappointment occasioned by his withdrawal was intense; the picture of that disappointment, as drawn by the witnesses, graphic; women coming down with baskets to carry away the sovereigns that were to be distributed, and loudly lamenting their misfortune when it was announced that there was to be no contest." The sums expended by the various candidates are also set out in full, so far as they could be ascertained by the commissioners; though, in many instances, even approximate amounts could not be arrived at. In conclusion, the commissioners found, that at every election for the borough of Totnes since, and including the election of, 1857, corrupt practices had extensively prevailed; that, in 1857, Thomas Mills was privy and consenting to the corrupt

practices which prevailed at that election; that the persons named in Schedule A, annexed to the commissioners' report, had committed corrupt practices, and were guilty of bribing other persons at that election; that the persons named in Schedule B were guilty of bribery in respect of their own votes at that election; that, in respect of the election of 1859, John Dunne and Thomas Mills were privy and assenting to the corrupt practices which then prevailed, and that the persons named in Schedules C and D were guilty of corrupt practices and bribery, the former in respect of the votes of other persons, and the latter in respect of their own votes at that election; that, in respect of the election of 1862, John Pender and John Dent were privy and assenting to the corrupt practices then prevailing, and that the persons mentioned in Schedules E and F were guilty of corrupt practices and bribery, the former in respect of the votes of other persons, and the latter in respect of their own votes at that election; that, in respect of the election of 1863, Alfred Seymour, M.P., and John Dent, were privy and assenting to the corrupt practices then prevailing; and that the persons mentioned in Schedules G and H were guilty of corrupt practices and bribery, the former in respect of the votes of other persons, and the latter in respect of their own votes at that election; and that, in respect of the election of 1865, John Pender, Alfred Seymour, M.P., William Gregory Dawkins, and Bedford Pim, were privy and assenting to the corrupt practices prevailing at that election; and that the persons named in Schedules I and K were guilty of corrupt practices and bribery, the former in respect of the votes of other persons, and the latter in respect of their own votes at that election. The commissioners subjoin a full statement of the evidence taken by them, and beg leave to lay the same before her majesty, for her most gracious consideration.

The report of the Reigate election commissioners introduces us to a new phase in the history of borough corruption, with which we have been favoured of late. In the cases of Lancaster and Yarmouth, we have seen a venal constituency making capital out of the rivalry of political parties; and Conservative and Liberal candidates stooping to bribery as a means of securing a triumph for their respective principles. The case of Reigate is of a totally different complexion. Reigate is, in one sense, a pure virgin borough. It returns only one member; but that member must be a Radical. On the other hand, while the constituents insist that their member shall accurately represent what may be fancifully called their political principles, they require that he shall supplement them by a large and generous *douceur*—in other words, bribe them handsomely. There is no taint of Conservatism or Whiggism about the electors of Reigate. They are Radicals, and will not look at any but a Radical candidate; but, while they are consistent in this, they are equally consistent in declining to indulge their political convictions at the expense of their pockets. The man for Reigate is he who will give effect to their principles, and pay them liberally for being allowed the honour of doing so.

The inquiry by the commissioners extends over the five elections which have taken place between 1858 and 1865; and they summarise the results of their labours in the emphatic declaration, that bribery prevailed more or less extensively on each occasion. This stigma is all the more odious from the fact that Reigate is peculiarly free from all the conditions which could tend to encourage corruption. It might, if it liked, be the purest borough in the whole kingdom. It is not hampered with party rivalries, nor is it subject to intimidation or local influence. In fact, according to a witness of long electioneering experience, whose *dictum* is endorsed by the commissioners as being thoroughly borne out by the evidence adduced before them, Reigate has not a particle of excuse for not being one of the freest and most independent constituencies to be found from Land's End to John o'Groat's; for "bribery is all we fear," he said: "intimidation is gone from Reigate, and so is landlords' influence." There is no reason, therefore, that Reigate should stand out before the world as a conspicuously venal and debauched constituency, except that it deliberately chooses to be so.

Not that it loves its principles less, but that it loves bribery more. And Radical candidates appear to value it at its own estimate. They go down in twos, and threes, and fives, to fight for this one seat—each determined to buy it if he can. Mr. Job Apted, who occupies a disagreeably prominent part in the report, declares that when Mr. Doulton, of Lambeth, was introduced to the constituency as a candidate, that gentleman told them that “he meant to buy the borough whether or no:” adding, that “he had money, and meant to use it.” “I asked persons for their votes,” was the interesting confession of one of the canvassers; “but you might as well have asked them for their lives, unless you had money to give them.” As Mr. Doulton failed to obtain the seat, it is fair to presume that Sir Henry Rawlinson, the successful candidate, was not only equally resolved to win it, but had more money, and spent it more freely. Reigate, it seems, has always been steadfast in selling itself to the highest bidder; and it is fair to assume that it did not depart from its noble traditions on the occasion in question.

Passing from the general conclusion that bribery and treating “extensively” prevailed in each of the five elections under review, we come to one or two interesting incidents revealed in the course of the inquiry. It appears that Mr. Leveson Gower advanced £2,500 to his agent in the election for 1863, and that part of that sum was expended in bribery with his full knowledge. Mr. W. A. Wilkinson’s contribution amounted to no less than £3,100, and he gave his sanction to its application in the same way. In the election for 1865, Mr. Gower advanced £2,000, and Mr. Monson £1,730, under exactly the same circumstances. Of the 760 electors who voted on this last occasion, it appears that 346 were bribed, and that 296 of that number were occupiers of houses under £20 annual rental; while 242 were persons receiving daily or weekly wages. A curious illustration was given of the mode in which the voters resisted any attempt to deprive them of what they, doubtless, regarded as their electoral rights in the matter of obtaining bribes. In the election of February, 1858, there were five candidates; and three of them, in a dastardly economical spirit, proposed to determine, by ballot, which of them should be selected to stand against the other two. It is obvious, that where there are five candidates, there must be more bribery than where there are only three; more agents, canvassers, committee-men, and messengers; and the men of Reigate arose in their might, as one man, to resist the contemplated curtailment of their perquisites. And they did it in this wise. As soon as the ballot-papers were issued, “men were sent about to buy them up,” and the purpose of the ballot was thereby vitiated. The common device of issuing cooked accounts was resorted to by several of the candidates. In the election of 1865, Mr. Gower’s were returned at £1,350; but the actual expenses were proved to be £600 in excess of that sum; and Mr. Monson stands under the suspicion of having paid more than £1,700 in excess of the sum returned by his agent. That sum, at least, was paid by him to his “illegal agent,” or “unofficial treasurer,” to employ the euphemisms current in Great Yarmouth; and this latter gentleman was careful not to take any trustworthy note of the manner in which he disposed of the money, and to supplement his neglect by a lamentable inability to recollect anything very minutely upon the subject. The one statement of accounts which he handed in to the commissioners is amenable to the drawback, that several of the persons noted in it as having been paid considerable sums by him, are also said to have been paid by Mr. Monson’s legal and recognised agent. The inference is, either that these persons were paid twice over, or that the “unofficial treasurer” has charged the £1,700 with expenses which he did not pay out of it. Possibly either of these conclusions will be equally agreeable to Mr. Monson. One of the charges is of a peculiar character—a sum of £110 for “specials.” Interpreted by the evidence before them, the commissioners are in a position to inform us that these “specials” were “neither voters, nor in any way connected with the borough, but men usually known under the designation of ‘roughs,’ collected from the neighbouring towns,

and hired to swell the mob, increase the show of hands at the nomination, and attend the proceedings of the polling-day." It seems a large sum of money to spend in this way.

In the election of 1859, we have one crucial example of the extent to which bribery was carried. "An elector consented to vote without being paid, provided his doing so was kept a secret; as he should be ashamed of having done so if it were known." One of the agents was told, that if he went into the coffee-room of the "Swan" he would find some "ginger-bread" on the mantelpiece; he went, and found a hundred sovereigns. The amount of the bribes appears to have averaged from two to ten pounds, and was usually paid for "services" as messengers, committee-men, and so forth. These services were generally confined to "loafing" and drinking at public-houses. Mechanics and labourers were paid at the rate of a pound a day, for "loss of time" in attending the nomination and the poll. One man was the proud possessor of a rusty old cannon, lying in a ditch in Reigate Park. Mr. Gower appears to have conceived an enormous affection for this venerable piece of ordnance, for he cheerfully gave six pounds for it; and, no doubt, retains it to this day as one of the most interesting *objets de luxe*. Finally, say the commissioners—"Hotels, public-houses, and beer-shops were opened, and kept open for weeks previous to the different contests between February, 1858, and July, 1865, and a system of treating voters and their friends was carried on with the keenest rivalry on the part of the respective candidates. It was there that the main battle of the election was fought."

For the above able sketch of the doings at Reigate, we are indebted chiefly to the *Conservative Standard*, which is only too happy to have an opportunity of holding up to censure a Radical borough. But all parties were alike ready to resort to bribery to gain the day. Political feeling had very little to do with the matter. The poor man had to sell that which the rich man was eager to buy. Unfortunately, the election was often decided by the venal few, and thus a great scandal was done.

Undoubtedly, at this time, little feeling existed in political matters. There had come to the nation peace after a storm, leisure to grow rich and wise, and a consequent desire for epicurean indulgence and ease. In 1861, the editor of the Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs*, writes—"The position of the country, and of Europe, makes all earnest politicians desire to see the higher offices of the state filled by public men who, in a marked degree, enjoy the public confidence. Of mere popular idols we have already had too many; none of them has shown the ability, even if he possessed the inclination, to direct the policy of a great country in a great emergency. We have not forgotten the collapse, in our Crimean difficulties, of certain prodigious bubbles that had been expanded by the breath of a too-confiding people. What England now demands of her administrative officers, is the highest possible standard of intelligence combined with an equal elevation of principle."

The Whigs we have had an opportunity of again seeing in office, going on, from day to day, very much in the same style of political existence which distinguished their former attempts at government. Indeed, the old performances have been repeated with scarcely any variation, even to the rash experiment of one branch of the legislature being rendered innocuous by the wise interposition of the other.

"The gifts of one man supply that mechanical quality known as attraction of cohesion, that keeps such dissimilar elements together. No fair critic of public men can deny that Lord Palmerston is a statesman of extraordinary resources. Indeed, his experience, his tact, his judgment, his inexhaustible good-humour, and rare political sagacity, have maintained his party in power when blunders of every kind have severely tried the patience of the nation. The Premier is one of the few Whigs who have profited by their Conservative education. He was a pupil of Pitt, and a contemporary of Grenville and Castlereagh, Wellington and Canning. More than half a century has elapsed since he learnt his official qualifications in a

school that produced the most eminent statesmen of the age; and though circumstances have made him diverge from the path in which his career commenced, his early lessons have enabled him to maintain an elevated position in popular estimation, when the reputation of his colleagues has fallen to the ground." This was the language of a Conservative in 1861. It expressed the feeling of his lordship's party in 1865; and accounts, in some degree, for the feebleness of the efforts made to oppose him, and for the success of the ministerial candidates in all parts of the country. He whom they at one time had designated as the firebrand of Europe, they had now come to trust in as their old saviour from democracy and John Bright.

The election commissioners have drawn considerable attention to the expenses at elections, independently of any bribery. According to them, the official return of the total costs incurred by the three candidates collectively at Lancaster, is set down at £2,529 7s. 2d., including £167 2s. 10d., the charge made by the returning officer; at Reigate, with three candidates, to £2,636 18s. 5d., including £143 11s. 3d.; at Totnes, with four candidates, to £786 7s. 11d., including £64 4s. 6d.; and at Great Yarmouth, with five candidates, to £1,638 18s. 7d., including £114 11s. 2d. At the general election of 1865, there were 938 candidates. The largest sum spent at any one place appears to have been in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where the total cost incurred by the three candidates amounted to no less than £27,974 2s. 5½d., including £680 18s. 1d. Of the larger sum, £470 3s. 7d. was objected to, but whether successfully is not clear. As a contrast to this enormous outlay, Down County and Downpatrick figure for the small sum of £2 10s. each; the first with two candidates, and the latter with one; while the cost at Armagh (county), with two candidates, is placed at *nil*. The amount of costs incurred by candidates in the counties of England and Wales (excepting Berkshire, Middlesex, and Brecknock, for which there are no accounts), was £315,666 11s. 8½d.; in the cities and boroughs in England and Wales (excepting the Isle of Wight, Cambridge University, Dorchester, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Nottingham, Oxford University, Warwick, Wells, Worcester, Cardiff, Flint, Radnor, and Swansea), £315,994 13s. 0½d.; in the counties of Scotland, £32,244 11s. 11d.; in the cities and boroughs of Scotland (excepting Caithness and Wick), £19,431 13s. 5d.; in the counties in Ireland (excepting Leitrim, Tipperary, Tyrone, Limerick, and Waterford), £44,801 6s. 7½d.; and in the cities and boroughs in Ireland (excepting Cashel, Clonmel, Cork, Dublin University, Dundalk, Kilkenny, and city of Limerick), £24,610 4s. 2½d.; making a total of £752,749 0s. 11½d. This, however, does not include all the expenses, because the charges made by the returning officers in the counties in England and Wales amount to £15,655 8s. 3d.; in the cities and boroughs in England and Wales, to £26,275 11s. 10½d.; in the counties in Scotland, to £939 6s. 1½d.; in the cities and boroughs in Scotland, to £1,206 12s. 4d.; in the counties in Ireland, to £2,239 5s. 8½d.; and in the cities and boroughs in Ireland, to £1,004 4s. 7½d.; making a total of returning officers' charges, of £47,320 8s. 11d., and bringing all the costs up to £800,069 9s. 10½d. But when it is considered that no accounts at all have been furnished from thirty-one places, that unsuccessful candidates have not stated their expenses, except payment of returning officers' charges in twenty-six places, and that even the charges of those officers are not given in ten places, it is clear that the above total cannot give a correct idea of the whole costs by a very large sum. The expenses incurred by Mr. Brett, M.P., at the Helston election, were, according to a return which has just been published, £540.

Lord Palmerston often spoke with great force on the subject of cottage improvements, at the Romsey and other agricultural meetings. His own words on this subject, so much discussed by county landlords, and employers of labour, are as follow:—"It is not necessary to pull down old cottages to build new ones." He added—"The effect of improving these dwellings is almost marvellous. In the first place, the comfort of a man's home depends on the tidiness of his wife, and on

the mode in which she tries to make him comfortable. But there is a temper of the human mind which is denominated as recklessness. When a thing seems impossible, it is given up in despair. When a cottage is in such a ramshackle state that it is impossible for the wife to keep it clean, she becomes slattern; everything goes to ruin; the man is disgusted, and flies to the beer-shop." So much importance did he attach to the cottage accommodation, that he visited every cottage on his farm, and gave personal instructions for carrying out the enlargements. Bed-room accommodation, good drainage, and good ventilation, were his primary objects; but such simple things as the convenient placing of pegs for the clothes, and the shelves for the housewife, did not escape his attention. By his kindly and genial consideration of their wants and comforts, he won his way to the hearts of his peasantry, and will long live in their affections. It was in the last summer of his life that, at the annual meeting of the Romsey Labourers' Encouragement Society, he delivered a public address, admirably suited to the occasion, and full of that sound common sense in which his lordship loved to indulge. Having distributed the prizes to those labourers who had earned them, his lordship addressed the assembled townspeople on the importance of good conduct, and steady and virtuous habits, to themselves, their families, and to the country at large. He then enlarged on the value, to the rising generation, of education, not of a scientific character, but such as would come into their daily use and application; dwelling especially on reading, writing legibly, and mental arithmetic. The members of the association afterwards dined together, under the presidency of Mr. Dutton, M.P.; but the noble lord was not present. To dine with his neighbours, and friends, and tenantry, had always been his lordship's delight; and his compelled abstinence must have been painfully suggestive to himself and others. The spectacle was also always pleasing to the nation. Though Premier, his lordship did not forget the ties of citizenship or duty; or the social civilities which bridge over—what would otherwise be most mischievous in its effects—the separation of classes, which so unhappily characterises our land.

As a still further illustration of this great and fine quality in his lordship, we may mention that, on one occasion in the course of the year of which we write, he formed one of Mr. Spurgeon's congregation at the Metropolitan Tabernacle; and, after the service, had an interview with Mr. Spurgeon, to whom he presented a handsome donation on behalf of his college. In this act of liberality he was consistent to the last; as, in his earlier days, he often invited to his table the Rev. John Reynolds, the Independent minister at Romsey. As to the arrogant and absurd pretensions of the high church party, his lordship never believed in them. His sound Scotch training under Stewart preserved him from such errors.

Indeed, in the matter of religion there had been most wonderful changes in his lordship's time. The dissenters had become a power; and the fetters which had been imposed on them in ignorance, had been removed by such legislation as he had approved of. The new marriage law, which emanated from the ministry of which his lordship was one, came into operation in 1837; and the returns of marriages in England show that, in the year 1844, there were still 91 in 100 marriages solemnised in churches; in the year 1854, they had declined to 84: the returns issued for 1864, by the registrar-general, give them at 78. In this last year, nine marriages in 100 were celebrated in Nonconformist chapels, and five in 100 in Roman Catholic churches; and there stood registered for marriages, in England and Wales, 5,163 churches and chapels not belonging to the church of England. Among them were 1,102 Wesleyan chapels, 1,600 Independent or Congregationalist, 1,091 Baptist, and 602 Roman Catholic. There were, in England and Wales, in the year 1864, 8,659 marriages in Roman Catholic churches, and 19,627 in Nonconformist chapels. Along with the authorisation of marriages in registered chapels, the legislature sanctioned also marriages before the registrar without any religious rites at all. The number of these was small at first: in 1841, only 2,064—not two marriages in 100. But in 1854, the proportion approached

five in 100 ; and in 1864, it was more than eight in 100—one marriage in every dozen ; 14,611 in all—nearly as many as in Nonconformist chapels. The returns are not made for towns, but for districts. In Cambridge, these marriages without religious rites were as many as one in seven of the whole number of marriages in 1864 ; in Oxford, one in six ; in Bath, Bristol, Southampton, and Northampton, one in five ; in Canterbury and Norwich, one in four ; in Plymouth, Stoke Damerel, and Liskeard, one in three ; in Exeter, 40 per cent. In Lancashire and Yorkshire these marriages are not very frequent. In Durham and Cumberland they are so numerous, that, in the entire counties, they amount to one in every four ; in Auckland, they are 40 per cent. of all the marriages ; in Carlisle, 60 per cent. In Cardiff, they are 40 per cent. ; in Merthyr, very little less ; in South Wales, as a whole, one in four of the marriages. In Carlisle, the marriages in the register-office are more than double the number of marriages at church, and more than six times as many as the marriages in Nonconformist and Roman Catholic chapels. This is owing to local custom. A class of persons, who formerly married on the Scottish side of the border, attracted by the easy fashion there, have married in Carlisle since the passing of Lord Brougham's Act of 1856, invalidating these irregular marriages in Scotland, except after three weeks' residence of one of the parties ; but the custom of marrying across the border, without a religious ceremony in church or chapel, makes people prefer that mode of marriage which excites least attention. Lord Brougham's Act has extinguished the Gretna Green marriages, or rather those of Mr. Murray, who kept the turnpike-gate at the border ; for he had almost superseded Gretna, by explaining to English visitors that the further journey of two miles was superfluous, as the wedding in his presence on the Scottish side of the border would be equally valid. He had performed as many as forty-two marriages in one day. In the year 1856, he celebrated 757 marriages. At the close of that year, Mr. Murray's occupation was gone. The Divorce Act had been passed in spite of the clergy. In many other ways they had also been deprived of the undue influence they possessed. It does not appear that Lord Palmerston much exercised himself with theology ; but he had sense enough to see that, side by side with the church establishment, had grown up a wealthy, a cultivated, an energetic dissent, and that no man could rule in England who endeavoured to ignore that fact.

England, in 1865, had become much changed ; and, let us hope, for the better. Its coal and iron had turned it from an agricultural country into a commercial one ; had peopled it with intelligence and life. Its railways, and telegraphs, and canals had made every part of it as busy as any other spot under the sun. It had become a land of gigantic manufactories, where the millions toiled to supply the world with the requisites of civilised existence. Out of this industry had grown wealth, and science, and education ; and almost a desire for an expensive system of government, whether as regarded the extension of cultivation, the duties of official life, or self-defence. But all the while there was a dark side, over which the patriot and the philanthropist mourned, and with which the statesman was bound to contend. There had been crime and pauperism in Lord Palmerston's youngest days ; there was crime and pauperism in his old age. The judicial statistics for the last years of his lordship's life have been published. It appears from them, that the total number of murders was 135, being one in excess of the previous year : seventy-six were reported from the counties, fifty-one from boroughs, and eight by the metropolitan police. In Lancashire twenty-eight cases occurred, of which thirteen came from Liverpool. In Yorkshire there were fifteen cases ; in Durham, ten cases ; in Somerset, seven ; in Southampton, seven ; in Devon, six ; in Kent, six ; in Gloucester, Stafford, and Worcester, five each. Some of the remaining counties had smaller numbers ; while in thirteen English and Welsh counties no case of murder occurred. There were fifty-four attempts to murder, as compared with forty for the preceding year ; and 279 cases of manslaughter, as compared with 214 for the previous year. The cases of stabbing, shooting at, &c., numbered 762, showing a decrease of four from

the previous year. There were 232 cases of concealment of birth in 1864-'65, being less by three than in the preceding year. Of these, 119 were in the counties, twenty-five in boroughs, eighty-eight in the metropolitan police district, and none in the city of London. The burglaries reported were 2,615, being an increase of twenty-four on the previous return; highway robberies, &c., 716; arson, 470; and attempted suicide, 787. The number of proved offences against the person was 2,586; offences against property, with violence, 5,160; malicious offences against property, 669; other offences, 43,298. The total number of persons convicted in the year was 312,822; of whom 262,214 were males, and 50,668 females. The cases of stealing, and attempting to steal, numbered 44,908; the assault cases, 98,776. There were 10,392 offences against the game-laws. The total number of persons proceeded against, exceeded, by 12,000, the numbers of the previous year. The total number of appeals to quarter sessions from the decisions of justices acting out of sessions, in 1865, was ninety-one; of which fifty-seven were affirmed, and thirty-four quashed. The coroners' inquests for the same time amounted to 25,011, showing an increase of 224 over the previous year; 17,566 were males, and 7,445 females. The total cost of the inquests was £74,915 4s. 3d.; giving an average, for each inquest, of £2 19s. 10d. The number of commitments in criminal proceedings for the year was 19,614, being very slightly in excess of the previous year. The capital convictions for five years were as follows:—1861, twenty-six; 1862, twenty-eight; 1863, twenty-nine; 1864, thirty-two; 1865, twenty. Of the twenty persons sentenced to death in 1865, eight were left for execution; one committed suicide in prison; in eight the sentences were commuted to penal servitude for life; in one commuted to a year's imprisonment; in one the convict was sent to Broadmoor, as insane; in one (an Italian), a pardon was granted, on the condition of his leaving the country; and in one a free pardon was granted, the verdict not being considered satisfactory. The number of executions in 1865 was seven, compared with nineteen in 1864, and twenty-two in 1863. The number sentenced to death in 1865, is the lowest on record; and contrasts strongly with the number forty years before—the numbers in 1825 being 1,036. The cost of proceedings on indictment, paid by the Treasury last year, was £134,901 17s. 10d.; or an average of £7 18s. 10d. for each case proceeded against. The total cost of the prisons was £558,757 14s. 3d., compared with £433,045 for the previous year. The total amount paid for reformatories was £48,505 15s. 1d.; and for industrial schools, £15,493 15s. 4d. The total charge of the lunatic asylum was £49,311 11s. 10d.

Another dark epoch in the horizon resulted from the state of the elective franchise. There was wide and deep-seated discontent among the working-men of Great Britain. They felt that, so long as they were excluded from the possession of political power, they were treated as serfs, and were in danger of having their interests overlooked. In France, in Prussia, in the colonies, in America, their brethren had votes; and the denial to them, in this country, of the rights of citizenship was a grievance to be got rid of—an injustice to be no longer borne with patience—an insult to be resisted. It is true, Chartism, and all ideas of gaining their rights by brute force, had long been abandoned; but, as much as ever, they were determined to win them in a constitutional way. In 1865, they had their clubs and newspapers, and teachers and orators. They had also become united, and had learnt that union is strength. Firm in their purpose, rich in the possession of accumulated funds—with intelligence certainly equal to the generality of the ten-pound householders, or tenant farmers—they had become a formidable body, feared by the two great parties in the state alike. In 1832, the middle classes had petted them; reform ministers had viewed their activity with glee; but now they were left to fight the battle of their rights alone. In politics, especially, delays are dangerous. One Reform Bill after another was introduced into the House of Commons; and then, on some frivolous pretext or other, withdrawn. Moderate measures would have been of avail: the time at length has come when it is clear they will be useless, and in vain.

CHAPTER XXXII.

INDIA UNDER SIR CHARLES WOOD.

IN the course of publication, fresh light is continually poured in upon historical questions. Since much of this work has been printed, many important volumes have appeared, of which we proceed to avail ourselves. We add a few particulars here.

“One statesman to whom we have not done justice is the late Mr. James Wilson, in whom a large and comprehensive knowledge of finance and taxation”—writes Mr. Algernon West, author of a seasonable volume, entitled *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs, from 1859 to 1866*—“was combined with habits of laborious and untiring application.”

Mr. Wilson's career was successful, and creditable alike to himself and to the institutions of his country. “A poor apprentice to a poor shopkeeper, in a small Scotch town, he had, by the force of his unaided intellect, and by the strength of his unwearied exertions, raised himself, step by step, on the ladder of fame. In a life comparatively short, he rose from an apprentice to a merchant; in which capacity, a temporary failure, in the panic of 1837, only showed to more advantage the unselfish probity of his conduct. From a counting-house he passed into parliament; and, after holding office in the Board of Control, the Treasury, and the Board of Trade, and being created a privy councillor, he finally took his seat at the council table of the Governor-general of India. The leading questions of the day—the repeal of the corn laws, and the repeal of the navigation laws—had given him ample opportunity of employing himself, with his whole heart, on these subjects; and he had advocated those great reforms, not only by his speeches in the House of Commons, and out of doors, but in the columns of the *Economist*, which he edited for many years, and in which he demonstrated, in trenchant and convincing articles, the fallacies of his opponents.” In the financial crisis which occurred in India after the mutiny had been suppressed, and the old reign of the company superseded, Mr. Wilson was the most fitting man to send out. Accordingly, he was despatched by Sir Charles Wood.

“On the 18th of February, 1860, Mr. Wilson made his first financial statement in the council-room at Calcutta. Referring to the speech of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, in the preceding autumn, Mr. Wilson estimated the deficit for 1859-'60, at £9,290,129, which was nearly a million less than the estimate of Sir Charles Wood—a favourable anticipation, which, however, was not destined to be realised, as the accounts at the close of the year showed an actual deficit of £10,769,861. Mr. Wilson frankly admitted that, though by the power of our arms, and the courage of our civil administration, a feeling of security pervaded the country, it was, unfortunately, no state secret that an evil of the greatest magnitude was corroding the very heart of our political system, and that it would be in vain we should boast of the restoration of order and tranquillity, if we could see no end to the financial disorder that notoriously prevailed. Looking forward to the prospect of the year 1860-'61, with which he had principally to deal, he showed that, after taking credit for the reduction of a million and three-quarters in the military charges; a reduction of one million on account of compensation for losses in the mutiny, which had been included in the estimate for 1859-'60; and an increase of income, from the salt duty, of £410,000—the expenditure of 1860-'61 would still exceed the income by six and a-half millions. To meet this, every attempt would be made by the reduction of expenditure; but it was apparent that, in addition, it would be necessary to have recourse to

new sources of taxation. The measures selected for this purpose were a revision of the customs' duties, an income-tax, and a licence duty, which was, however, afterwards abandoned.

"In dealing with the import duties, which had been raised during the mutiny, the government of India lowered them from 20 to 10 per cent. on nearly every article in the tariff; wool, hemp, hides, and jute, formerly liable to a considerable export duty, were entirely exempted; as well as tea, the experiments of its growth having shown the expediency of giving every encouragement to the attractions it held out to European capital and European settlers; and how unwise it would be to crush, in its infancy, an undertaking which promised so well. Saltpetre and tobacco, as exceptional articles, were subjected to an increased duty. By these changes the government of India gave up £82,000 per annum, obtained from certain customs' duties, which pressed heavily on the commerce of the country; while they estimated that they would obtain, in a manner far less objectionable, £233,700.

"Complaints had been made, by Manchester merchants at home, of the unfair valuation of articles subject to customs' duties; and Sir Charles Wood had promised that the matter should be set right. The leading commercial men in Calcutta were therefore called together, and, with their advice and concurrence, a revolution was made of the articles already subject to duty, whereby an improvement of revenue was anticipated of £200,000.

"But all these changes, improvements though they were, were insufficient to meet the increased liabilities which pressed upon the Indian government. Some larger measure was necessary; and the government of India proposed an income-tax of 4 per cent. on all incomes of £50 per annum, and upwards; 2 per cent. on incomes between £20 and £50; while incomes below £20 were to be entirely exempted from its operation.

"It was not to be expected that these taxes would be passed without some opposition. One of the objections urged against the income-tax was its imputed novelty in India; but those who used this argument overlooked the fact, that under the ancient Hindoo law such taxes were authorised; and it was pointed out, by Sir Bartle Frere, that, in the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, taxes on incomes, trades, and professions, were almost universally levied throughout British India; and that these taxes were abolished in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Bombay, not because they were bad in principle, but because they were so unfairly taxed, and unequally levied, that it was difficult to enforce them in their then existing shape."

The income-tax, as proposed, was more, therefore, in the nature of a revival of an old, than the importation of a new tax; and, with the exemptions and alterations that were adopted subsequently to its introduction, it was not calculated to press with great severity on any class of natives. The smaller proprietors would escape payment altogether; while the tax was intended to bring under assessment the richer landlords and merchants, who hitherto had contributed absolutely nothing to the public burdens. It was alleged that such a tax, as regarded the landowners, was a breach of the perpetual settlement: but even influential natives of India admitted the fallacy of that objection; and one of them, the Maharajah of Burdwan, repudiated the objection in the following words:—"I cannot," he said, "find anything in the terms of the settlement to convince me that the zemindars of India have for ever been exempted from contributing to assist the government, when they incur unavoidable expenses in preserving property, life, the honour, and all that is dear to them, of those very zemindars." Some little opposition was made to this tax. No opposition, however, occasioned so much anxiety as that of the governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who protested against its imposition on the people of that presidency. As his minute on the subject was published, there was no alternative, on the part of the government, but to issue an order for his immediate recall.

The reduction of the annual expenditure was a subject of pressing importance. As it was declared that the civil administration of India was carried on at a smaller cost than that of any country in the world, it was clear that it was with the military expenditure the government would have to deal. For that purpose, in 1859, a military finance commission—consisting of Colonel Jameson as president, and Colonels Burn and Balfour as members—was appointed.

In April, 1860, Colonel Burn was compelled, by ill-health, to leave India; and, in June following, the commission was deprived of the valuable services of its president, Colonel Jameson. Lieutenant-Colonel Simson, and Mr. Richard Temple, were afterwards added to the commission; and the government of India bore ample testimony to the important services which that commission rendered, as well as to the benefits which resulted from the labours of Colonel Balfour, who was appointed chief of the military finance department, and who ably and energetically carried out the work of reduction and reform which had been suggested.

In dealing with the military charges, Mr. Wilson saw clearly how large reductions could be made—not, indeed, in the pay and emoluments of either officers or men, but in the numerical strength of the army; by a better distribution of forces; by control over the commissariat; and, to use his own words, “by reducing our army finance to order.” His scheme was, to prepare, annually, a budget of income and expenditure, in order to bring before the supreme government, for sanction, at the commencement of each year, carefully devised estimates of expenditure in every department, thereby guarding against irregular and unauthorised outlays, for which no adequate provision had been made in the ways and means of the year. In maturing this plan, Mr. Wilson laboured unremittingly, setting at nought the advice of his physicians, despising the warnings of a fatal and insidious disease, and, perhaps, not admitting to himself how valuable the continuance of his health and working powers had become to India. In August he was first attacked by sickness; but he, nevertheless, refused to slacken his labours. Although fully aware of the fatal effects of hard work at night, he persisted in the pernicious habit till absolute exhaustion compelled him to seek rest in vain. Mr. West writes—

“A trip to sea was talked of—that wonderful panacea for all the diseases of India; but it was too late. A few days sufficed to render his illness fatal. Lord Canning visited the sick man on his death-bed, and was deeply touched by the tone in which he spoke of public matters. Not a word of self, or of his name or share in public affairs, escaped his lips. He expressed his hopefulness of the success of the great work in which he had been engaged, and calmly died, adding another name to that long list of heroes who, at the desk as well as in the more exciting scenes of battle, have, without a complaint or murmur, laid down their lives in India in their country’s service.”

“Nothing can replace,” writes one of his fellow-councillors, “the ripe experience and practical sagacity which tempered the unfailing energy of the colleague we have lost; and Sir Charles Wood deeply felt the loss of so able a coadjutor.”

It was obviously advisable that there should be no delay in appointing a successor; and the choice fell upon Mr. Laing, Secretary to the Treasury in Lord Palmerston’s government, who was appointed member of council in Mr. Wilson’s place. On Mr. Laing’s acceptance of this appointment, Sir Charles Wood took occasion to urge, with, if possible, increased force, the absolute necessity of early and vigorous exertions, on the part of the government of India, in the reduction of expenditure, wherever it could be effected without neglecting the indispensable requirements of the public service. In June, 1862, Mr. Laing’s health, unsuited for official life in an Indian climate, compelled him to return to England. In looking for a successor, Sir Charles Wood’s attention was not unnaturally turned to Sir Charles Trevelyan, whose fitness for employment in India could hardly be overlooked. He had commenced his career as a Bengal civilian. For twenty years he had been Secretary to the Treasury at home: but here, with a constant

strain on his energies, he had not forgotten his old associations and interests in India; and the letters of Indophilus, which appeared from time to time, had not only attracted the attention, but had taken a great hold of the minds of those at home, to whom India was not, as it is to many, a *terra in cognita*. He had shown himself an excellent Indian administrator during his short rule at Madras. It is true he had committed one great indiscretion; but he had paid a severe penalty in being recalled from so honourable a position. This recall had been to Sir Charles Wood a very painful though necessary act, and he gladly welcomed the opportunity of again rendering the services of so able an administrator available for the public good; and Sir Charles Trevelyan, after having been the governor of a presidency, wisely and patriotically undertook a subordinate appointment, with less responsible duties. Failing health, in a short time, compelled Sir Charles to return to England, and Mr. Massey was sent out as the financial member of the Governor-general's council. He had already filled, with considerable credit, the post of Under-Secretary to the Home Office; and was, at the time of his appointment to India, the chairman of ways and means in the House of Commons.

It is time now that we give a fuller notice of Sir Charles Wood's administration of Indian affairs. In the peerage he is called Lord Halifax; but, as Sir Charles Wood, he is better known to the public at large. In an article which appeared in the *Times*, February 6th, 1866, it was said—"As a monument of his ability, industry, and judgment, Sir Charles Wood may fairly point to his six years' administration of India during a period of transition and unexampled difficulty at home and abroad. He found everything in disorder, and had everything to reconstruct. He had to recast the whole judicial system of India; to create for her a paper currency; to superintend the remodelling of her taxation, and the reorganisation of her finances. He had to develop a railway system; and last, and most difficult of all, he had to carry through the Herculean labour of amalgamating the queen's armies. It has been impossible to do justice to every individual. We believe that, upon the whole, the Indian army has been a gainer by the change. Where is the man possessed of that extent and variety of knowledge; that quickness, industry, and versatility; that acquaintance with matters financial, military, naval, judicial, and political, which will enable him to rule, with a firm unflinching hand, the mighty destinies of 150,000,000 of the human race?" With the aid of Mr. West, we propose to go a little more into detail.

On the formation of Lord Palmerston's government, in June, 1859, Sir Charles Wood accepted the post of Secretary of State for India. His last office had been that of First Lord of the Admiralty. It was only four years and a-half since he had, as President of the Board of Control, taken a leading part in the home government of India; but in that short interval of time a great change had taken place. The grand old East India Company had been swept away: Sir Charles had now no authority in Leadenhall Street to consult; but, instead, a board of councillors, selected partly from the officers of the old East India House, and partly from those of the Board of Control. The working of the department, in its new form, was inharmonious and crude, and the whole procedure of official business had still to be adapted to the new order of things. When Sir Charles took office, he found the council divided into three committees, in nearly the same manner as the Court of Directors of the East India Company had been. The despatches were prepared by the secretaries of the department, as in the old India House; but instead of being brought in any way before the Secretary of State, they were sent directly to one of the committees, and only reached the eye of the Secretary of State when the members of that committee were pledged to the views which they had already approved. This mode of conducting the business actually put the Secretary of State for India in a worse position than when he was President of the Board of Control. Sir Charles Wood at once discerned this very serious defect in the mode of conducting business, and determined to remedy it. He divided the

council into six committees of five members each, every member being on two committees, the chairman being selected by the Secretary of State. The drafts of the despatches were submitted to him, who, after making such alterations as he thought necessary, referred them to one of the committees. These drafts were then returned to the Secretary of State, and by him sent to council in such shape as he might determine for final consideration and amendment. The military and marine branches, hitherto distinct from the general correspondence department, were now united to it. He also effected a combination of the account, pay, and audit offices, by which a more efficient and economical system was introduced. It was also determined to place the supply of stores on a footing which, while insuring a more perfect responsibility, should be thoroughly efficient to meet the rapidly increasing requirements of our great Eastern dependency.

"In that and all other arrangements," writes Mr. West, "Sir Charles Wood was materially assisted by Mr. Baring, formerly his private secretary at the Board of Control, whose talent for organisation was of special advantage in the rearrangement of the department; and who, from his peculiar aptitude for business, his power of work, and the experience he had acquired from having been employed in various public departments, had obtained a degree of official knowledge unequalled by any of his contemporaries in the House of Commons. The unpopularity incidental to any measure necessitating alteration and reduction in a government office was in this instance, to a great extent, overcome, from its being apparent that the improvements were carried out, not from a love of change, but for the good of the service, and in strict accordance with justice. It will be long before this merit in Mr. Baring ceases to be recognised in the India Office. He had not, however, the opportunity of watching the practical working of those reforms in the introduction of which he had borne so prominent a part.

"Mr. Sidney Herbert's elevation to the peerage rendered it necessary that the War Office should be represented in the House of Commons; and, in order to obtain this object, Mr. Baring was transferred to that department. This appointment was amply justified by the able manner in which, with very short time for preparation, he mastered the complicated details of the army estimates, and carried them through the House of Commons. The popularity which Lord De Grey had acquired in the organisation of the volunteer force at the war department, was a guarantee that the military changes then in progress in our Eastern empire, would not suffer by his removal to the India Office. The lamented death of Lord Herbert, however, in the prime of his intellectual vigour, and the appointment of Sir George Lewis as his successor, led to the re-transfer of those two under-secretaries in the summer of 1861. Two years had not elapsed before the retirement of Mr. Lowe from the council of education, and Mr. Henry Austen Bruce's appointment in his place, left a new field of usefulness open for Mr. Baring at the Home Office; and the government was strengthened by the acquisition of Lord Wodehouse as Under-Secretary for India.

"The political exigencies of parliament were not the sole causes which led to rapid changes in the India Office. The illness, and consequent resignation of the Earl of Carlisle, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, removed Lord Wodehouse, in 1864, to a higher position, where his firmness and decision of character were eminently displayed in grappling with the discontent and agitation of that unhappy country. Once more the ministerial ranks were reinforced by the addition of Lord Dufferin, who, formerly known as a daring yachtsman and a graceful writer, and subsequently as an able diplomatist in Syria, has, by his lucid speeches on the vexed question of the Indian army, and land tenure in Ireland, raised yet higher the hopes entertained of the distinguished career that, in all probability, awaits him."

These arrangements sadly interfered with Sir Charles Wood's plans. It was well, therefore, for the latter, that he found in his permanent council, not only experienced advice, but most ready assistance, of which he largely and gladly

availed himself. Not satisfied with the mere formal reference of documents to the committees, it was his constant practice to consult his councillors individually, and to invite them to state their opinions freely. Very few days ever elapsed without his seeing many of the members of council. The chairmen of the committees were requested to confer with him on papers awaiting their consideration; and, in matters of more than ordinary difficulty, he would himself attend the committees, and personally take part in their discussions; and, by this means, business was got over much more comfortably than otherwise would have been the case.

"It has never," continues Mr. West, "been imputed to Sir Charles Wood that he is wanting in self-reliance, or that he is too easily led by the opinion of others. It is therefore a convincing testimony to the skill and tact with which he availed himself of the abilities and experience of the members of his council, and of the practical utility of his mode of transacting the business which he introduced, that, during his whole tenure of office, Sir Charles Wood overruled them only four times; on all which occasions, subjects of minor importance only were involved. With these few exceptions, and the larger and imperial question of the discontinuance of a local European army, Sir Charles carried with him the majority of his council on all the varied measures which were inaugurated and executed at home and in India. Indeed, so complete was the agreement between them, that, in the House of Lords, in the session of 1863, a complaint was made, 'that they never heard of what the council of India did; occasionally there was a dissent, and nothing more.' The names of Sir John Lawrence, Sir George Clerk, and many others, are sufficient evidence that this unanimity was not the result of any lack of independence on the part of the council, but was a proof of their earnest and willing co-operation with a Secretary of State, whose far-sighted views were fully appreciated, and perceived by them to be advantageous to the great interests committed to their charge. One of the main features of the success of Sir Charles Wood's administration was the constant personal intercourse he held, not only with his councillors, and with the members of the India secretariat, but with others unconnected with the department. No man ever came from India, whatever his position, with information likely to be of use to the public service, but found easy access to the private ear of the Secretary of State. Quick, and somewhat intolerant, as he was of those lengthy narratives of purely personal interest, often attempted to be placed before him, and which he keenly felt did but waste the time due to more important business, no man ever bestowed a more impartial and patient hearing on those whose experience or knowledge entitled them to attention. Many were those who, on leaving his room after one of these interviews, expressed their astonishment at the perfect intimacy he displayed with matters supposed by them to be technical, or only to be attained after a long residence in India, and by years of application to a particular subject." This information will be new to the public, with whom Sir Charles, from his singularly unfelicitous mode of speaking, was never a favourite. To most of them, it appeared that his sole claim to office consisted in the fact that he was a Whig, and a son-in-law of Earl Grey. Mr. West was Sir Charles's private secretary, and takes the proper official view of his patron. It may be that the latter has over-rated Sir Charles. It is clear that the public under-rated his business capability, perseverance, and tact.

One of the first measures of Sir Charles Wood was to make better provision for the constitution of the council of the Governor-general, and the local government of the several presidencies and provinces of India, so as to render the legislative authority more suited to the requirements of the times. Hitherto the system had been very faulty, inasmuch, for one reason, not to mention others, the natives of India were overlooked. Under the provisions of the new act, the two judges of the Supreme Court were omitted from the council; and a second member, to be named by the crown, was added. In order to provide for admitting members of the non-official communities of India to a share in the government of the

country, and for assuring to the natives a voice in the deliberations of the council, and, at the same time, of maintaining such restrictions as would, at all times, secure to the government the power of guarding against any legislation which might seem likely to lead to mischievous results, it was enacted, that when the Governor-general's council met for the purpose of making laws and regulations, he should summon, besides the ordinary members, not less than six, not more than twelve additional members (each nominated for a period of two years), of whom one-half, at least, should not be officials under government. The additional members might be chosen from any rank or profession, and might be either European or native. By this measure, for the first time in the history of India, did Sir Charles Wood provide, not only for the employment of Europeans, independent of government, in the work of legislation, but also for the admission of natives into the council, for the purpose of aiding in the formation of laws for themselves and their own country. Councils of a somewhat similar institution were created in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, to which non-official Europeans and natives were to be admitted.

The next step in legislating for India at home was taken by the introduction of a bill for establishing high courts of judicature in India. Before these courts were formed, if an Englishman, at whatever distance from the presidency town, was charged with a crime, it was necessary that he should be brought down, with all the witnesses, to Calcutta; and it cannot be denied that the inconvenience and expense of such a system frustrated the ends of justice in a very large number of cases. This evil has now been remedied by the power given in the act for trying Europeans elsewhere than in the presidency towns. Mr. West adds—"A native judge now sits on the bench of the High Court of Calcutta, with great honour to himself, and advantage to the administration of law; and, with such a prospect of advancement, it may be confidently hoped, that other native gentlemen will, in time, qualify themselves for similar positions of responsibility. It was a matter of no slight difficulty to amalgamate the Supreme and Sudder Courts, and to bring the judges, so dissimilar in every respect in their education and training, to work harmoniously together. The greatest credit is due to the chief justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, for the hearty way in which he worked to overcome these difficulties; and the success that has signally attended the measure in Calcutta, is, in a great degree, owing to his exertion, zeal, and discretion."

The third measure introduced into parliament during the session of 1860, was the Civil Service Bill, which, in the first instance, rendered valid nominations to certain appointments, which, it was stated, had been made by the local government, in violation of the law requiring that they should be filled by members of the covenanted service only.

In 1861, Sir Charles Wood appointed a commission to prepare a code of civil law for India. Although mainly composed of the same members as the commission of 1853, it was strengthened by the addition of two of the most able judges in the land—Sir William Erle and Sir James Willes. The first part of this code has been embodied in Act X. of 1865, and comprises the law of succession and inheritance, generally applicable to all persons domiciled in British India, other than Hindoo or Mahomedan, each of which portion of the community has laws of its own on such subjects. An act has been recently passed in India, giving a law of succession to the wealthy community of Parsees, who reside chiefly in Bombay, and who were previously subject to the law (very distasteful to them) administered by the Supreme Court, in matters of succession. Small cause courts, with a simple procedure, have existed for many years within the limits of the presidency towns; but, until recently, no such courts had been established in the provinces. The act for establishing recorder's courts in British Burmah, was followed, in 1865, by an act for the Punjaub and its dependencies. By an act passed on the 21st of March, 1865, grand juries were abolished, and provision was made for the issue of commissions, addressed by the government to any of the

judges in the High Court, authorising them to hold sittings in such place or places as the government might think expedient, for the exercise of the original jurisdiction; provided that, in cases tried under such commissioners, a majority of not less than nine out of twelve of the jurors, with the concurrence of the presiding judge, should be competent to pronounce a verdict of guilty. Legislative measures, on many other important subjects, were passed by the government of India during the period under review—a period unparalleled, in the opinion of its historian, as regards improvement in judicial administration, since the date of the Cornwallis code.

“Most of these reforms,” says Mr. West, “in the administration of the law, first assumed a definite shape in the form of bills laid before the council of the Governor-general; but they had always been previously discussed, and, to a certain extent, determined upon, in private communications between Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Maine, the legislative member of council, and Mr. Hawkins, the secretary of the judicial department, in the India Office, at home. It was impossible that two men could be better qualified to give advice upon such subjects. Mr. Maine had early distinguished himself as the most elegant scholar of his day, at Cambridge, where he was head of the classical tripos in 1845. Shortly after taking his degree, he became Regius Professor of Civil Law, which appointment he held until elected Reader in Roman Laws and Jurisprudence, at the Middle Temple. His comprehensive work on ancient law, and other writings, added largely to his reputation in this country; and his appointment to the council of the Governor-general of India has afforded him a fitting and an ample field for the exercise of all his powers. To a familiar acquaintance with the habits and customs of the people of India, acquired during a residence of twenty-seven years in that country, Mr. Hawkins added a deep and intimate knowledge of Indian law, and the ripe experience of an official life. Originally a member of the civil service, he had occupied, for ten years, the important post of registrar of the Sudder Court of Calcutta, and two years judge of that court. In 1853, he was appointed a member of the Indian law commission; and, in 1854, became its secretary. In 1856, the Court of Directors, ever happy in its selection of its public servants, appointed him to the judicial and legislative departments of the East India House, from which he was, to the regret of all who knew him, compelled, by illness, to retire at the commencement of 1866.”

During Sir Charles Wood's tenure of office, society in India was convulsed to its centre by an attempt to alter one of the provisions of the penal law as to breaches of contract. A peculiar class of contracts is common in India, by which the planter makes advances of money to the ryot, who, in return, pledges himself to cultivate a particular crop on his land. In regard to many of the articles in connection with which this system prevailed, such as sugar, milk, &c., no difficulty has ever arisen; but the case in part of Bengal was otherwise, where indigo was concerned. There had been legislation on the subject. The planters required more, but in vain, until the year 1859, when the ryots refused any longer to cultivate indigo; and the Bengal indigo system virtually came to an end. In 1860, an act was passed in India to enforce the fulfilment of indigo contracts during the current season. Sir Charles Wood refused to sanction it, and insisted upon the appointment of a commission. In May, 1860, the commission commenced its labours, which lasted upwards of three months, and accumulated a very large and valuable mass of evidence on many points connected with the social condition of Bengal. The conclusion that the indigo cultivation was unprofitable to the ryot was arrived at, and was supported by an amount of evidence which was irresistible. In the spring of 1861, the report of the commission came under the consideration of the authorities at home; and the question before them was simply this—Were criminal proceedings for breach of contracts necessary? Sir Charles Wood and his council, after a careful review of the report, were of opinion that breaches of contract ought not to entail criminal proceedings; that the relation between planters

and ryots should be held to be dependent on mutual good-will. The necessity for their relationship being placed on this ground was not realised by the planters, relying, as they did, on government assistance, and the strong arm of the law being exercised in their favour against the ryot, who, Lord Canning thought, "had too long been left in ignorance of the protection which he might claim against the proceedings of any planter who had bound him by unreal obligations, and who had enforced them by illegal means." And the decision arrived at was expressed in a despatch to the Governor-general, on the 18th of April, 1861; in which, when reviewing a bill transmitted to the home government, the object of which was "to provide for the punishment of breaches of contract for the cultivation, production, gathering provisions, manufacture, carriage, and delivery of agricultural produce," Sir Charles Wood says—

"The question of making breaches of contract for the cultivation and delivery of agricultural produce punishable by criminal proceedings, is not one which now, for the first time, presents itself for consideration. It has been maturely considered: and the deliberate judgment of the Indian law commissioners; of the legislative council; of the Secretary of State for India in council; of the majority of the indigo commissioners; of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal; and even, as it appears to me, of your own government, has been recorded against any such measure. I am not prepared to give any sanction to the law which you propose, and to subject to criminal proceedings matters which have hitherto been held as coming exclusively under the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal; and I request that the bill for the punishment of breaches of contract, recently introduced by you into the legislative council, may be withdrawn."

The refusal to sanction a penal contract law did not set at rest the indigo question. The planters knew that the ryot, more alive than formerly to the right of his position, would not sow indigo to his own loss. The special legislation they had cried out for with such vehemence was denied them: they feared, after the terrible exposure of the indigo commissioners, to resort to force and fraud as formerly; but they were not prepared to yield without a struggle. As landlords, they informed the ryots who occupied the farms under them, that those who declined to sow indigo as heretofore, would have their rents raised. The question involved in this rent dispute was—In what cases, and to what extent, had the zemindars of 1793, in whose place the planters now stood, the power to raise the rents of the occupying ryots? For the purpose of trying it a case was raised prominently by Mr. Hills, a planter, in a suit for the purpose of increasing the rent of one Ishur Ghose. On the trial, it was contended on the one side, by the ryot, that the rent could only be raised in proportion to the increase in the value of the produce; on the other, by the landlord, that the lessee had a right to exact as much rent as any other person would pay. The decision of the district judge was—"That it was incumbent on the plaintiff to show that the value of the produce had increased in proportion to the increase of rent asked for; and that if he could show that the value of the produce had doubled, he would be entitled to recover double the former rate of rent; and that if it had trebled, he could treble the rent; and so on." This decision, on appeal to the higher court, was reversed by Sir Barnes Peacock, and two judges sitting with him; but on a similar action being brought again before the High Court, the case, on account of the important principle involved, was tried by the full court of fifteen judges. The whole bench, except the chief justice, pronounced against the power of the planter to raise the rent of the ryot, and decided that the rent could only be raised in proportion to the increased value of the land, such increase not being due to the exertions of the ryot. "So," adds Mr. West, "the matter rests for the present in Bengal."

Sir Charles Wood's financial administration of India is thus summarised by the same authority. On taking office he had to face an expenditure of £50,475,000, with an income of £39,705,000; to provide by loan for the deficiency of income, with the credit of Indian securities seriously impaired; and insufficient as the

means of India were to meet the current expenditure on public works, to raise funds for an increased outlay on that account. He resigned office with the annual income adequate to the expenditure, with Indian credit thoroughly established; and this notwithstanding a considerable increase in the amount expended on public works. It is in consequence of that success that we are now enabled to look on India, not in the light of a burden on the British tax-payer, or a borrower on the British Stock Exchange, but as a solvent state, able and willing to assist us with valuable commodities, and to pay for all her own internal improvements.

The currency question also required immediate settlement. In the opinion of Sir Charles Wood, the time had come for a more extended circulation of paper. The government had hitherto been compelled, in consequence of the imperfect means of communication, to maintain treasuries, with large amounts of cash in charge of government officers, for carrying on the receipts and payments of the state. It is easy to understand that, in the absence of a paper or gold currency, the constant transmission of large sums, in silver coin, between the government treasuries was a work of great labour, risk, and expense; but it would be difficult to convey to the mind of a person unacquainted with India, the extent to which the army of the East India Company had for years been employed in detachments as treasure escorts. Mr. Wilson, soon after his arrival in India, discussed the whole matter; and the result was a plan, of which the main features were—

1st. The withdrawal of the privileges of issue hitherto enjoyed by the three presidency banks.

2nd. The issue of notes by the government at the three cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and in circles at various places in the interior of the country; the notes issued in any circle being payable only in that circle, and at the presidency cities.

3rd. That coin or bullion, to the extent of one-third of the notes issued, should always be kept in the currency departments, and government securities held for the remainder.

This plan was, with the exception of the last provision, ultimately adopted.

Another very important question was that of the land revenue, which yields a very large portion of the entire income of India. A prominent event in this matter was the publication, by Lord Canning, in October, 1861, of a resolution regarding the sale of waste lands in fee-simple, and the redemption of existing land revenue. The proposals of the government were to the effect that all unoccupied waste lands throughout British India should be sold to any buyer, at a fixed price of five shillings per acre for uncleared, and ten shillings per acre for cleared lands. For thirty days after an intending purchaser had put in his application, any one claiming the property might assert his right to it: if, however, that period of thirty days elapsed without any claim being made, the property was to be allotted to the applicant, whose absolute possession was not hereafter to be disturbed, even if a right of property in the land so allotted should be established. Compensation might be awarded to any one proving a title to the land within a year of the sale; but the original possessor was not allowed to have any claim for the restoration of his land. Sir Charles Wood insisted on the land being surveyed and put up to auction. He also objected to Lord Canning's resolution authorising the redemption of the land-tax, whether permanently or temporarily settled, to the extent of one-tenth of the aggregate amount of the assessment in each district. A special department for the management of the extensive woods of India was organised, and the cultivation of the cinchona tree (whence we have quinine) has been most successful. "On the Neilgherry hills acres and acres of land are now covered with plantations of these beautiful trees; and Mr. Markham, who, with considerable danger to his health and life, originally superintended the removal of the plants from Peru to Madras, in 1860, and to whom the credit of the experiment is principally due, had, on his second visit to India in the autumn of 1865, the satisfaction of finding all the plantations flourishing, and upwards of

a million of trees growing successfully. Some idea of the value of the quinine can be formed from a remark made in Mr. Henry Waterfield's valuable statement, showing the moral and material progress of India in 1864-'65, when he mentions the fact, that independently of the great saving that will accrue from the possession of cinchona to the Indian government, which has been estimated at not less than £50,000 a year for the supply of quinine to the troops alone, the result of the experiment is very satisfactory in having opened a vast field for the cultivation of this valuable plant, the best species of which appeared likely to become, ere long, almost extinct in South America, and in having demonstrated that the medicinal qualities of the bark are capable of considerable improvement under proper culture; whilst it is impossible to calculate the benefits bestowed upon the general population, by placing within their reach the fever-expelling preparations of the plant, which, from their high price, have hitherto been inaccessible to any but the wealthy classes."

In public works a large expenditure was sanctioned by Sir Charles Wood. Between 1862 and 1865, the annual expenditure on that head was increased by nearly £4,000,000. In June, 1859, the total length of rail open for traffic throughout the British dominions in India, was 1,438 miles; at the commencement of 1866, the number of miles open for traffic was 3,332. India was already covered with telegraphs before Sir Charles Wood became Secretary of State; but during his tenure of office, the telegraph from England to India, by the Persian Gulf, was commenced; and, under the able superintendence, and the personal exertions of Colonel Patrick Stewart, was brought to a successful issue, though, unfortunately, at the cost of his life. It was a remarkable achievement of science, that led to the completion of telegraphic communication from India to England, by a line surrounded with dangers of all kinds by land and sea. From Kurrachee to Constantinople it extends for 3,000 miles, half of its distance being submarine, and half through unhealthy countries and desolate wastes. The American war, of course, stimulated cotton-growing in India; and government at once set to work to facilitate its conveyance from the districts where it was produced. Great complaints were made in England about the inferior quality and adulteration of the Surat cotton, which was, no doubt, bad; but this arose, in great part, from the system of purchase, encouraged by the European merchants—almost holding out a premium for fraud. The price given was for quantity, not quality. In the warehouses of Dharwar a regular system of cotton adulteration existed: on one side of the sheds was a heap of Dharwar cotton of superior growth; on the other a heap of dirty and inferior cotton, to be mixed with it. But this was not all: stones, rubbish, the sweepings of warehouses, and refuse of every description, were promiscuously blended together; and thus, if the quality was deteriorated, the quantity and the weight were unmistakably increased. The only step which the government could take to prevent the adulteration of the staple was to pass an act, punishing fraudulent adulterations with heavy penalties; and a law to this effect was enacted in Bombay, which, to a large extent, prevented such dishonest practices.

In education, Sir Charles Wood followed up the system he had commenced in 1854. Universities, like that in London, were established; and in the schools, the Irish system of education—that of not allowing religious instruction to be given as part of the system of the government schools, and of making grants in aid to all schools, Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindoo—was adopted. The Bible was placed in the libraries of all the government schools; and instruction in the Bible, and in the tenets and doctrines of Christianity, was allowed to be given to pupils at their own request, and in any manner most convenient, out of school hours. Up to the present time the system has worked admirably. Large funds for the promotion of education were provided from native sources: and as regards the public expenditure, Sir Charles Wood was firmly convinced that, whatever was incurred, would, to use the words of Sir Thomas Munro, "be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is

inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertions to acquire them, and by the growing industry of the country."

One very grave question—that relative to the Mysore princes—created much astonishment and dissatisfaction in India. The case is thus stated by Mr. West:—

"After the death of Tippoo Sahib at the storming of Seringapatam, in 1799, these princes and their families had been removed to Vellore, and an allowance of about £77,000 per annum was settled on them. Their supposed complicity in the Vellore mutiny, in 1806, entailed upon them their removal to Calcutta, and the forfeiture of any claim on the British government. They lived in seclusion at Russapugla, under the superintendence of a British officer, and were treated as royal pensioners by the Indian government: but the profligacy and the disreputable course of life pursued by several of them, tended neither to their advantage nor honour, nor to that of the government. In this state of things, Sir Charles was very anxious that the settlement should be broken up, and the Mysore stipendiaries absorbed in the general mass of the people. He was desirous to place them in a better position as regarded their own independence and power of utility, and, at the same time, to relieve the government of India from the charge of a numerous and increasing body of pensioners. He proposed, therefore, to allow each member of the family to settle where he pleased, away from Calcutta, free from any government supervision; and, in order to place this in their power, he proposed to create a certain amount of India stock, the interest of which should make provision for their incomes. The sum allotted amounted to £17,000 per annum, for their lives. An equal amount was assigned to the heads of existing families, for their lives; and a certain sum was granted for the purchase of houses, elsewhere than in Calcutta. The whole provision was very far below the sum originally set apart for their maintenance, or the interest of the sum which had accrued to the government by their withholding it so many years."

Another question of a similar nature, was Azeer Jah's claim to be recognised as the titular Nawab of the Carnatic. Sir Charles refused the claim. Had he consented, he would have reversed the decisions of Lord Clive, Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Harris; and would have entailed on India the mischief of more royal puppets, whose ancestral names and dynastic traditions made them often the rallying-points of disaffection and treason.

Another very important question, during Sir Charles Wood's Indian government, was, whether the administration of the affairs of Mysore, of which the rajah had been deprived in the year 1834, should be restored to him? In that year, so bad was the rule in that country, that Lord William Bentinck was compelled to move thither a considerable body of troops to maintain tranquillity, and to administer affairs. His lordship proposed to restore the rule to the rajah when he found the country getting peaceable and prosperous. The home government, observing that if the rajah's character was sufficiently good to enable him to govern any of his territories well, there was little reason for not restoring the whole to him, expressed their opinion that his vices were permanent; and they desired the administration of the whole country to be retained till a good system of government was established, and security taken for its continuance. The rajah again and again applied for a reversion of this decision. On referring to the opinion of successive Governor-generals, Sir Charles Wood found that Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Lord Elgin, supported by the valuable opinion of Sir Mark Cubbon, the chief commissioner in Mysore, had all expressed their views against the restoration of the administration of Mysore into the hands of the rajah. To these views Sir Charles Wood naturally attributed much weight; but to Lord Canning's, especially, he attached great importance. "The name of Lord Canning," he said, in his despatch on the subject, "will be for ever associated, in the history of British India, with the most liberal policy towards the native princes of India. That lamented statesman has

given proof, not only that questions affecting their rights received from him a fair and impartial consideration, but that he cherished a lively sympathy with their feelings and interests; and his opinion therefore deserves especial consideration upon the present question." The rajah having since adopted a distant relative, the power of adopting an heir to his title and his private property has been admitted; but no authority to adopt an heir to the raj of Mysore has ever been ceded to him; and he has been distinctly informed, by the present governor, Sir John Lawrence, that no such concession would now be made.

In a former part of our work we have spoken of the Indian army amalgamation after the mutiny. We only add here, that, in 1863, sanitary commissions were nominated in each presidency, in accordance with recommendations made in 1859, to inquire into the best means of selecting the sites of military stations, improving the health, and preventing epidemics and other diseases incidental to the British soldier serving in India. Sir Hugh Rose's noble efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the soldier in the East, were at all times cordially approved and seconded at home. Workshops, as well as gardens, gymnasia, five's-courts, baths, cricket-grounds, skittle-alleys, refreshment-rooms, have all been instituted to relieve the soldier from the depression and lassitude of an enervating climate. Additional pay was given; the period of service entitling them to good-conduct pay was reduced; and further additional advantages offered and secured—all tending to the increase of the efficiency and comfort of the troops.

Lastly, Sir Charles Wood dealt efficiently and satisfactorily with the police. "Hordes of military police and local levies, whose name was legion," said an article in the *Calcutta Review*, of June, 1861, "and whose aggregate numerical strength has probably never been accurately known to any one, had grown up in every district, pervaded every town, and patrolled every highway; and bids fair, if allowed to remain undisturbed, to become as great a source of anxiety in the future, as the pretorian sepoys had proved in the past; while, for the time being, they consumed the revenue of the country." There were many systems, all differing from each other. In July, 1860, an able and exhaustive memorandum, embodying the views of Sir Charles Wood on the principles on which a police force was to be organised throughout India, was sent to the several presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Lord Canning, seeing at once the pressing nature of the subject, appointed a police commission. In consequence of its unanimous report, Act I. of 1861 was passed in the legislative council of India; and a civil constabulary is now introduced in all the presidencies, their duties being to preserve tranquillity in ordinary times; to protect life and property; and to perform many duties heretofore discharged by sepoys, such as furnishing guards for escort of bullion, for gaols, public treasuries, &c. An improved police has enabled the government not only largely to reduce the number of native troops, but has, to an incalculable extent, restored discipline to regiments, which, under the old system, were constantly broken up, and scattered in detached duties—considered by all military men to be utterly subversive of proper regimental control and discipline. The supervision of the police is henceforth to be entrusted to European officers, themselves responsible to a chief appointed directly for that purpose, and subordinate only to the local government. The new system, from the trial that has already been made of it, promises well. "We believe," says an Indian writer, "the wheels of police administration have now got into the right groove; and we look with confidence to the experience of the next ten years to bear us out in our conclusions, and to justify our hopes."—"Sir Charles Wood," adds Mr. West, "was also desirous of seeing vigorous and effective measures taken for the improvement of the village watch, who were to be carefully selected, and to be placed, under proper and efficient superintendence, under the control of the magistrates. No great reform in the village watch could well be carried without the co-operation and assistance of the heads of the villages, the landholders, and local chiefs. Sir Charles Wood was anxious to follow up, throughout India, the judicious course

pursued by Lord Canning in Oude and the Punjaub, and to invest the native country gentlemen with considerable magisterial and executive powers; and he impressed upon the government of India the value of enlisting the landed proprietors in favour of the public interests, not only by law, but by the steady pursuit, on the part of the magistrates, of such conciliatory measures as should lead them to consider themselves as parties concerned in the administration of the country, rather than as servants of the district authorities."

Such is the main outline of the great Indian settlement, under Sir Charles Wood, as described by a friendly hand. About the time of Lord Palmerston's decease, Sir Charles Wood met with an accident in the hunting-field, the effects of which compelled him to relinquish office. He was raised to the peerage, under the title of Lord Halifax, as a reward for the laborious industry of his life. If Mr. West is to be depended upon, Sir Charles's absence from the council board was much deplored by his colleagues. His Halifax constituents, whom he had so long represented in parliament, appear also to have deeply regretted the severance of the tie by which they had long been connected; but neither in the House of Commons, nor amongst the public at large, has Sir Charles, at any time, been very popular. It must be confessed, rather, that his personal appearance and his manner had a contrary effect. He had too much of the coldness of the Whig, and too little of the genial temperament of his chief.

Whilst we write (1867), interesting news reaches us of the success of the Russians in Central Asia. The *Friend of India* is anxious that we should secure the good-will of Bokhara. It says—"The fact is, the question between us and Russia is not so much political as commercial. Just now, Bokhara is open to us. Its merchants have been shut out of Nizni Novgorod, and their property has been seized at Orenburg; and, consequently, they are exceedingly anxious to open dealings with us. Trade with them, from Kurrachee through Sukkur, Candahar, and Balkh, means, ultimately, competition with the Russians in Hi and Mongolia. There is quite enough to be done in this direction to make the prospect a tempting one for our commercial men." But we must act now or never. Once thoroughly disgust the Bokhariots (says the *Friend of India*), and let the Russians get full possession of the market, and the trade of high Central Asia will have passed out of our hands altogether. Of course no one but a few Anglo-Indian alarmists talk of "the necessity of meeting Russian aggression;" but if we can open up a new market without giving anybody just grounds of offence, there can be no reason why we should not do so.

Another strange story is that of the reputed discovery of the miscreant Nana Sahib. A Mr. Johnson claims to have discovered the wretched Nana of Bithoor. He finds him to be the commander of the Khan of Khotan's infantry—a nominal Mussulman, but suspiciously Hindoo in the tie of his turban; speaking Hindostani, too, and English, and only a few words of Turkestan, and wearing a Guzeratic sword and pistols, marked No. 3, E. I. C. Moreover, he is pitted with the small-pox; has a defect in the left eye; and is said by those who have been at prayers with him, to have lost one of his little toes. "Besides, he is (says Mr. Johnson) a traitor of the deepest dye: harbours evil designs against his khan, and proposed to me to destroy him and his family, and to make me governor. He wants to get out of Khotan, and to settle in some Hindoo state; but says he will not enter British territory. He has undoubtedly seen a good deal of Europeans." This man had two companions—one a fine-looking Mussulman, who confessed that he "had eaten the salt of the English," and that he was a native of Delhi. He pretended to be a fakeer; went about with a drawn sword in his hand; and made Mr. Johnson nervous by insisting on walking beside his horse whenever he appeared in public. Mr. Johnson is not likely to be led away by the charm of "sensation" discoveries. Still, if the Nana Sahib is alive, he must be a good deal changed during the last ten years. The last man taken up on suspicion was entirely unlike what the Nana used to be: the informers judged that time would have worked strange alterations.

Mr. Johnson's man is only too like. Still, it is curious that, undoubtedly, as we read in one of the Indian mails, Feroze Shah, the great Delhi rebel, died at Bokhara, in August, 1866, having long received a pension of four rupees a day from the king. If one was at Bokhara, why may not the other be at Khotan?

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DE OMNIBUS REBUS.

WE continue our efforts to supplement our history with the latest news; and begin with the state of education, regarding which such wonderful progress had been made in Lord Palmerston's time.

Now that so much attention is being paid to the great work of education, the proportion of men and women, in different parts of Great Britain, who were able to sign their names to the marriage register, merits attention, seeing that it points out the localities where educational effort should be more particularly directed. The reports of the registrar-general show that the value of this test has been misunderstood. It has been suggested that young women are nervous in the presence of the clergyman, and so make marks when they are able to write their names. But, supposing this to be the case, the test is still available for purposes of comparison, as the timidity which prevents some men and women from writing their names, or the vanity which prompts others to try who can scarcely put letters together, must be almost equally powerful in different counties. But against any women deducted from the ranks of ignorance on the ground of nervousness, must be set a large number who write their names so badly as to prove that they have no command over writing for any useful purpose. The value of this test has also been questioned upon the ground that it is in itself no proof of education; and no doubt many of the men and women who cannot write may possess great intelligence, and have acquired many useful arts; but thousands, on the other hand, who read and write, are otherwise indifferently educated. In the absence of an examination of the adult population of Great Britain, the proportion of persons able to sign their names in writing may be safely employed as a test of elementary education. Turning to the Scottish registrar-general's report (1866), the advantages of the Scotch system of education over those of England become strikingly apparent. It is impossible to say how much Scotland owes to her system of schools and to the universities, which are accessible to the youth of the kingdom. One in nine of the men, and one in five of the women, signed with marks in Scotland; while the report of the registrar-general for England shows that one in four of the men, and one in three of the women of England and Wales, could not write their names in the marriage register; or, in other words, 89 per cent. of the men who married, and 78 per cent. of the women who married in Scotland, signed their names in writing; whereas, in England and Wales, the proportions per cent. who signed in writing, were 77 for men, and 68 for women. All the men of the counties of Kinross, Peebles, and Selkirk, who married, wrote their names in the registers; the proportions per cent. for the women, in each of the same counties, were 96, 98, and 98. The proportions were also 97 in Orkney, 96 in Berwick, and 95 in Roxburgh. The Scottish counties, in which the proportions per cent. of women who signed in writing was lowest, were—Inverness, 50; Ross and Cromarty, 52; Renfrew, 66; Dumbarton, 68; and Lanark, 68. In Dumbarton fully a third of the population is either Irish, or the descendants of Irish; and in Renfrew and Wigton the Irish element assumes a high proportion.

Dr. Stark states, as a notable proof of the generally successful working of the parochial school system in Scotland, and in the mainland-rural districts, that 91·7 per cent. of the men, and 83·2 per cent. of the women, were able to sign their names; while all the additional private efforts lavished on the towns, only brought up the proportions of those who could sign their names in writing, to 87·6 per cent. of men, and 73·6 per cent. women. In England, the proportions per cent. of women who wrote their names in the marriage registers were highest in the following counties:—Sussex, 84; Surrey, 83; Rutland, 83; Hants, 82; Middlesex, 81; Westmoreland, 76; Kent, 79; Oxford, 78; Berks, 78; Dorset, 77; Devon, 76; North Riding of York, 76; Lincoln, 76; and Wilts, 76. The proportion per cent. of women who wrote their names was lowest in South Wales—44; Monmouth, 48; Stafford, 52; North Wales, 51; Lancaster, 53; Bedford, 55; West Riding of York, 57; Cornwall, 60; Chester, 62; and Durham, 62. The great body of the people of England are many degrees below the people of Scotland in common education.

Time has also witnessed satisfactory results from the introduction of the Factory Acts, which, according to the latest reports of the inspectors, are approved alike by masters and men. Their first object, of course, is to protect the health of those employed in factories, and to insure that dangerous machinery should be properly guarded. The next, and perhaps most prominent feature of the acts, is a limitation of the hours of labour. In the case of women and children, the hours of work are restricted to ten and a-half; and, as far as possible, are confined to between six in the morning and six in the evening. The benefits of this regulation, where it is practicable, are described as immense. To all it affords time for out-door recreation; to the young it gives the opportunity of attending evening schools; and, above all, it enables women and girls to devote some time to the cares of their homes, and to the cultivation of domestic happiness. Especially amongst the young are the good effects of these acts most conspicuous. Formerly these poor children were physically exhausted and stunted by premature toil, and were denied any adequate opportunities of education. Their labour became valuable at an early age, and they were at once sent off to the factories, where, in their tenderest years, they were kept at work all day, and often far into the night. The system introduced by the Factory Acts is that of half-time. No child may be put to work before noon and after 1 P.M. on the same day. The children accordingly are organised into two sets, the one relieving the other at mid-day; and for the half of the day during which they are not at work they are sent to school. The result is extraordinary. These half-time children, who have spent half the day in manual labour, are actually quicker, more intelligent, more industrious, and more successful at their lessons than those who spend all their time at school. In the first place, it seems that study and work mutually refresh each other; but it is probably of more importance that the industrious habits acquired in work are transferred to study. Any one who has observed or taught a school of young children must know the listless way in which they generally learn. They have no conception whatever of giving all their attention to what is before them; and even without the evidence now afforded by experience, any good master would have pronounced that his scholars waste half their time. Now, it is this habit of listlessness and inattention which is effectually cured by manual labour in a factory. As Lord Shaftesbury (to whom Mr. Walpole paid a handsome tribute) represented it, "The character of their toil demands accuracy, precision, constant, unwavering attention, and prompt obedience; everything must be seized at the moment, because nothing can be recovered." And thus, he added, "the discipline of pots and pans is found nobly instrumental to the acquisition of letters and learning." It is even stated that, on one occasion, in an examination, "the half-timers of the several schools distanced the whole-timers, and, in almost every instance, carried off the prizes." This result really amounts to something like a discovery in the art of teaching, and ought to suggest some very instructive con-

siderations to schoolmasters. Moreover, the children have improved in manners and morals as much as in intelligence and learning.

The half-yearly joint report of the inspectors of factories, dated the 6th of February, 1867, thus remarks upon the want of uniformity in the existing regulations:—"We have referred, in our separate reports, to various matters which we deem of interest, in connection with our duties. In this our joint report we have the pleasure of reporting to you, that upon a review of our proceedings in our respective districts, they appear to be 'as uniform as is expedient and practicable.' We beg to call your attention to the anomalies which now exist in the regulation of several trades under legislative restrictions. We have, at various times, and at some length, urged, in our separate reports, the abolition of the differences now existing in the hours of work in several of these trades; and we recur to the subject now, in the earnest hope that it may receive your consideration. We briefly recapitulate the more prominent defects which call for amendment. By the Factory Acts, and by the acts which extend those provisions to other trades, the hours of work are uniform throughout the country; and they have always given, and continue to give, the greatest satisfaction. These hours are, for children, young persons, and women, between 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., with an interval of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for meals; and, on Saturdays, from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M. But, in print-works, children of eight years of age, and under thirteen, and females above thirteen, may be, and sometimes are, employed from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M.; and, if so required, without any interval; and boys above thirteen may be employed for twenty-four hours without any interval. In bleaching, dyeing, and finishing-works, the hours of ordinary work are the same as in factories; but there is, in these works, the power to recover time lost by reason 'of any cause,' the accuracy of which loss it is almost impossible to check. The Bleach-works Amendment Act excludes from the operation of the act all warehouses in which the persons employed are males above fourteen years of age. Consequently, if in a warehouse a few females are employed, lads of fourteen years of age are restricted to sixty hours per week; but if no females be employed, the labour of these same lads is altogether unrestricted. The above are not all the anomalies we could point out; but each is the cause of great dissatisfaction in several localities: and in urging the adoption of uniformity of time in all establishments subject to legislative restrictions, we are satisfied that the alteration would serve the best interests of the manufacturers and of the operatives."

It becomes us also to say a few words about that great city of London, of which Lord Palmerston had, for more than half a century, been one of the leading personages. London, writes the registrar-general, in his annual report, is growing greater every day; and within its present bounds, extending over 122 square miles of territory, the population amounts, by computation, to 3,037,991 souls. In its midst is the ancient city of London, within and without the walls, inhabited at night by about 100,000 people; while around it, as far as a radius of fifteen miles stretches from Charing-cross, an ever-thickening ring of people extends within the area which the metropolitan police watches over; making the whole number, on an area of 687 square miles around St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, 3,521,267 souls.

This population has many interests in common as regards water, air, sewage, lighting, streets, railways, poor, government, as well as police; and many of its members residing in the outer zones at night, transact business by day in offices, shops, markets, courts, clustered in the centre of the metropolis. Thus there are daily currents inwards and outwards; and the people are blended together in a thousand ways, so as to form a natural community.

The national census is taken in England to show, in each place, the numbers found during the census night, as they represent the population with which the deaths and other important statistical elements can be compared. The corporation of the city of London, however, very naturally struck by the significance of the fact that the population returned at the census within the ancient limits under

the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor was only 113,387, and was constantly declining, so that in a few years he might appear to be left, by night, the lord of an empty realm (*inania regna*), determined to take a census to catch the throng of people in the city during the day. This has been done with considerable labour; and the results are published in an interesting report by Mr. Lawley, and by Mr. Scott, the chamberlain. They show by their day census, in April, 1866, that 283,520 persons reside during the active hours of the day in the city of London, where only 113,387 persons were found by the national census on April 8th, 1861, and where, at the rate of decrease observed between 1851 and 1861, there could have been no more than about 102,887 in the middle of 1866. The classes that come and go, they say, "comprise some of the most influential, wealthy, and enterprising of our fellow-countrymen—bankers, merchant princes, brokers, and wholesale traders—carrying on business which has no parallel in the world, and contributing, in the aggregate, a larger share of the public revenues than any, and even than all similar classes in other parts of the empire." This is true enough; but the reporters probably underrate the residents when they go on to say—"The night population of the city consists, to a great extent, of the caretakers of city premises and their families, and of tradesmen and others too inconsiderable to possess a suburban or other residence." For the census shows, among the night population, a number of clergymen, lawyers, physicians, surgeons, merchants, and respectable tradesmen, who, it is to be presumed, form a chief part of the constituency of the wards by which the 232 common councilmen and aldermen are elected. The reporters enumerate 679,744 passengers into the city in the sixteen hours between 5 A.M. and 9 P.M.—a number necessarily greater than the number of persons entering, as the same person often enters and is counted more than once. A similar, but less extensive movement of the people to and from Westminster and the other central districts of the metropolis is going on. In Manchester, Liverpool, and all the large cities of the kingdom, the same thing is met with. The great boroughs overflow on all sides.

While the other towns of the kingdom are mainly governed under the Municipal Act, by councils elected by open voting (5th and 6th William IV., c. 76), the city of London is left in the enjoyment of its ancient privileges, and the rest of the metropolis is governed by thirty-eight parish vestries or boards, under the provisions of the Metropolitan Management Act (18th and 19th Victoria, c. 120). The government in the thirty-eight bodies consists of 2,279 vestrymen, elected by ballot. The city of London has a common council of 232 members, including the Lord Mayor and twenty-five aldermen. The metropolis has thus, in the aggregate, 2,511 members in its thirty-nine parliaments. Each district, as well as the city, sends one or two members to the Metropolitan Board of Works, consisting of a chairman and five representatives. Every district is bound, under the act of parliament, to appoint one or more health-officers; and St. George, Hanover Square, has appointed two; Poplar, two; Wandsworth, five; Plumstead, four; and each of thirty-four districts, one—making, in the aggregate, forty-seven medical officers, who have rendered the people of London excellent service. Woolwich has some pretence for not appointing a medical health-officer, and has availed itself of the privilege.

The jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works extends over the whole area of the London registration division, except Mottingham: it also takes in the hamlet of Penge, which is in the Croydon registration district, and contained, around the Crystal Palace, 5,015 people in 1861, on an area of 840 acres. The rateable annual value of property by the county rate assessment for 1867, is £15,261,999; the amount required by the Metropolitan Board for that year, from the several parishes, is £222,167, including £26,380 from the city of London, which enjoys an annual income, from all sources, of about £200,000.

The mortality of London, it appears, is much affected by the sanitary measures taken by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Furthermore, the health of the

inhabitants is seriously dependent on the water supplied. The violent outbreak of cholera in 1866, in the east district, took place entirely among those who drank the water of the East London Water Company. In that year, 13,054 of the 80,129 deaths in London took place in public institutions: 7,088 of them in the forty-six workhouses under the control of the vestries and boards of guardians; 4,980 in the London, general, and special hospitals; ninety-five in prisons.

The registrar-general writes—"The main drainage sewers, with the exception of the northern low level, are now in active operation. They were commenced in January, 1859, and formally opened on the 4th of April, 1865. The length of these main sewers is eighty-two miles; and, with the pumping stations and other works, cost about £4,200,000. They carry off the drainage of about 117 square miles, having a population estimated by the Board at 2,800,000. The sewage intercepted daily amounts to 14,000,000 cubic feet, equivalent to 396,406 cubic metres, or to about as many tons by weight; the quantity discharged at Barking from the sewers north of the Thames, being, to the quantity discharged from the southern sewers at Crossness, in the proportion of 10 to 4. The report of the Board justly refers to the necessity of a constant and abundant water-supply for London, both for domestic use and for the purification of the sewers; but it does not refer to the defect in that part of the present drainage system which is under the control of the vestry boards, and still deprives the people of the full advantages that the main drainage is destined to bestow."

A great effort had been made by the church party to raise money by voluntary subscriptions, for the purpose of overtaking the growing population of the metropolis, and supplying their spiritual needs. The money for this purpose was known as the Bishop of London's fund. From the third annual report we gather the following particulars. It, after giving details in illustration of the working of mission districts for the twelve months, stated that the income during the year had been £41,089 19s. 5d., of which £16,000 was on account of instalments previously promised. Of the total amount received, £7,735 6s. 6d. had been remitted by local associations, and £6,159 6s. 3d. was the result of church collections. During the same period, the grants voted by the committee of the fund were as follows:—Schools, £6,110; mission buildings, £1,792; churches, £19,100; thirty-seven sites—viz., thirteen for schools, five for parsonages, nineteen for churches—£29,753 10s. total, £56,755 10s. The total income of the fund from June, 1863, to 31st December, 1866, was £189,795 7s. 11d. As against this income the following votes were stated to be in force, namely—sixty-seven missionary clergy, £11,500; thirty-two parochial clergy, £2,630; thirty-six Scripture readers, £1,951; 123 parochial mission women, £800; total annual charge for agents, £16,581. Votes had also been passed for nine parsonage houses, £1,700; twenty-five schools, £13,450; enlargement or fitting of schools in five cases, £960; Board of Education for small grants to schools, £1,000; thirty mission buildings, which were also generally used as schools, £13,258; forty-seven new permanent churches, £47,365; fittings and expenses of missions in thirty-one cases, £1,695; seventy-one sites—viz., twenty-eight for churches, twenty-four for schools, five for mission buildings, fourteen for parsonages, £45,514; annual rent for rooms in ten cases, £423; total charge for single grants, £124,942, of which £67,926, remained to be claimed. The number of clergy cited to the visitation in 1866, was 1,127, which, as compared with 980 in 1862, gave an increase of 147. Many of these, however, were missionary clergy, and could not be considered as permanent additions to the staff of the diocese unless means were found to maintain them until they secured the endowment of their districts. During the same period of four years, moreover, there had been consecrated fifty-two churches, towards sixteen of which the fund had contributed £16,500. Even after making full allowance for all that was done by other religious bodies without the church, they still needed 325 new clergy, with a proportionate staff of Scripture readers, and 194 new churches, before London was brought to the scale

of arrangements for religious instruction which their statistical inquiries had suggested. In commenting upon the report, it may be remarked, that although much work has been done, a great deal remains to be performed: and let us hope that when the period fixed for their labours (ten years) has ceased, the work will be zealously undertaken by those who come after them. In addition to the £190,000 which they had received in contributions since 1863, the general public had given £900,000; and the ecclesiastical commissioners had contributed £530,000.

The report of the trustees of Mr. Peabody's gift to the poor of London, shows that the original fund has been increased by the earnings of interest and rents, to the extent of £15,416 8s. 11d., making the sum total of the trust, at the end of December, 1866, £165,416 8s. 11d. The buildings at Spitalfields and Islington continue to be fully occupied; good order and contentment prevail; and the tenants, in the full enjoyment of new social comforts, and exempted from any interference with their independence and freedom of action, show no disposition to change.

A few further facts and figures relative to the metropolis may be inserted here.

A return made by the ecclesiastical commissioners states, that the net revenue of the bishopric of London, in the year 1865, was £20,067; of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, £10,870; of the dean and chapter of Westminster, £28,739. In the year ending with October, 1865, the commissioners received, for the purposes of their "common fund," £6,731 of income from the revenues of the see of London; £4,160 from the revenues of St. Paul's; £13,378 from the revenues of the dean and chapter of Westminster; and £24,621 from property vested in the commissioners, and situate within the limits of the metropolis: making, in all, £48,899.

There are, in "the city," 440 streets; and in only seventy of them is there room for more than two lines of vehicles to pass at a time for the entire length; so that a vehicle may stand still in any part of the street, and not interfere with the progress of one line of traffic. In 111 of the streets only one line of vehicles can pass; 101 have no exit, and are not thoroughfares at all. In the year 1865, 3,958 summonses were taken out by the city police against drivers and conductors of vehicles and others, for offences tending to impede the free passage of the public thoroughfares; but these were only the worst cases, and were not a tenth of the number who might very properly have been summoned. In the metropolis outside "the city," 616 drivers of vehicles were convicted of furious driving in the year 1865; 140 persons were run over and killed; and 1,707 persons were maimed or injured. These statements are authentic, being taken from evidence given before a parliamentary committee this session by the commissioners of the metropolitan and the city police.

The cost of the metropolitan police, in the year 1865, including the dockyard police, amounted to £630,604. The receipts from the rates were £389,873; the rest of the expenditure was defrayed from the parliamentary grant, from parliamentary votes in payment for the services of the police at government offices and public institutions, together with some incidental receipts. The expenditure included a new item of £41 for expenses at the dockyards, under the Contagious Diseases Act, and the like sum at military stations. The number of the metropolitan police, on the 1st of January, 1866, was 7,493—viz., twenty-six superintendents, 217 inspectors, 798 sergeants, and 6,452 constables. Compared with the numbers on the 1st of January, 1865, the return shows an increase of three among the superintendents, six inspectors, thirteen sergeants, and 280 constables. This year there are only 805 constables receiving the lowest salary of £49 8s. All the men have an allowance of coals. The cost of the police courts, with their twenty-three magistrates, was £63,051. Penalties produced £13,651; the residue of the expense was provided by parliament. The return does not include the city police.

The number of persons taken into custody during the year 1865, by the metropolitan police, was 70,224. Among the charges, were 8,662 for common assaults, 2,883 for assaults on the police, 2,409 for larceny from the person, 9,130 for simple larceny, 3,121 for unlawful possession of goods, 10,202 for being drunk and disorderly, and 9,055 for drunkenness alone. As many as 4,971 persons were taken into custody as vagrants. Of the 70,224 persons taken into custody, 31,103 were discharged by the magistrates, and 35,164 either summarily convicted or held to bail; while 3,957 were committed for trial. Of these, 3,091 were convicted and sentenced, 702 acquitted, and, in 164 cases, either bills were not found or no prosecution took place. With regard to the instruction of the persons taken into custody, eighty-nine had received a superior education; 2,299 could read and write well; 57,045 could read only, or read and write imperfectly; and 10,791 could neither read nor write. Of the total number, 47,421 were males, and 22,803 females; 362 had been convicted twice, fifty-five three times, eleven four times, and two five times, and upwards. The number of felonies within the metropolitan police district, affecting property, amounted to 16,077, for which 2,187 persons were tried and convicted. These felonies involved a first loss of £71,232; but of this sum £13,688 was recovered, leaving a total loss of £57,544.

Of the question respecting fortifications, in which Lord Palmerston had so often to make such a fight, we gather the latest particulars from a report drawn up and presented to parliament, prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Jervois, R.E., Deputy Director of Fortifications, showing the progress made in the construction of fortifications for the defence of the dockyards, arsenals, and naval harbours of the United Kingdom. The original estimate of 1860 has since been reduced; and in the schedule of the act of 1865, the total estimated cost was stated at £6,995,000, of which sum parliament had sanctioned the raising of £5,150,000 by loan; and at the end of 1866, about £4,500,000 had been expended. The rise in the cost of labour and of some materials, especially granite, and some unforeseen difficulties in foundations on the marshy soil of the Medway, will account for excesses upon the total estimates, amounting to £152,000 over the sum stated in 1865. An additional £25,000 will also probably be required for experiments and other incidental expenses; and a further sum of £35,000 will be required for cost of lands and special surveys, in consequence of the national survey not having been completed; but the cost of these special surveys will reduce the annual vote for the national survey. A further and much larger excess will be caused by the necessity of providing iron shields and iron-plated structures for sea batteries. Since the estimates were framed, great strides have been made in the construction of armour-plated ships and rifled ordnance; and it is absolutely essential that the guns in many works of sea defence should be protected in such a manner as to be capable of resisting the attack of these modern inventions. A large number of batteries have therefore been, or are being, constructed for the reception of iron shields, by means of which alone this protection can be afforded. In some cases, and especially where batteries in very important positions are liable to attack by a large force concentrating its fire upon one of them, it is proposed to adopt a wholly iron-plated construction. The additional sum required for iron shields and iron-plated structures is estimated at £913,000, bringing the whole excess over the estimates of 1865 up to £1,125,000; but this, it is considered, may be reduced to £475,000, by omitting the items for Chatham eastern defences, and of the site for a central arsenal. If the turrets and turn-tables proposed by the fortification and defence committees be added, a further sum of £270,000 will have to be provided in the estimates of future years. Colonel Jervois proceeds to give a statement of the object and nature of each work proposed, the progress made in its construction, the expenditure incurred upon it, and the probable sum for which it can be completed. In the course of these statements, he observes that submarine mines (torpedoes) would be largely employed in defence against naval attack. For instance, in a case such as that of the Channel to Spithead, these

destructive agents would be placed between two works in the central part of the passage, in such a way as to oblige an enemy's ships to pass close to the forts, the fire from which would prevent the mines being removed. The mode of applying torpedoes in the most effectual manner has been for some time under the consideration of a committee specially appointed for the purpose. This committee has tried many experiments, the result of which, in addition to the experience gained in the late war in America, has shown the great value of submarine mines employed in connection with forts. The arrangements proposed are such, that while our own ships can pass over the torpedoes uninjured, those of an enemy could be blown up. Colonel Jervois describes, in their turn, the new works for the defence of the Thames. These are about three miles below Gravesend—viz., at Coalhouse Point, on the left bank of the river, and at Shornmead and Cliffe Creek, on the right bank. They are about half completed. Pending the completion and arming of these works, the Thames is defenceless against the attack of an iron-clad ship. It is proposed, therefore, to include in the estimates an item for remodelling the old batteries of Tilbury Fort, opposite Gravesend, and New Tavern Fort, just below the town. In presenting to the Secretary of State for War this report from Colonel Jervois, General Sir J. F. Burgoyne states that the plans of all these works have been approved by the fortification committee, appointed by the late Lord Herbert, and have been subsequently submitted to the defence committee at the Horse-Guards, of which the Commander-in-Chief is president. Sir J. Burgoyne adds, for himself, that he has visited the works from time to time during their progress, and is able to report that they are being carried on satisfactorily, and with every indication of answering very effectively the objects for which they were designed. These objects were briefly described by the royal commission of 1860, as the defence of harbours which would afford important facilities to an enemy, and the protection of vital points at which he would strike.

According to the latest decision of the Horse-Guards, our troops are being armed with the Snider rifle; the old Enfields being altered as rapidly as possible. A return of the reports of General Hay, on the shooting at Hythe with the above rifle, was made to the House of Commons; from which we learn that the shooting of the 1853 pattern rifle was "very bad." In fact (writes General Hay), it ceases to be an arm of precision with the ammunition supplied for it, while that of the short rifle pattern, 1860, is good. "The angle of elevation, however," adds the general, "of both descriptions of converted rifles is very much higher than that of the same rifles as muzzle-loaders—namely, about half a degree in both cases. The additional height of the trajectory, caused by this increase of elevation, is a most serious evil in a military arm—almost as great as want of accuracy. No difficulty was experienced, during the trial, in extracting the cartridge-case; and the breech arrangements worked well." In a subsequent report, General Hay says that "central fire-ball cartridges made up with a shorter or 480-grain bullet, called pattern 3, the shooting with the Snider breech-loading long rifle at 600 yards, is equal to, and at 800 yards better than, that of the muzzle-loading long Enfield rifle, pattern 1853, with ordinary ammunition." A few defects in the weapon are noted; but, adds the general, "I have no doubt that these defects will be easily overcome when the process of manufacture is better understood."

Sir Charles E. Trevelyan has republished, in a pamphlet (Longmans and Co.), the five letters on the British army which appeared in the *Daily News*. After referring, in his preface, to his earlier connection with the subject, as having conducted the military correspondence of the Treasury, and superintended the commissariat for many years, and been called on to assist the royal commission on the purchase system in 1846, Sir Charles refers to the recruiting system, the true character of which, he affirms, must be perceived before the real position of the question can be understood. At present men are got into the army by a system of swindling; and it is of course extremely difficult to keep together an army which has been acquired by practices utterly immoral. "In 1858, 29

per cent. of the army at home—20,360 men out of 70,000—had their names inserted in the *Hue and Cry* as deserters. Of these, 18,211, or 33 per cent. of its strength, were from the line. In order to prevent the army from disbanding, flogging was re-enacted in the Mutiny Act of 1859, and the punishment known as ‘branding’ was directed to be inflicted with increased particularity. These severities have diminished desertion, but they have also checked recruiting.” The recruiting commission recommended that the scale of payment for the purchase of discharges should be considerably raised. This, Sir Charles observes, would both check recruiting and increase desertion.

Why, in this case only, do we steel our hearts against the commonest humanity, and shut our eyes to the most obvious dictates of morality? We pick out of the streets persons for whom we are not specially responsible, to reclaim them in reformatories and penitentiaries; and ourselves, through our paid agents, corrupt our own young soldiers, who have the most affecting claims upon us for protection and help. Even our army reformers, who have done so much for the soldier after he is enlisted, avert their eyes from the flagrant scandals of the recruiting system. Whence this gross inconsistency, this strange anachronism? If the truth be not told there can be no amendment; and the truth is, that, according to the existing constitution of the army, the existing recruiting system is necessary for our national safety. There are but two sets of motives by which mankind is influenced. One appeals to their animal nature and their fears; the other, to their human nature and their hopes. By giving to soldiers who enter through the ranks a share of the military, and nearly the whole of the administrative promotion, we could make the army an object of desire to the whole of our population, including that largest and best portion of it which has been practically excluded for more than 200 years. The only bitter thing which the mildest of men—the late Sir Robert Inglis—ever said in parliament, was during the short reign of the railway king:—“I can admire an aristocracy of talent; I can respect an aristocracy of rank; but an aristocracy of wealth is not to be endured.” The army is the last place where this principle should be in the ascendant. How much longer will it be permitted to obstruct every kind of improvement in that branch of the public service upon which the preservation of all our interests depends?

The annual report of the National Rifle Association for 1866, presents, in a thick volume, a great amount of interesting information on the progress of rifle-shooting among the English race, not only in England and Scotland, but all over the world; and by it we learn, that in different parts of India, at the antipodes, in Canada, and other of our dependencies, the “Hythe position,” “Wimbledon targets,” “Wimbledon regulations,” and the other technicalities—the jargon invented within the last six years, between Putney and Roehampton—were as “household words.” It cannot but be gratifying to know that the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles held two prize meetings during the year; the one at Barrackpore, and the other at Bailgurriah, and competed with Enfield rifles for prizes given by the Maharajah of Burdwan, the viceroy, merchants, and other patrons of the patriotic movement: that the Cape of Good Hope Rifle Association held a similar meeting in the year at Sea Point, and competed, not only with the Enfield, but with small bores; the latter, however, without any of the “fancy” sights which have made small-bore shooting the amusement of the few in this country, but strictly as military weapons: that the New South Wales Association held a meeting at Randrick, near Sydney, when many prizes were competed for with the long Enfield, by volunteers, and one “all-comers” match, with “any rifle;” a second meeting being held at Paddington, near Sydney, when not the least honoured prizes were portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales: that the Northern India Association held a meeting, when the regular service formed the principal competitors, the others coming from the Bengal civil service and the Punjaub police: that the Provincial Association of Nova Scotia held a meeting at Bedford, when volunteers and regulars competed side by side: that the Prince Edward

Island Association held a meeting at Charlotte Town, when the volunteer militia fired for prizes with the long Enfield; that the Queensland Association held a meeting at Brisbane, when a company, called by some home-loving Suffolk men the "Ipswich Volunteer Rifles," gave the best shots; and that the Yokohama Association held a meeting at about the same time as our Wimbledon, when, with volunteers' fortune, the competitors first had very wet weather, and afterwards had to fire under a strong tropical sun. These facts show the oneness of feeling existing among Englishmen, spread though they may be all over the world. Of the Wimbledon gathering of 1866, we learn that it was in every way a successful meeting, the shooting being better, the entries showing a great increase on the previous year, and the public taking greater interest in the proceedings, as shown by the fact that there was an increase of nearly £1,000 on the money taken at the doors over the previous year. The Queen's Prize was more popular than ever, the sum of £2,196 10s. being received as entrance fees, being an increase of £148 on the previous year. All the prizes which the holders of military rifles think they have a chance of winning, attract great numbers of entries, and are very profitable; while a loss is entailed by the "Albert," which is shot for by the few comers with the fancy rifles. The £500 offered as the "Alexandra" Prizes for the Enfield, attracted entries to the amount of £1,105 10s. The "Windmill," another Enfield competition, attracted entries, for prizes amounting to £300, to the sum of £577 10s. The "Martin's" Cup, given in honour of Sir William Martin and his family, the prizes attached to which only amounted to £50, attracted entries to the amount of £174 10s.; while the "Albert" prizes of £620, given to any rifles with any sights, and which encourage only the useless and expensive toy rifle-shooting, obtained only £597 10s. in entrance fees: in other words, was carried on at a loss of £22 10s. The sight most in use in this competition is a spy-hole behind the hammer, capable of being adjusted by very delicate machinery to allow for the slightest change of wind. The contrivance is said to be hurtful to the sight, and the large body of riflemen set their faces against becoming "small-bore men;" while military small-bore shooting finds no encouragement.

We must say a word about Greenwich Hospital and school. In the year 1865, the administration of Greenwich Hospital and school was vested absolutely in the Admiralty, and the estimate for the expenditure of the year 1867 has been laid before the House of Commons. The administration of the Admiralty in larger matters has been often challenged as wasteful and extravagant; but the very magnitude of the dockyard transactions has made it hard to bring home and give exact precision to the charge. The expenditure of Greenwich Hospital lies in a nutshell; and we have a clear and complete guide to the examination of it in the report of the royal commission of 1860. It may not be out of place to examine the estimate of expenditure, and compare it with that of 1859.

"The present hospital staff," says a writer in the *Times*, "was fixed in 1865, and we must assume that the Admiralty fixed it at a standard which they considered to be sufficient, and not more than sufficient, for the purposes of the hospital. It would seem to a civilian's eyes to be excessive. The number of pensioners is 370, almost all of whom are cripples; but the Admiralty have appointed one captain and two lieutenants to govern them, and several medical officers to look after their health. It was thought sufficient, in the first instance, to place at the head of the medical establishment a deputy inspector-general of hospitals, and this was the establishment which the House of Commons last year sanctioned. Since then, the number of pensioners has fallen off; but it is proposed, in this year's estimates [1867], to provide an inspector-general in addition to the deputy, and without any diminution in the rest of the medical staff. It is also proposed to add to the salaries, and, for the first time, to give allowances to the medical officers. The result is, that the cost of the medical staff, which last year was £1,870, is estimated for the current year at £3,208.

"The charge for works and repairs at Greenwich Hospital and school has always been very large. In the year 1859 it amounted to £9,766, and had averaged £14,000 a year during the twenty previous years. The royal commissioners of 1860, appear to have narrowly investigated this large outlay; and state, on the authority of the inspector of works, that in future years, even with the hospital full, it might safely be reduced to £5,000 a year. During the last two years, three-fifths of the hospital has been empty; but the charge for repairs last year was £6,157, and for the current year is estimated at £8,240. It would seem that Admiralty control is not conducive to economy here.

"If I am not misinformed—I only write from hearsay here—a part of this large expenditure on works has been incurred to meet the fancies of one of the lieutenants, who required more spacious lodging accommodation than it has been customary to award to the lieutenants of the hospital. I am told that two storeys have been thrown into one to please this gallant officer, at a cost to the country nearly equal to two years of his salary. If this be true, or approximately true, it is nothing new in the annals of the hospital. A naval officer appointed to the hospital regards it as his ship; and, as was said before the dockyard commission, 'the first thing he does is to go to the naval yard; he wants some alterations made.' The report of 1860 tells us, that in twenty years there was spent, upon the officers' apartments alone, at Greenwich Hospital, £47,500. It seems pretty clear that the practice is likely to continue.

"The total estimate for the current year's expenditure upon the hospital, exclusively of the school, amounts to £46,843, for a complement of 370 pensioners. I cannot, I think, better analyse this expenditure than by throwing it into the tabular form, which was adopted by the royal commissioners of 1860, and by copying from page 48 of their report, and adding a line showing the estimated cost for the current year of the Greenwich pensioner, compared with his cost in former years, and with the cost of a French pensioner, in 1848, at the Hotel des Invalides:—

—	Cost to the Institution for Money Allowance, Food, Clothing, Medicines, Nursing, and Personal Attendance.	Cost to the Institution for Discipline, Administration, and Expenses of Fabric.	Total Cost.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Invalide (1848)	26 11 2	5 5 0	31 16 2
Pensioner (1805)	28 14 4	9 1 3	37 15 7
Pensioner (1859)	30 7 6½	29 18 4	59 6 11
Pensioner (1867)	51 7 0	75 5 0	126 12 0

"Now, sir, considering that the estimate for a civil hospital in the country, is £25 to £30 a bed yearly, and for the most luxurious of our London hospitals not more than £40 a bed yearly, I think that strong reason is shown for questioning the administration by the Admiralty of this great naval hospital. Make all allowances you will for the size of the buildings, and for the money and other allowances given to the pensioners, there remains a residuum of costliness for which the Admiralty must be held to strict account. I have not the means of comparing it with Haslar and Netley hospitals. It may be that the Admiralty and the War Office are more successful there. But this I know, that the management of Greenwich Hospital is less successful than that of St. George's Hospital, and costs more than three times as much. I find, too, that the cost is on the increase; that the estimate of this year exceeds the vote of last year by £1,100; and that the charge for the medical staff is proposed to be augmented 75 per cent. over that of 1866.

"I now turn to the Greenwich Hospital school. The royal commissioners of 1860 have entered most fully and minutely into the expenditure under this head.

They tell us that, in 1821, there were 'two schools, which the Admiralty of that date, for the sake of economy, threw into one. One of them, called the Greenwich School, contained 200 boys; and the other, the Royal Naval Asylum, educated and maintained 600 boys, and 200 girls. The amalgamation was a great financial success, as the cost of education was reduced thereby from £29 to £16 10s. a head, making a clear saving of nearly £7,000 a year. In 1860, the commissioners inform us that the charge has risen again to £29 a head. Now, sir, if the increase of expenditure represented nothing but improved education and a larger supply of the necessaries and proper conveniences of life, no one could say a word against the Admiralty for having gradually undone the work of economy, which Lord Melville and his Board effected in 1822. But this was not the case. The food of the boys was, indeed, in 1859 sufficient; and the education of the two highest classes of the upper school was admirable; but the state of the dormitories was lamentable, the provision for health and cleanliness most inadequate, and the general arrangements deplorably inferior to what was found in those magnificent institutions, the district union schools of Hanwell, Sutton, and Anerley, in which the pauper children of London and its suburbs are taught, maintained, and trained to industrial pursuits, at a charge varying from £13 to £15 a year. The commissioners tell us that, owing partly to mismanagement, and partly to the increased cost of schooling, the Admiralty, in 1841, found it expedient to reduce the number from 1,000 to 800 children, striking off the list the 200 girls, and substituting no other provision for their education or training—with what unfortunate results, in a moral point of view, page 37 of the report sets forth. And they go on to say—

“We have strong grounds for believing that, with efficient superintendence, without impairing in the least degree the quality of the education, at the same time improving all the sanitary arrangements, the entire cost might be brought within £18 a year for every boy.’

“And again—

“The funds devoted to the schools provide now an education for 800 boys. The same funds, more economically handled, might certainly educate 1,000, perhaps 1,200 boys.’

“Yet the Admiralty, unmoved by this exposure, uninfluenced by the desire to turn to the best account the vast educational plant and vacant buildings they have at Greenwich, and to atone for past extravagance by educating, without increased outlay, another 200 boys and an equal number of girls (all which, by proper effort, was within their power), have, without increasing the number of the pupils, added yet to the cost of the education, and raised it from £21,500 in 1859, to £24,719 in 1866, and propose for the current year an outlay of £25,335. I leave these facts to speak for themselves. To me, I confess, such waste seems criminal. It is not only money squandered, but education denied. If the expenditure of 1859 sufficed for 1,200 children, but was employed on 800 only, what are we to say to the proposed expenditure of 1867? It might have reared for the navy and the merchant service 1,200 boys, and have provided at the same time for 200 girls, the daughters of sailors. It is all squandered on 800 boys. I wonder that the naval lord who presides over naval education can rest quietly in his bed. I wonder that his dreams are not haunted by the ‘seamen slain, killed, or drowned in sea service,’ who, under the Greenwich Hospital Acts, have a right to claim that their ‘children be provided for, and educated so far forth as the hospital shall be capable to receive them.’ If the Admiralty are not equal to the task of civil and educational supervision, why do they undertake it? If they have elected to perform the duty, the blame is theirs if the work be idly and wastefully done.”

The different rate of progress in England and France is shown by the recent census of France, which states that the population of that country has increased 1·82 per cent. during 1861—’66; while the increase in the eighty-six departments—excluding Savoy and Nice—in the previous five years (1856—’61) was 1·69 per cent.

The increase of population from 1861 to 1866, was therefore at the rate of .36 per cent. per annum. The population of England in the ten years, 1851—'61, increased at the rate of 1.13 per cent. per annum. The cause of this comparatively slow rate of increase of population in France has recently been made a subject of discussion by French statisticians. The proportion of children to a marriage, and, consequently, the population of a country, are regulated to a considerable extent by the age at which marriage is contracted, and by the age of the parents when the children are born. The mean age at which marriages are first contracted in England, is 25.5 years for males, and 24.3 years for females. In France the mean age of marriage is 30.5 years for males, and 26.0 years for females; but these numbers include all the re-marriages of widowers and widows, the mean age at which marriage is first contracted in France being 28.8 years for males, and 24.7 years for females; the bachelors of France marrying 3.3 years later than the bachelors of England; the marriages of spinsters not being much longer postponed in France than in England. The age of majority in France is twenty-five years; in England it is twenty-one years; and it has been remarked, whether the difference in the age of majority between the two countries does not exercise a considerable influence with reference to the mean age of marriage, the advanced age of majority in France, or of what becomes practically the lowest age of marriage, having the effect of retarding marriage in many cases, and partially accounting for the comparatively small number of children to a marriage. The French official returns show, that the proportion of births to 1,000 persons living, was 25.87 in 1853, 26.02 in 1857, and 26.21 in 1864; while in England, the birth-rate to 1,000 population, was 33.27 in 1853, 34.43 in 1857, and 35.64 in 1864. The birth-rates in France were highest in the following departments:—Nord (Lille); Seine (Paris); Finisterre (Brest); Bas Rhin (Strasbourg); Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseille); Loire (St. Etienne); Gard (Nîmes); and Pas-de-Calais (Boulogne): showing that the restriction to the increase of population appears to be less where industry and commerce are flourishing. The marriage rate (persons married to 1,000 living) in each of the two countries, France and England, was 15.50 and 17.88 in 1853; 16.34 and 16.52 in 1857; 16.32 and 16.28 in 1861; 16.18 and 16.14 in 1862; and 15.52 and 17.36 in 1864. Owing to restrictions in fecundity (number of births to a marriage) in France, the marriage rate affords no true criterion of the condition and prospects of the population. There are, on an average, but 311 children born in wedlock in France to every 100 marriages; whereas, in England, the proportional number is 384. The proportion of young people who marry before attaining the full age of 21, has never been so high in England as during the year 1864; and it is curious to observe how widely this practice varies in different parts of the country. In Bedfordshire, 18 in 100 men, and 28 in 100 women, who married, were minors. In Nottinghamshire, 10 in 100 of the men, and 22 in 100 of the women, were minors; the straw-plait and lace-manufactures, apparently, being the cause of promoting early marriages, by affording employment to children and to young people. The smallest proportions of minors who married were in North Wales, Northumberland, Hereford, and London. In France, marriages are contracted early in the departments of Hérault, Seine-et-Marne, Aisne, Eure-et-Loire, Aude, Gironde, Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Lot-et-Garonne, and Tarn-et-Garonne. Late marriages are contracted in Ille-et-Vilaine, Haute Pyrénées, Manche, Doubs, Jura, Basses Pyrénées, Côtes-du-Nord, and Mayenne. Comparative lateness of marriage in France is not, however, always incompatible with high rates of fecundity, and, *vice versa*; for, in the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine and Côtes-du-Nord, where the mean age at marriage is high, the number of legitimate children to a marriage is comparatively large; while, on the other hand, in the departments of Gironde, Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Lot-et-Garonne, and Tarn-et-Garonne, where the mean age at marriage is low, the legitimate births to a marriage are comparatively few. The slow rate of increase of population in France, compared with that of England, may, therefore, be chiefly attributed to a

low ratio of births, the result of late marriages, and of hindrances to fecundity. Early marriages have the effect of shortening the interval between generations, and tend in that way to increase the population. The spirit and character of a nation alone determine the limit to its numbers; and the increasing power and prosperity of England and her colonies, resulting from a high rate of increase of population, have proved the fallacy of the doctrine, "that the increase of the human race should be restricted, so that it may not outstrip the means of subsistence." The proportion of deaths to 1,000 persons living in each of the two countries—France and England—was 21·96 and 22·88 in 1853; 23·75 and 21·80 in 1857; 23·18 and 21·63 in 1861; and 21·72 and 23·86 in 1864. In France, in 1854 and 1855, the deaths exceeded the births. The mean after-lifetime, or expectation of life in England, is 40·9 years. In France, it is 39·7 years.

A question of necessary importance is, What is to be done with the sons of the middle classes? The Central Farmers' Club have discussed the important topic of emigration, not for the agricultural labourer, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the wheelwright, and artisans generally, but for young fellows of education and capital—say sons of farmers; and the Rev. E. Smythies, of Hathern Rectory, Loughborough, undertook to tell such men what is the best part of the world for them to go to with £500 or £1,000; and what they ought to do when they get there. Undoubtedly, emigration is becoming a subject of vast interest to the middle and upper-middle classes in this kingdom; and especially are there numbers of tenant-farmers, and also gentlemen of independent means, with large families, who will be thankful to know of some plan by which active and educated sons can be established in a useful and honourable position of life, with a prospect of fair income, a reasonable hope of laying something by for old age, yet without descending to menial drudgery. In fact, since Mr. Smythies mooted the subject, he has been overwhelmed with letters of inquiry from persons of the class referred to.

"What should the young emigrant go out to do?" He should invest his capital and energies, replies the reverend gentleman, not in tillage agriculture, not in any trade or commerce, still less in gold digging; but in sheep and cattle farming in those parts of the world where pasturage, on an extensive scale, can be obtained with the least possible employment of labour. The objection to crop farming is the exceeding dearness of labour. Sheep farming is unquestionably the best, and produces the most rapid increase upon the capital originally invested.

"Where should the emigrant stock-farmer go?" Mr. Smythies considers that Australia and New Zealand have seen their best days as outlets for emigrants of the "white-handed" order. In Australia, sheep farming now requires the command of a large amount of capital; and both there, and in New Zealand, as well as in the United States, the prevailing policy is to form a population of small occupiers living by tillage husbandry. The emigrant's paradise, according to Mr. Smythies, is the Argentine Republic, comprising the immense alluvial plains lying south of the great estuary of La Plata, and west of the Uruguay, extending westward to the Cordilleras, or the great range of the Andes, and lying between the 25th and 35th degrees of south latitude. The climate is extremely salubrious; the land level, free from timber, and so good in quality that it is calculated that an acre of it will keep twice as many sheep as an acre in Australia. Buenos Ayres, the most southern province, has the best sheep pasturage; but in the north, on the border of Brazil, the land is cheaper. Mr. Smythies' son, joining with partners, bought three square leagues for £600; and so quickly does the soil improve under grazing management, that £600 worth of land will sell for £900 in a year's time. Sheep vary in price, from 3s. to 10s. a head, the latter figure being the cost of imported or well-bred ones; but a good flock there can be bought for 5s. and 6s. a head. And on an average "run," a flock of 4,000 ewes, and 1,000 ewe lambs, will, in four years' time (according to actual

experience), increase to 33,000 head. It is clear that the utmost freedom, political and religious, is guaranteed by the constitution of the country, and that there is every security for person and property.

Mr. Parish, her majesty's consul at Buenos Ayres, has sent home some valuable information. He says—"There is no part of the world where the emigrant is better received, and better protected by the laws of the country, or where there is less invidious distinction drawn between him and the native of the country. * * * * In some parts you may travel for fifty or sixty miles continuously over Englishmen's land; and invitations are being sent by emigrants of every class for their relatives to join them. A steady progress is going on, under a liberal government; and the tenure of land is a great attraction, there being no difficulty in buying land under the system of registration, which is far more simple than anything of the kind in Great Britain." On the frontier, where there is some little danger from the Indians, land can be had for almost nothing; but in well-populated districts, the price of the most eligible and favourably situated land is 20s. per acre, and that land will carry three sheep per acre.

Mr. Hall, from the Cape of Good Hope, where he has resided nine years, and has a large area of land, tells us that as much money was to be made there as in any other part of the world. He had purchased a great breadth of good land at 6s. to 20s. per acre; and recently had given £150 for 1,500 acres, which would carry one-and-a-half sheep per acre. The Southdown was there found the worst breed to import; the Ramboulli and long-wooled rams answering best. With a flock numbering about 2,000, the increase, in his case, had been 85 to 90 per cent. for each 100 ewes.

Mr. Smythies thus describes the mode of life of his son and partners in South America. They rose at four o'clock in the morning; turned the sheep out of the corral, where they had been kept during the night; and got their horses lassoed and saddled. They breakfasted at five. They were employed up to eleven in tending the sheep and cattle; which they did—as indeed everything was done there—on horseback. By eleven, it was too hot for the stock to graze, and they were then driven to shade and water. Soon after eleven came dinner. Their living was good, and seemed to "improve with every letter he got from them." They had coffee and biscuits, butter and milk, and sometimes tea, for breakfast. For dinner, they had roast mutton and roast beef, potatoes and boiled pumpkins; supper was of the same character. They had corn beef, prepared by a Scotch servant. Bread they did not obtain. After dinner, in accordance with the universal system of the country, they had a siesta, lasting two or three hours. A little before sunset they put their sheep and cattle in the corrals; after which they unsaddled their horses, and turned them into a paddock, and then prepared for bed. Numbers of persons leading a life of this kind have made fortunes in a few years, beginning at about twenty, and returning at thirty to thirty-five years of age. The Indians are "ugly customers," and on the frontiers are very troublesome; but they have no quarrel with Englishmen, as a general rule; avoid coming in contact with them, and use no fire-arms.

Much remains to be done in legal reform. At present, nothing in our legislation is more unjust to a special class, and more detrimental to personal character, than the law which makes newspaper proprietors answerable for any libellous statements which they may publish in *bonâ fide* reports of public meetings. So general is the ignorance of the public respecting the legal responsibilities of journalism, that most readers of the daily papers will, even at this date, learn with astonishment that the privilege which covers substantially truthful reports of proceedings in courts of law, does not extend to any of the other public meetings at which the interests of the country, the pecuniary expenditure of corporations, or the affairs of great proprietaries, are openly discussed in the hearing of all who like to pass through open doors for the purpose of listening to the speakers. Par-

liamentary, municipal, and political meetings; municipal council meetings; local commissioners' meetings, and meetings of poor-law guardians; vestry meetings; meetings of magistrates; county, borough, and parish meetings; meetings of public charities and institutions; meetings for benevolent, educational, reformatory, and religious purposes; meetings to promote political, legal, and social reforms and improvements; meetings of mechanics' institutes, literary, and other public societies; public lectures; meetings of railway proprietors, and of banking and other joint-stock companies—these are amongst the assemblies which journalism is required to report; and, under the existing law, may report only at its own peril. Any one of these assemblies may be productive of occurrences concerning which it is of the highest moment that the public should be accurately informed: it may be held with open doors; the press may have been invited to report its proceedings; every speaker may have come to the meeting with the full knowledge that his words would be published; the speeches may concern matters about which the reporters have no special knowledge by which they could measure the veracity of the speaker; and yet, if they give currency to a libellous utterance, they are liable to punishment. No one would read a morning paper which omitted to report the speeches made by our principal speakers at political assemblies; no sane person accepts the statements made in the report of a speech on the authority of the journalist who reported it, or the journalist who published it: the statements, be they true or false, wise or foolish, are accepted as the speaker's words; and so far as they may savour of immorality, the speaker is condemned by the moral sense of the country. But whilst common sense and public opinion thus concur in regarding the printed words of a report, the law fastens the penal consequences of its libellous utterances on the reporter, and allows the guilty speaker to go scot free. This system of whipping the innocent for the offences of the guilty acts injuriously in two different ways. By inducing journalists to be more anxious for their own personal safety than zealous for the information of their readers, it lessens the number and effectiveness of the safeguards which perfect publicity affords to private character against the influence of calumnious tongues. By inspiring speakers with a sense of irresponsibility, it renders them reckless.

Another question rising up is that of criminal convictions. As recently as 1856 or 1857, convicts, under sentence of penal servitude, enjoyed practical mitigations of their punishment on three important points. The labour to which they were put, in itself not immoderate, was lightened by its interesting nature, and the prospect which it carried of pecuniary profit. The culprits were engaged in industrial occupations, which often taught them some handicraft, and for success in which they were liberally rewarded. Then the mere imprisonment had come to represent "a period of contemplative seclusion," varied by cheerful work, during which time the convict was placed upon a dietary so good and plentiful, that he fared better than any honest neighbours of his own class. Nor was this all; for the duration of the penalty was shortened by an extraordinary interpretation of the law. A sentence of penal servitude for life did not mean penal servitude for life, nor anything like it. It meant, at the outside, such a confinement as we have been describing for the space of ten years, and was often not extended beyond eight. If the seclusion was found to be unfavourable to an offender's health, he was frequently released after a few months' detention; and Mr. Measor relates the case of a convict who, having been sentenced to life servitude for a crime equivalent to wilful murder, was liberated in less than three years, and allowed to return in comfort to his usual occupation in the place where his crime was committed. Good food, therefore, pleasant employment, and speedy release, were all in prospect to modify the terrible sentence of servitude for life; and Mr. Measor informs us that, according to the ideas of those days, anything like severity of treatment or labour was regarded as actually detracting from the efficiency, and destroying the ends, of punishment itself. No wonder that the "mistaken public feeling" which produced such a system was found rather damaging to the interests of the public.

There was nothing in punishment to deter a ruffian from crime; and the consequence was that honest men were garotted, while thieves were thought to be reclaimed.

On every one of these points, however, a change has come over our practice. The hard labour of a convict is now really hard labour; not a pleasant industrial occupation, but toilsome, dreary work, without hope or beguilement. Instead of making ladies' shoes or fancy baskets, with a share in the profits, the criminal is now put to crank, shot drill, or the monotonous strain of the treadwheel. Instead of retiring to a comfortable cell after his day's toil, he finds nothing but a wooden bed with a wooden pillow; and to this painful life there is no visible end. Formerly, the life sentence of a convict could be "brought under the consideration" of the Home Secretary, after ten years had elapsed, and in cases of illness much earlier. Now the time has been extended from ten years to twelve, and from twelve to twenty—that is to say, no proposal for the mitigation of such a sentence can be so much as entertained until twenty years of penal servitude have been endured. Truly, the punishment has been "greatly intensified." Mr. Measor calculates, indeed, that the practical severity of the sentence has, within the space of a few years, been "multiplied threefold;" nor should we be much disposed, after his explanations, to question the conclusion. Under the old system, a life-sentenced prisoner was sent upon an "enlivening passage" to Western Australia or Bermuda, with nothing to do on the voyage, and with light work, liberal rations, and attractive prospects awaiting him at the place of his destination. After serving, not his time, but only a fraction of it, "under the lax discipline of a colonial prison, with the privileges of rum and tobacco," he returned home by another pleasant sea-trip with a "small fortune"—£20, £30, or £40, earned in gaol. That was the old system in practice; and certainly the new system, with its grinding toil, its meagre diet, and its painful lodging protracted through interminable years, may fairly enough be described as three times as bad.

But now, says the *Times*, in an able leader, though we admit the force of the contrast presented to us, and the accuracy of the balance, as struck by Mr. Measor against the advantages of the offender, we must needs ask whether the present system can be justly characterised as a second "extreme?" The old system was undoubtedly an extreme. To hold that servitude for life should mean servitude for eight or ten years; that hard labour should mean light labour; and that penalty for crime should bring a better lot with it than honest work—these opinions were beyond question extravagant. They only need stating to be recognised as extravagant now. But is it equally true to say that our present practice is extravagantly severe, because penal servitude for life really means little short of penal servitude for life; because the hard labour enjoined by the law is really hard labour; and because the lot of a criminal is really painful? Are we not rather now getting to the simple truth and reality of things? Of what use is it, for the purposes of argument, to prove that a sentence of life servitude is now three times as severe as it used to be, if the former practice offers no true standard of comparison? It appears to us that our present system deals with realities as it ought to do; and that if any modifications are required in consequence, they should be left to the judge. It is of the utmost importance that sentences should imply what they profess to imply, instead of being empty words. Penal servitude should be actually penal servitude; and if it means so much more now than it did formerly, that would be simply a reason for measuring its duration accordingly. No doubt, if a convict under a life sentence was adequately punished by the system of 1856, he would be more than adequately punished now; but that is for a court to consider. We cannot regard our system of criminal treatment as carried to an extreme, simply because it treats criminals as criminals, and executes the original sentence.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

IN foreign affairs Lord Palmerston's Eastern policy seems on the point of expiring.

Whilst the greater or less extension of suffrage engrosses the public mind in England, events are silently working in the east of Europe, and preparing vast changes.

The history of mankind consists, in great part, of struggles between races. After the struggle comes the victory of one over the other. A settlement is made, and the same process is repeated.

It is useless to inquire in what proportions force and intelligence enter into the required superiority. It is compounded of both, as *momentum* is formed by weight and velocity multiplied.

In most cases this natural superiority, once vanquished, never rises again to its old eminence. So have perished Egyptian, Assyrian, Roman greatness. So finishes, before our eyes, the once mighty Turkish empire.

But this is not always so. In the great designs of Providence some nationalities do rise again, and obtain a wide influence over the world. This is the case with the Greeks in our day.

But where is their power to be found? Not certainly in the small kingdom of that name, with its illustrious but diminutive capital. No; we find Hellenic intelligence and national feeling in the counting-houses of British merchants; on the shores of the Mediterranean; at Marseilles and Smyrna. Nay, it would be a curious problem to ascertain in what proportion it directs the affairs of Constantinople itself.

We cannot go back to the ardent sympathy for the Hellenic cause which sent men and money to the shores of Greece forty years ago, and which triumphed at Navarino. But, subjecting men and things to the most practical analysis, it is impossible to deny the talent, the enterprise, or the lucid intellect of many Hellenes.

So that, in our day, an ancient civilisation, entwined with the recollections of classic education, is coming up once again to the surface. The second half of our century has seen one great task accomplished in the unity and independence of Italy. It is probably destined to witness the accomplishment of a greater change, in the establishment of an Hellenic empire at Constantinople. For, when intelligence, wealth, and patriotism all work together, their triumph over comparative barbarism can only be a question of time; and neither the efforts of cabinets nor armies can, in the long run, prevent its realisation.

Who will rejoice at, who will dread, this inevitable march of time?

In the first category must be included friends to humanity and justice; for the inner portions of the Turkish empire can never become civilised, in the European sense of the word. The traditions and practice of Islam alike preclude it. This is the moral obstacle. A physical one, of scarcely less moment, is the loose constitution of the sultan's power, founded on Oriental tradition, which makes the local governors all but independent of their sovereign. Hence the empire is really governed by satraps, who are irresistibly tempted to be merciless and exacting. Hence flows a permanent stream of misgovernment from each local centre. Turkish bond-holders, and a few politicians who follow, in a servile manner, the opinions of two great public men, not considering the changeful tide of circumstances—*these* will regret the downfall of Turkish dominion.

Two solutions are possible. The boldest and best would be, to transfer the

seat of the Hellenic government to Constantinople, and, with that, all the European dominions of the sultan would form part of the new empire; or a federation of Hellenes might be formed, but still with the city of Constantine as its centre of government.

Such is the pleading of the friends of Greece. Unfortunately, there are two sides to the question. Russia will have something to say on the subject.

The *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, of the 14th March, 1867, publishes the following letters and despatches, which are prefaced thus:—

“We are able to publish the following documents. They date from 1860. At that time, the situation of Turkey was such as to foretel a crisis. The Hatti-Houmayoun of 1856, which emanated from the initiative of the sultan, and was sanctioned by Europe, had awoken among the Christians hopes that were not realised. The more those hopes had been strong, the more painful was their deception, when they were convinced that no serious improvement was to be expected from it. The abundant information the imperial government was receiving from all parts of Turkey, had prompted it to propose to the great powers an *entente* between them and the Porte, in view of proceeding to a collective inquiry upon the real state of affairs. Prince Gortchacow wrote the following letters and despatches, to that effect, to the representatives of his majesty the emperor at London and Paris:—

“1. *Extract from a Letter from His Excellency Prince Gortchacow to His Excellency Baron Brunnow, dated from St. Petersburg, April 29th (May 8th), 1860.*

“‘We calmly wait for the answers of the great Courts relative to the Eastern question. Whatever they might be, we have the conviction of having fulfilled a duty of humanity and of political foreseeing. Our admonitions are not based upon vague information, nor upon a tendency to exaggerate the situation. It is us only who know the sum of efforts and sacrifices we have made, and are still making, to prevent the exploding of the despair of the Christian population. If Europe is wise, she will take the proper steps. I have only touched the main point of the question in our communications. As to the forms, we shall accept all that will render more acceptable to the sultan the collective action of the great powers, if such action is resorted to, provided the fundamental ideas remain identical. It is far from our intention to humiliate the Ottoman government, or to create for it new embarrassments by rendering public an European condemnation. We wish to save it from the unavoidable consequences of its errors and blindness. I am aware that, if the details of Europe’s intervention were known, the explosion could be possibly hastened. We shall avoid the publicity of those details. However, we think that the fact alone of Europe resolutely concerning herself about their condition—a fact which, in principle, cannot be concealed—would be a check against a rising to arms, and a motive to induce them to endure their wrongs a little longer.’

“2. *Letter from Prince Gortchacow to Count Kisselew, Ambassador at Paris, dated from St. Petersburg, May 12th (24th), 1860.*

“‘The earnestness with which the French minister of foreign affairs has received our overtures, is a proof of good-will that we have duly appreciated.

“‘However, we were sure that the urgent necessity of our step could not escape a mind so deeply affected with the dangers menacing the Ottoman government, and with the imprudent way it increases them by the course it has adopted: we could therefore suppose that, by calling the attention of Europe to the gravity of that situation, we were evoking even the recollections of M. Thouvenel. I shall not revert to the condition I have developed in the despatch you will receive to-day; you will read it to the minister for foreign affairs, and give him a copy of it,

should he wish for it. I hope that he will be convinced, first, that a prolonged carelessness of Europe could become a crime against the general peace (*un crime de lèse-paix générale*); secondly, that the existence of the Ottoman government, menaced on account of the unbearable existence of the Christians, occasioned by its acts, can be preserved but by severely punishing the guilty persons, and by following a more humane conduct towards the Christian population. I repeat that we do not aim at any exclusive interest for Russia: our wish is to preserve Europe from the eventual danger of a general conflagration; for that purpose, we openly invite her to co-operate with us in a task that no power could honourably decline as being alien to its feelings and principles. What we said to France on that subject we also said to England, Austria, and Prussia. No Court could take into consideration confidences showing any partiality whatever. You will have noticed that in my despatch, although we confine ourselves to the heart of the question, we do not adhere to any programme: and that we are ready to adopt any form likely to ensure success without wounding any susceptibilities. Duty commands us, however, not to lose sight of an important circumstance—I mean, that the desire of conciliating all ought not to be pushed to extremities, and to such an extent that Europe could jeopardise the advantages of the action to which we invite her. Here time is not our auxiliary; our opinion is, that every illusion on that subject would be dangerous. You are already aware that none of the powers we have applied to have objected to the inquiry. According to an indirect advice, the Porte alone has instructed Vefik Pacha to protest. One of the documents hereby annexed, will show you what I wrote on that subject to Prince Lobanow. We persist in our belief that an inquiry, with the concurrence of Europe, would benefit the Porte. It is only in such a character that it would give a guarantee to the Christian population; that it would tend to calm their agitation. We think that it would be possible to instruct the representatives of the great Courts at Constantinople to discuss that question with the Ottoman government, by upholding the considerations which are to its advantage. We do not pretend to say that all the information we have received is of a mathematical exactness. Moreover, we should be delighted to be convinced it possesses no foundation whatever; that would rehabilitate the Ottoman government, reassure our conscience, and dissipate our political pre-occupations; but such a proof can issue but from an European inquiry conscientiously made. As it is a question of facts, the contrary evidence ought to result from an examination made on the spot; and no cleverness could react against the convictions borne from such an examination. Moreover, the starting-point of our step lies upon numerous and painful informations that have been accumulating in our archives for some months. We are more interested than any other power in ascertaining if that starting-point is true or false. We have delayed, as long as possible, overtures the gravity of which we fully understand. We began by forwarding to the Ottoman government the text of the deplorable informations we were receiving; we earnestly solicited the Porte herself to meet that emergency in her own interest. We did not conceal from her the danger she was incurring. All that has had no other result than indefinite and illusory promises; and, finally, the nomination of a commissioner, appointed two months ago, who had not left Constantinople at the date of our latest advices. Prince Lobanow speaks to us in the highest terms of that commissioner, Soliman Pacha; but he has not yet received any instructions, and brings to his task the tribute only of his good personal disposition. Meantime, from information received from several points, we had learnt that the nullity of the results obtained, and the aggravation of the sufferings of the Christian populations, were endangering the efficaciousness of all my own efforts, and of those of our consular agents, in view to dispose the Christians to have patience a little longer. We learnt, also, that an explosion was imminent. Then I felt myself at my wits' end (*au bout de mon latin*); and made to Europe the overtures you know.

“M. de Thouvenel wishes it should be well known at St. Petersburg, that

France and Russia were sure of being accused of aiming at working the Porte's embarrassments to agitate the East. Be good enough to tell his excellency that we accept the challenge for our own part; and that if the remembrance of the policy the imperial cabinet has followed for four years is not sufficient to answer the accusation, we readily leave ourselves to the evidence of the future. However, the apprehension of such an accusation cannot prevent us from fulfilling what we deem our duty, both as a Christian power and as a power interested in the preservation of the general peace. Moreover, the policy M. Thouvenel is speaking of, is the one which we have adopted, and which we intend to persevere in; that is to say, we shall confine ourselves, as much as possible, to the common action, should we in the execution fail to fulfil immediately all the minor conditions in the programme sketched at St. Petersburg. By referring to that programme, M. de Thouvenel will see that it is conceived in general terms. We have perfectly understood that the details could issue only from deliberations taken in concert with the Porte, and brought to maturity. Our initiative was answering an urgent question. The aim was to persuade the great powers to take into consideration, in common with the Porte, the condition of the Christians, in order to avoid an explosion much feared; and that the first step in that direction ought to be an European inquiry. Europe herself would judge, from the results of that inquiry, if it was possible to take any further steps, or if it was wise to act upon the Ottoman government to induce it to give, for the preservation of order and tranquillity, guarantees which the actual state of things does not afford to the Christian population. This second part of the programme necessarily belongs to time and to matured reflection. I have just been interrupted by Sir John Crampton, who has come officially to inform me, that his government gives its assent to an European inquiry, and who told me that Sir Henry Bulwer had received instructions to that effect. He added, that Lord John Russell did not pronounce himself upon the first and third propositions of our circular, because the ulterior steps to take in that question ought necessarily to depend upon the results of the inquiry. Sir John Crampton has observed, besides, that the projected inquiry being to embrace three provinces, it would be difficult to associate with it the consul of only one locality; and that it would be more practicable, perhaps, to delegate a commissioner, who, following the commission on every spot, should receive the evidence of the consul there; and would thus be able to perfectly know the whole of the inquiry. Sir John put forward that suggestion as his own: I told him I shared his opinion as to the practical purpose, and that we should not at all decline to adopt it, inasmuch as the Prussian government had informed us of its intention of entrusting the inquiry to a special commissioner. I apprise you of the assent of the British cabinet through the telegraph; and I resume my dictation. In recalling to my memory M. Thouvenel's letter, it seems to me that I have treated every point of it; and that I can confine myself to pray you to assure his excellency that we set a high value on an intimate *entente* between M. de Lavalette and Prince Lobanow; and that we are much satisfied with the instructions given to that effect to the French ambassador at the Porte. The essential point—I cannot repeat it too much—is that we should not be forestalled by events; I am sure he will see in it an additional reason for accelerating the common action of Europe.—Receive, &c.

“3. *Despatch of Prince Gortchacow to Count Kisselew, Russian Ambassador at Paris, dated May 12th (24th), 1860.*

“His majesty the emperor has read with a high interest the communication the Duke of Montebello had been instructed to make to the imperial cabinet, in the name of the French government, in consequence of your overtures relative to the actual state of affairs in the Ottoman empire. We have seen with satisfaction that, in the despatch M. de Thouvenel has addressed to the ambassador of France

at Constantinople, the Tuileries cabinet recognises, as we do, the gravity of the situation, and the urgency of remedying it both quickly and efficaciously. That conviction had been imparted to us by two orders of ideas, which, according to our opinion, ought not to be separated in the judgment which the great European powers interested in the peace of the East must arrive at. The first is the preservation of the Ottoman empire, which would be greatly shaken by the internal crisis represented as imminent by all our information. The second is the sympathy we entertain for the Christian population. In the want of a well-being and of a prosperity, that can replace but gradually their actual state, they ought to possess conditions of a tolerable existence; and those conditions seem to us even essential to the security of the Porte herself. For it is evident that the only means the Turkish government has of avoiding the dangers of its situation, is to gain the loyalty of its Christian subjects by bonds of kindness and gratitude, instead of feeding and envenoming the passions excited in both camps by the prolongation of abuses which are inherent to the actual state of things. We think that the same conviction was shared by all the cabinets, when, in 1856, they took notice, while admitting its high value, of the Hatti-Houmayoun, the initiative of the sultan, granted to his Christian subjects. That concession was both meeting an European interest of the first order, because the general peace is indissolubly connected with the tranquillity of the East; and it gained the good-will of the great powers in behalf of the Porte, which can but benefit from the prosperity of the population over whom she rules. It seems to us that that twofold feeling gave to the great powers the right, and imposed upon them the duty, of insisting on the promises contained in that act being fulfilled. And in order to impart to that persistence the necessary character and the required efficaciousness, we thought it was desirable it should be exerted collectively, and with such an unanimity as to set off the whole value pertaining to it, for the sake both of the Porte and of the general security of Europe. Such is the *animus* of the overtures we have made to the Courts of Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna. We sincerely congratulate ourselves at our intention being appreciated by the French government. The question, such as we look at it, and such as we have put it, has three distinct faces—the fundamental part, the form, the urgency. As to the first, M. de Thouvenel perfectly understands the source of the evils to be cured. Undoubtedly, the immediate redress of the abuses of authority and of the individual denials of justice which the Christians complain of, and the exemplary punishment of the guilty parties, are the first points to be met. But the situation is serious enough to claim organic measures, such as those M. de Thouvenel has delineated himself. That is why we had pointed out in our proposals the necessity of advising the Porte to endow the Christian provinces of Turkey with such a practical organisation as to satisfy their just grievances. We reserved the appreciation of our proposition to an *entente* of the cabinets, of which we refrain prejudging the results. But we adhere to the principles enunciated by the French government; and we are quite ready to support the same order of ideas, as affording an efficacious remedy to a situation that could not last much longer without danger to Turkey and to Europe. I say again that those two interests are not separated in the mind of the imperial cabinet. It is, therefore, scarcely wanted that I should add that, in the question of form, we are ready to accept any combination likely to conciliate them, by giving to the Turkish government all the discretion claimed by its own dignity. We do not impeach its intentions; and far from willing to encroach on its rights, we desire to consolidate its authority, and dispel the dangers which menace it by giving to it normal bases. Therefore we adopt the order sketched by M. de Thouvenel's despatch; that is to say:—1. The representatives of the powers which signed the treaty of 1856, will address in common to the Porte a note designed to awaken her from her apathy, and setting forth the solicitude as well as the will of Europe to see at least the fulfilment of the reform often promised, and still expected. 2. Those representatives shall be instructed to concert themselves in

all the circumstances where their common action would be justified by the interests of humanity, in order that their vigilance should excite that of the Porte. 3. Lastly, they shall be authorised to open with the Ottoman minister, *pour-parlers*, in view of provoking the gradual application of the Hatti-Houmayoun, and to claim the practical execution of its main clauses. The first of those steps is the essential starting-point of the two others; and, as a whole, they seem to us likely to attain the end we have pointed out to the attention of the cabinets. Once entered into that path, the foreign representatives will be able to judge more and more how things really stand, and to find remedies for the evils they will have discovered in common. The Ottoman government will find in that accord a safe guarantee that not one of the great powers shall bring into the question exclusive views, jarring with the general interest, on behalf of its own preservation and the respect of its rights, the use of which is to be regulated to its own good; lastly, the Christians will see in that moral intervention of Europe a guarantee for the fulfilment of the solemn promises made to them, and the non-execution of which drives them to despair. We are disposed to believe that if all the cabinets and their representatives at Constantinople, avoiding the obstacles and rivalries which paralyse every concert of action on that ground, and keep alive the apathy of the Ottoman government, should bring into that work the required compactness and energy, a great aim will have been attained; the East and Europe will have been spared calamities the extent of which it is impossible to foresee. But I cannot repeat it too often; in this case the question of urgency predominates over all others, and even the *entente* we wish should be established would be inefficacious if it is not arrived at immediately, and in such a way as to strike every mind. This is the only chance of preventing the conflicts which we must foresee according to our information. But that chance would be inevitably lost were we to wait before requiring the suppression of the excesses committed in Bosnia, in Herzegovina, and in several other districts of Bulgaria. That the representatives of the great powers at Constantinople should be able to establish, by communicating among themselves, the reports they receive is above doubt. In presence of the differences of opinion which agents of a subaltern rank are naturally disposed to bring when interpreting the views they support, entertained by their respective governments, it would be difficult to look for a perfect agreement in their appreciations. The communication of the representatives would be rendered rather more complicated, and our opinion is that such a combination cannot produce anything useful. The only practicable way of meeting the urgency we have pointed out is an immediate local inquiry, entrusted to a commissioner of the Porte and European delegates. We are told that the Turkish government does not reject the idea of an inquiry, but that it intends to entrust it to an Ottoman functionary, and declines any assistance from foreign delegates. We do not believe in the efficiency of such a measure. The inquiries of this kind are not rare in Turkey. They never brought any result; in most cases they tended to aggravate the situation. The Christians have been too many times deceived in their hopes to place any reliance on them. Therefore we abide by the proposition we have made. It is the first step to make along the path we have shown. We consider it as being the only practicable one, if made without delay. Affairs have reached such a climax, that it is essential, if a collision is to be prevented, that the Christian populations, whose patience is exhausted, should be fully convinced that their sufferings have at last been taken into consideration by the Porte and by Europe, and that both seriously aim at ending them. The presence of European delegates; a full inquiry made under their own eyes, with all deference to the dignity of the Turkish government, but also with the firm will to arrive at the truth; and, lastly, an exemplary repression of the perpetrated excesses—such are the only means to appease an agitation, the causes of which are too deep to be cured by palliatives. The first point once accomplished, the remainder would be based upon the *entente* to which we loyally invite the cabinets. Meantime, as a matter of course, we shall do everything in

our power to preach patience and moderation. We fulfil that task for a year with the utmost solicitude. But we cannot hope any longer to succeed if positive facts do not support our exhortations. My duty has been to treat, above all, the great political questions connected with that state of affairs. May I be allowed to consider it from another point of view, which, in our opinion, is not the less entitled to the consideration of the Christian and the civilised powers? In presence of the feeling of emulation, which we deem to be sincere, and which prompts the governments of Europe to assume the first place in all questions connected with civilisation and humanity, we cannot admit that diverse measures and weights should exist according to latitudes. Whatever may be the opinion one entertains as to the actual state of Turkey, one cannot contend that the events which have recently occurred in some parts of Europe have not immensely resounded in the East. The Eastern populations, who have seen that the situation of some neighbouring states has so deeply excited the solicitude of the cabinets, must have come to the conclusion that the sufferings they have endured for centuries, still more aggravated by barbarous customs and religious fanaticism, would meet no longer with the insensibility or the indifference of Europe. They have been naturally induced to place in her intervention a hope to which it would be both cruel and dangerous to refuse any satisfaction. In our opinion, the result will be that some of the great powers will assume part of the responsibility in the agitation prevailing in the East; and, consequently, the moral obligations which we think it is their duty and their interest not to renounce.'

“4. *Circular of Prince Gortchacow to the Russian Representatives abroad.*

“St. Petersburg, May 20th (June 1st), 1860.

“The attention which the *pour-parlers* now going on relative to the Eastern question have aroused in the whole of Europe, impose upon us the duty of placing the part taken by the imperial government, and the end it pursues in that question, above all mistake and false and exaggerated interpretation. For more than a year the official reports from our official agents in Turkey, inform us that the situation of the Christian populations under the rule of the Porte, and especially in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, is becoming more and more grave. That situation does not date from to-day; but far from bettering, as we were led to hope, it has grown worse and worse during the last year. The Christian subjects of the sultan had received with confidence and gratitude formal promises of reform; but they still wait the practical fulfilment of a hope which the solemn acts of the sovereign, and the adhesion of Europe, had invested with a twofold consecration. The passions and hatreds, far from being appeased, have assumed a new animosity; the acts of violence, the sufferings of the populations, and, lastly, the events which have occurred in Western Europe, and which have resounded through the whole East, as an incentive and a hope, have ended by bringing agitation there. It is plain that such a situation cannot last without endangering the Ottoman empire and the general peace. In that conviction, after having, on the one side, tried in vain to enlighten the Turkish government on the gravity of such a state of affairs, by communicating successively to it all the information pointing out to us the abuses committed by the local authorities; after having, on the other hand, exhausted with the Christians all the persuasive means in our power to exhort them to have patience, we have frankly and loyally spoken our minds with the cabinets of the great powers of Europe. We have represented to them the situation, such as it is, according to the reports of our agents; the imminence of a crisis; our conviction that isolated representation, sterile promises, or palliatives would be insufficient to prevent it; and, finally, the necessity of an *entente* between the great powers and the Porte, in order to concert such measures as would put an end to that dangerous situation. We have not made any absolute

proposals on the course to pursue. We confine ourselves to pointing out the urgency, and to indicate the aim. As to the first, we have not concealed that, in our opinion, it could not be a matter of doubt, nor susceptible of any delay. As to the second, it seems to us that it presents two distinct phases; above all, a local and immediate inquiry, with the participation of European delegates, in order to verify the reality of facts; then an accord to be brought about by the great powers between themselves and the Porte, in order to induce her to combine the organic measures necessary to introduce into her relations with the Christian populations of the empire a real, serious, and durable improvement. Therefore it cannot be a question here of an intermeddling which would wound the dignity of the Porte. We do not suspect her intentions. She is the party most interested in being extricated from her present situation. Whatever may be the result of her blindness, toleration, or feebleness, the support of Europe must be useful to her, and will either enlighten her judgment or fortify her action. It cannot be also a question of encroachment on her rights, which we desire to be respected, nor to resuscitate complications we wish to prevent. The *entente* we wish to be established between the great powers and the Turkish government must prove to the Christians that their condition is taken into consideration, and will be soon ameliorated. Meanwhile the Porte ought to see in it a sure guarantee of the benevolent intentions of the powers, which have placed the conservation of the Ottoman empire among the essential conditions of the European equilibrium. Therefore both sides ought to be satisfied. The Turkish government ought to see in that *entente* a motive of confidence and of security, and the Christians of patience and hope. On her side, after the experience she has acquired, Europe could not, in our opinion, find elsewhere than in that moral action the guarantees required by a question of the first order, with which her peace is indissolubly linked, and in which the interests of humanity are mixed with those of politics. Our august master has never disavowed his strong sympathy for the Christians. His majesty will not charge his conscience with the reproach of having remained silent in face of such sufferings, when so many voices were raised elsewhere under circumstances much less imperative. Moreover, we are deeply convinced that such an order of ideas is inseparable from the political interest felt by Russia, as well as by all the powers, for the preservation of the Ottoman empire. We flatter ourselves that all the cabinets concur in that view. But we have also the conviction that the time of illusion is past, and that every hesitation, every adjournment, will involve grave consequences. By contributing with all our might to place the Ottoman government in a situation enabling it to dispel all those eventualities, we think we are giving it a proof of solicitude, and, at the same time, fulfilling a duty to humanity. In inviting the great powers to join us, we think we are avoiding every possibility of exclusive views or of meddling. Such is the aim of the overtures we have just addressed to the Courts of Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna. Whatever their result may be, we deem it important that the thought which has presided at them should be thoroughly understood. You are therefore authorised, by order of his majesty the emperor, to read this despatch to the minister for foreign affairs.

"In the meanwhile the Porte, willing to reassure the great powers while avoiding their control, had entrusted the grand vizier, Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha, with the mission of proceeding himself to the provinces to inquire about the real state of affairs. This step has been favourably appreciated by the cabinets. Without connecting that measure with any illusion, the imperial cabinet did all in its power in order that it might realise all the hopes derived from the personal reputation of the grand vizier himself. The Russian consuls in all the localities he was to visit had been ordered to point out to him all the facts they knew, and such as to enlighten him during his mission."

This letter was written six years since; but Russian diplomacy ever remains the same.

“ 5. *Extract of a Letter from Prince Gortchacow to the Russian Ambassador at Turin, dated from Tsarskoe Selo, June 3rd (15th), 1860.*

“ ‘There was a way to bring about a European inquiry, which would have enabled the great powers to sound the depth of the wound; and to decide for themselves on the necessity of immediate and efficacious remedies. That occasion was lost, owing to their unwillingness to entertain our proposition on that subject. We are now reduced to the results of a Turkish inquiry, and to the hope we might find on the personal inspirations of Kiprisli Pacha. However, as it seems settled that, on his return to Constantinople, the grand vizier will communicate the issue of his mission to the representatives of the great powers, that will be another opportunity for them to offer advice, the practical value of which will depend upon the accord that will have been established among them.’

“ The letters Nos. 6, 7, and 8, relate to the massacres of Djeddah and Dumas. Russia insisted on the insertion in the protocol, relative to the occupation of Syria by France, of an additional clause, extending to all the Christian populations of Turkey the moral benefit of the European intervention. She did not succeed.

“ On the 21st of July (August 1st), Prince Gortchacow wrote to his excellency Baron de Brunnow, ambassador of Russia in London, a letter, of which the following is an extract :—

“ ‘9. It seems to us impossible that the powers of Europe should stop halfway, and that their foresight should not extend beyond the events in Syria. If Mehemet Kiprisli, on his return to Constantinople, does not adopt vigorous organic measures, his mission will prove a narcotic; and, some fine morning, Europe will awake, taken by surprise, as she was by the massacres in Asia Minor. We wish to avoid that gloomy and shameful waking, rendered twofold dangerous by recent experience. We entertain the intimate conviction that the best preservative, the only one perhaps, is to induce the Christian population to remain patient by giving them the certitude that Europe collectively works seriously to ameliorate their condition. The precedent of Syria opens the way to her. The stipulations of the treaty of Paris impose upon her the obligation of doing so; and the Porte, if she could understand her true interests, would thank Europe for having rendered it necessary for her to follow the only policy which can maintain her power.’

“ After long negotiations, in which prevailed the fear of the cabinets of provoking the insurrection of the Christians, should they give them premature pledges of the solicitude of Europe, the conference broke up after having agreed upon the draft of two protocols. The first related to the intervention of Syria; the second recalled to the attention of the Porte the Hatti-Houmayoun of 1856; and expressed the value they set upon the realisation of her promises, and the adoption of measures to ameliorate the condition of the Christians of every church in the Ottoman empire. Prince Gortchacow wrote, on the 29th of July (9th of August), 1860, to the Russian ambassador in London, a letter concerning the second protocol, of which the following is an extract :—

“ ‘10. The second protocol, agreed upon in London, and signed in Paris, offers to us a starting-point for collective action in case of need. We most sincerely wish that such an eventuality should never occur. But, now-a-days, who can foresee the events and the necessities? The situation of Constantinople is very alarming. Every diplomatist has asked a ship for his security. If a catastrophe takes place in the capital of the Ottoman empire, it will rebound, inevitably and immediately, I fear, to the European provinces. Will the powers, then, remain with their arms folded? In order not to be surprised a second time, as in Syria, it would be indispensable to concert from this day the conduct to be followed in common. We will mature that question. For the present I confide to you no overtures; but if the attention of Lord John Russell has been called to that eventuality, and should he speak of it to you, give your approval of the justness of the point of view, and let him confide his thoughts to you.’

“11. *Letter from His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to His Excellency Baron de Brunnow, Ambassador in London, dated Peterhof, August 5th, 1860.*

“‘We are far from wishing to force the hand of any one. Let each one act according to his convictions, and accommodate himself to the time as he understands it; but let him be well assured of three things—1. That at present time destroys more than it consolidates. 2. That the Ottoman empire can be saved only by the unanimous determination of the great powers to oblige her to enter practically into equitable courses. 3. That we desire to continue the collective action invoked by us from the first; but not losing sight of the position we should be placed in if our co-religionists were to be slaughtered in the proximity of our frontiers, and that we had to look upon these massacres with folded arms. Mr. Erskine has been charged to make me acquainted with the formula adopted by Lord John Russell, in order to make our additional clause pass. It commenced, as you know, with the words, ‘It is well understood,’ &c. The principal Secretary of State had charged him to ask me if I felt satisfied with it. I told him that we should have been satisfied with less; that, in order not to delay by a single day the assistance sent to the Christians in Syria, the emperor had given Count Kisseleff orders to sign the convention even without our clause, whilst preserving the conviction that it was imperatively required by the necessity of the situation; but that it was not the question to know if I were satisfied with the formula adopted, but whether events would be satisfactory, and that with regard to the latter I entertained the most serious doubts; that, now more than ever, men placed at the head of public affairs should take care that the masses do not apply to them the words of the Chancellor Oxenstenja to his son; and that, if authority ceased to be the guardian of their interests, it would lose in their eyes the reason for its existence.

“‘I recapitulated to Mr. Erskine, in a few words, the ideas of our august master. First, we desire the maintenance of the Ottoman empire; but on rational conditions of existence. Secondly, that, if that empire should fall, we do not covet any territorial aggrandisement, any exclusive advantage, provided that the other powers give proof of the same disinterestedness; but precisely because of this entire absence of *arrière pensée*, we think it to be our right and our duty more loudly to raise our voice to modify a state of things intolerable to the eyes of humanity, or of civilisation, if you will—this word being the order of the day.

“‘I think, my dear baron, that no one can display his face more openly than this. Let any one regard me closely, and he will see that I do not wear a mask.—Receive,’ &c.

“Meanwhile, the inquiry confided to the grand vizier had pursued its course. In the space of four months, Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha had been able to traverse Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Macedonia; when an order from the sultan recalled him to Constantinople, leaving his task unfinished.

“The results of the inquiry were stated in a memorandum communicated by the imperial cabinet to the representatives at foreign courts of his majesty the emperor. This document is too voluminous to be given here. It states—

“‘That, notwithstanding all his good-will, the grand vizier had been able to collect but few complaints at secondary points, and from inferior or uninfluential people—such as the police, the collectors of tithes, the Tchourbadjis, and the Hadja Bachis Christians.

“‘In his report to the sultan, Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha also declares that he had not anywhere found any indication of the pretended system of persecution. The list of misdeeds communicated by the Russian government, had nearly entirely disappeared before the examination of a tribunal instituted under the auspices of the grand vizier. There remained but a few isolated crimes, such as are met with in all societies, even under the best organised governments. On the other hand, Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha pointed out the remarkable progress made within ten

years, and saw therein grounds of satisfaction and encouragement. He had, moreover, caused to be drawn up a provisional statute in twenty-one articles, for the pachaliks of Bulgaria. But this statute contained no other rules than those long since promulgated by the Hatti-Houmayoun, and afforded no guarantee of a better execution than formerly.

“‘ This issue of an inquiry, announced with so much solemnity, could not but aggravate the position of the Christians. This was the general impression in Europe.’

“‘ The ambassador in London of his majesty the emperor wrote on this subject, on the 17th October, 1860, as follows :—

“‘ 12. *Despatch of Baron de Brunnow to Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, 17th (29th) October, 1860.*

“‘ The government of her Britannic majesty has disapproved the precipitate return of Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha, suddenly recalled to Constantinople before he had concluded his mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In reply to the interpellations which Sir H. Bulwer has been instructed to make on the subject, the Porte has declared that the state of the roads, at this advanced season of the year, created an obstacle to the pursuit of the journey of the grand vizier. Without allowing himself to be misled by this purely evasive answer, Lord John Russell perseveres in his intention of giving to the results of the inquiry a practical and serious application. With this object he has collected, in a complete repertory, the depositions made by the English agents, whose evidence has been officially required by order of the government of her Britannic majesty. The principal Secretary of State will send to Sir J. Crampton two printed copies of this document, intended to be submitted to the imperial cabinet. In announcing this to me as an event very near at hand, he expressed the hope that your excellency would find in it the proof of his sincere desire to co-operate in the accomplishment of the work of amelioration commenced by the imperial cabinet.

“‘ Lord John Russell appears to me to devote to this task a reflecting zeal. Without giving himself up to exaggerated fears, he seeks to inform himself exactly of the elements of trouble and disorder which the Ottoman empire contains. He has communicated to me on this subject a statement worthy of remark, which he had gathered from the recitals of an Englishman long familiarised with the habits of social life in the East. This agent attributes to the work of secret societies the anti-Christian movement, which is making itself felt everywhere in the East. The propaganda of murder produces the same disasters, sometimes in India, sometimes in Arabia, sometimes in Syria. Dervishes preaching this fatal doctrine, leave everywhere the sanguinary traces of their passage. These agents of Mussulman fanaticism darkly traverse regions separated by long distances, to carry misfortune into the bosoms of Christian populations. Lord John Russell appeared to me much struck by this mysterious fact, which seems in strange contradiction to the daily habits of modern civilisation.—I have the honour,’ &c.

“‘ 13. *Despatch from His Excellency Baron de Brunnow, Russian Ambassador in London, to His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, October 25th (November 6th), 1860.*

“‘ Since my report of the 17th (29th) October, No. 157, Lord John Russell has confidentially communicated to me the enclosed repertory of the information gained by the English agents on the present position of the Christian populations in Turkey.

“‘ I have reason to believe that Sir John Crampton will already have had the honour to submit this document to your excellency. On my side, I have considered it my duty to place it before your excellency.

“‘ Without allowing myself to anticipate the judgment you will pass on the

merits of this work, I will confine myself to giving you an account of the general impression which it has produced in my mind.

“The English agents appear to me to have undertaken to present the Turkish régime in the least unfavourable light possible. But, notwithstanding this tendency, they have been obliged to acknowledge the reality of the grievances of which the Oriental Christians demand the redress. This fact remains established. As to the measures of amelioration suggested by the English consuls, they appear to me, in great part, very superficial. However, it will be necessary to guard against rejecting them, as a whole, without further examination. On the contrary, in discussing them one by one, there might, perhaps, be means of completing them in a manner that would bring out of this examination a plan of reform which, though far from being perfect in our eyes, would contribute, at least, sensibly to ameliorate the condition of our co-religionists. In a word, the English work is one more step towards the accomplishment of the great result to which the imperial cabinet has devoted its generous efforts.”

“14. *Despatch of Baron Brunnow to Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, 30th October (11th November), 1860.*

“My despatch of the 25th October (6th November), No. 163, transmitting to your excellency the repertory of information gained by the English agents on the position of the Christians in Turkey, stated that, in my opinion, that work, notwithstanding its imperfections, would enable us to proceed further in the path of practical and serious reforms, of which the imperial cabinet was the first to point out the necessity and claim the accomplishment. In the hope of meeting with the approbation of the emperor, our master, in taking this step, I continue to advance in that path.

“I have to-day to notify a certain progress which we have just made, in following this line of conduct.

“Lord John Russell has had a very warm discussion with the Ottoman ambassador on the subject of the information gathered by the English agents. The principal Secretary of State maintained, that the grievances shown by that inquiry would require to be redressed; and that it would be to the well-understood interests of the Porte to agree amicably with the representatives of the friendly powers on the measures of amelioration to be taken.

“M. Musurus combated this proposition. According to him, it would lead to a manifest violation of the sultan's rights of sovereignty, and would injure his independence. The principal Secretary of State persisted in his argument. He reminded the Ottoman ambassador of the promises contracted by the Hatti-Houmayoun, of which the treaty of Paris shows the high value. In a great measure they remain unfulfilled. Therefore, the powers who signed the treaty of peace have occasion to inquire into, and to occupy themselves with, the non-fulfilment of these promises.

“These reflections, of which M. Musurus refused to acknowledge the validity, did not terminate in an understanding. Each remained of his own opinion. The Turkish ambassador put an end to the interview with much dissatisfaction. In communicating to me these details, Lord John Russell appeared to me more and more penetrated by the conviction, that it is necessary to persevere in the attempt at reform with which the Christian powers are occupied in common. The idea of a step to be taken in this sense at Constantinople, begins to show itself more clearly every time that I return to this question in my interviews with the principal Secretary of State.—I have the honour, &c.

“The idea of a conference at Constantinople, to examine, in common with the Porte, the reforms, the urgency of which was acknowledged by all the cabinets, had, in effect, been put in form by the British government. Lord John Russell had elaborated an entire plan of very serious organic reform, which proposed,

among other clauses, the armament of the Christians, and their participation in the military service. This idea, however, to which the imperial cabinet was favourable, was abandoned, in consequence of the opposition of the French government; which, foreseeing the refusal of the Porte, and the want of accord among the cabinets to insist upon their decisions, preferred to abstain from a step without practical utility.

“The cabinet of London adjourned its proposal for three months.

“Prince Gortchacow wrote as follows, on the 17th December, to the representative of his majesty the emperor at Constantinople:—

“‘15. *Despatch of His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Prince Lobanow, Minister of Russia at Constantinople, dated St. Petersburg, 17th December, 1860.*

“‘Some time since you transmitted to us a proposal of the English ambassador, tending to the assembly of the conference of the representatives of the five great powers, in order to deliberate on the reforms to be recommended in common to the Porte. By order of his majesty the emperor, you were immediately authorised to take part in that assembly.

“‘You will, no doubt, have already learned that, at present, the British government proposes to adjourn it for three months, in order to give the Porte time to prepare and to put in force its own ideas of reform; and to leave it thus an initiative, which would preserve its dignity whilst offering a basis for the deliberations, and that the cabinets of Paris and Berlin have adhered to this proposal.

“‘Last winter, we were the first to point out the situation of Turkey to the attention of the great powers, urgently inviting them to come to an agreement which, in our profound conviction, could be the only means of preventing dangerous complications, by applying serious ameliorations to the condition of the Christians. The events in Syria followed but too soon to confirm our predictions.

“‘Our desire had been to prevent elsewhere the calamities which called for the intervention of Europe in Libanus and Damascus. Without disguising from ourselves that the inquiry confided to Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha did not meet the exigencies of so urgent a situation, we suspended our judgment on that inquiry until the time when its result should be known. We hoped that the grand vizier, informed on the deplorable state of the provinces of Turkey in Europe, would return to Constantinople with the firm resolution to propose efficacious reforms. We willingly reserved the initiative of them to the Porte, in the conviction that the representatives of the great powers would therein find occasion to exercise in common a salutary action, in order to accelerate these reforms, and to render them serious and efficacious.

“‘The report of Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha to his majesty the sultan has been communicated to us; it has dispelled the last illusions that we could entertain. The traces of his passage are, I regret to say, of a nature to extinguish the hopes that the Christians may have founded on the direct action of the Porte.

“‘This impression seems to have been shared by the English ambassador himself, since he has judged it necessary to make up for the inaction of the Turkish government, by drawing up a project of reforms; and has convoked, by order of his government, a conference of the representatives accredited at Constantinople, in order to submit it to their deliberation.

“‘This overture responded so well to our own convictions, that we hastened to give it our entire adhesion. Without placing an exaggerated confidence in the efficacy of the deliberations of the conference, the simple fact of its assembling being known to the Christian populations might still sustain their courage in resignation. Here was an opportunity which, under existing circumstances, ought not to be neglected. Now, as an adjournment for three months would be a

disappointment which would take away from the Christian populations, already so cruelly undeceived by the issue of the inquiry confided to Kiprisli Pacha, the last ray of hope which they could attach to the collective solicitude of Europe, it would be, in our opinion, to throw into the midst of the combustible matters which cover the Turkish soil the spark which might set them in a blaze.

“I have not concealed this opinion from the representatives of the great powers at St. Petersburg, and you are invited to express yourself in the same sense both to your colleagues and to the Ottoman ministers.

“Our august master perseveres in his conviction that the position of Turkey requires urgent measures; that the duty of Europe, for its own interest, as well as that of the Porte and the Christian populations, is to prevent new disasters, in order not to be exposed to the much more painful task of repairing them; and that an immediate *entente* of the great powers among themselves, and with the Porte, would offer a chance of attaining this result.

“We are disposed to all the consideration possible for the dignity of the Ottoman government; and we do not at all refuse to leave to it the initiative of the proposals to be made: but on condition that it take up without delay the conference of representatives—in a word, that it substitute, if it will, its own convocation for that of Sir H. Bulwer, but that this convocation take place without delay.

“Nothing is opposed to the discussion having, for a point of departure, the reforms which the Porte has already in view; the foreign representatives could add to them such as they think it desirable to produce.

“The measures to be taken would result from the *entente* established at the end of the deliberations, to which, for our part, we should carry the most conciliating spirit. But setting aside the question of form, we consider it our duty to maintain, in substance, our point of view, even should we remain alone in taking up this ground.—Receive, &c.

“16. *Despatch from His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to His Excellency Baron de Brunnow, dated St. Petersburg, 12th January, 1861.*

“Your excellency’s despatch of the 1st (13th) January has been placed before the emperor. His imperial majesty has deigned to approve the observations that you have made to the British principal Secretary of State, on the adjournment of the conference, the meeting of which at Constantinople had been proposed, for the consideration of the reforms to be recommended to the Porte.

“There is, however, an important point to which I must call your attention. In your interviews with Lord John Russell, you have rightly insisted that this adjournment should not imply the abandonment of the question. The idea of the imperial cabinet goes beyond this. We have not adhered to the adjournment. The despatch which, by order of his majesty the emperor, I addressed to Prince Lobanow, and of which your excellency has received a copy, proves this. We have declared ourselves ready to yield to the scruples manifested by the Turkish government, and of which the cabinets of Paris and London have admitted the value, as to the initiative. We have consented that the Porte should substitute its own convocation for that of England, and that it should itself take up the conference on the reforms which it may have prepared. But we made the express condition that this convocation should take place without delay.

“It is neither from *amour-propre*, nor from obstinacy, that we persist in this respect on our point of view. All the cabinets are struck as we are by the increasing gravity of the state of affairs in the East, in presence of the events which seem to be preparing in Europe for the coming spring. The necessity of calming the minds of the Christian populations is then more evident than ever. Now, the best means of sustaining their patience, and preventing the resolutions

which despair might inspire in them, is to give them the certainty that the powers will occupy themselves with their fate in concert with the Porte, and that the sad result of the mission of Mehemet Kiprisli Pacha is not the last word spoken on their condition. The adjournment, we fear, would be looked upon by them as a fruitless termination; and, under this impression, three months would amply suffice to allow the development of a crisis which nothing had been done to prevent, whilst external excitations would tend to provoke it.

“The immediate convocation by the initiative of the Porte would, on the contrary, cause hope to revive in minds which it has nearly abandoned; and would give a chance for the maintenance of tranquillity which is for the interests of all. It is therefore that we insist that it take place without further delay.

“If once the conference were really assembled, we would attend to the proposals of the Porte, in order to examine them in concert with the other powers; and it certainly would not be our fault if they did not come out of these deliberations as complete as possible. The essential point, I repeat, is that it be positively known that these proposals will be made, when they will be made, and that the collective assembly, which is to take cognisance of them, be now decided upon, in order to show that this time the intentions are serious, and to prevent the fear of new deceptions. From the moment that the principle of this assembly seems to be admitted by common consent, we cannot understand why time, which present conjunctures render doubly precious, should be lost.

“Your excellency is authorised to read the present despatch to the principal Secretary of State of her Britannic majesty, and to leave him a copy of it.—Receive, &c.

“17. *Despatch from His Excellency Baron Brunnov, Russian Ambassador in London, to His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, January 24th (February 5th), 1861.*

“In coming from the audience at Buckingham Palace, I called upon the principal Secretary of State, to read to him, and give him the copy of, the despatch which your excellency did me the honour to address to me, under date of the 12th (24th) January, and which reached me last evening.

“In acquitting myself of this duty, I took care to clearly point out the sentiment of high foresight which induces the imperial cabinet to insist upon the immediate assembly of the conference at Constantinople, in the well-understood interest not only of the Christian populations, but of the Porte itself.

“Lord John Russell, in appreciating this motive, expressed to me anew his regret at not having succeeded in the first trial which he had made to open the deliberations to which Sir H. Bulwer had invited his colleagues, with a view to arrive at an early agreement as to the measures of reform to be recommended to the Porte.

“He acknowledged the benevolence of the intentions which determined the imperial cabinet to leave to the sultan the initiative of this deliberation. But he doubts the earnestness and good-will that will be shown by the Porte in taking this initiative.

“The reports of Sir H. Bulwer seem to attest, on the contrary, the desire of the Ottoman government to gain time by seeking to avoid the difficulty of a collective examination.

“The system of temporisation which prevails in all the actions of the Porte, is shown here by the language of the Ottoman ambassador. According to his view, three months' respite ought to be allowed to the Turkish government before proceeding to any plan of reform whatever. Lord John Russell was the first to destroy this illusion. He declared that, in his opinion, if it were agreed to allow to the Porte a preparatory interval to meditate and ripen the measures of amelioration judged indispensable for the consolidation of the well-being and the repose

of the Christian populations, it was certainly not three months to be allowed to pass away in a state of inaction. Far from that, it was, at the expiration of that delay, that the Porte should be in a position to produce in its entirety the result of its labours. It was then, also, that the representatives of the friendly powers would be enabled to judge of the merits of the plan of reform, in order exactly to appreciate what additions would be required to it.

“After having communicated to me these explanations, the principal Secretary of State informed me that he would not fail to take into serious consideration the reflections so clearly expressed in the despatch of the 12th January, of which I left a copy in his hands.

“This document will one day serve to attest that, if the eventualities so long pointed out by the imperial cabinet should ultimately disturb the repose of the interior of the Ottoman empire, it will assuredly not be upon Russia that the reproach of a want of foresight and of solicitude will fall; whilst you, my prince, have devoted all your energies to turn away from Europe the danger of so grave a trial.—I have the honour,’ &c.

“Three months afterwards, on the expiration of the term proposed to the Porte, the ambassador of his majesty the emperor in London addressed to Prince Gortchacow the following despatch:—

“18. *Despatch from His Excellency Baron de Brunnow, Ambassador of Russia in London, to His Excellency Prince Gortchacow, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, 7th (19th) April, 1861.*

“Arrived at the termination of the delay of three months, fixed by Lord John Russell, to allow the Porte to ripen its plan of reforms in favour of the Christian populations, I considered it my duty to interrogate the principal Secretary of State on the result which this preparatory work had produced.

“He made the avowal that the reports of Sir H. Bulwer on this subject are entirely barren. From day to day the Porte has deferred the communication of the plan which it has promised.

“I insisted on the necessity of not habituating the Ottoman ministers to contract engagements with the great powers which they have no intention of fulfilling.

“On his side, the principal Secretary of State acknowledged the opportunity of reminding the Porte of the obligation it is placed under to give effect to a system of amelioration, of which it ought to understand the urgency for its own interests. He will hasten to write in this sense to the English ambassador, desiring him to reiterate to the Ottoman government strong remonstrances against the slowness with which it proceeds to keep its word.

“However doubtful may be the result of this new step, it nevertheless constitutes a serious duty in my eyes. In effect, my prince, when Turkey shall have finished by drawing upon herself the misfortunes which we have so long presaged, then will come the day when we may remind the other powers that it was not our warnings that were wanting to prevent the catastrophe while there was yet time.—I have the honour,’ &c.

“We will proceed no further with this excursion in the domains of the past.

“The insurrection in Herzegovina, the war of Montenegro, the bombardment of Belgrade in time of peace—such have been the results of the efforts of diplomacy to avoid a crisis which everything foretold. Already at that time there was great difficulty in preventing its degenerating into a general conflagration.

“It was a truce which has not been profited by. Those exclusive appeals to force and to repression, the profound resentments which they have excited, the encouragement given to the populations by contemporary events, the national claims pursued or accomplished elsewhere, and even the precedents laid down by the Porte itself with regard to the United Principalities—all these considerations

have brought about in the East one of those extreme situations which render palliatives powerless, half measures barren, and treaties inefficacious.

"The documents we have just published attest that, according to the expression of the Russian ambassador in London, the imperial cabinet has not failed, either in foresight to estimate the peril, or frankness to point it out."

Russia and the powers of Europe have only to wait the beginning of the end.

The Ottoman rule is now threatened with destruction, not only by alien races clamouring for independence, but by its own inherent defects. Of the two dangers, the first is the more formidable.

"It is a common remark," says a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, "with recent travellers in European Turkey, that the Osmanli race in that country is gradually dying out; and that all the wealth and influence it formerly possessed is passing into the hands of the Slavonians and Greek inhabitants. The ethnological map of the country, published in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, shows, in a very striking manner, how small and scattered the population is, compared with those of other races. There is only one district where there is anything like a compact agglomeration of Turks—the coast of the Black Sea, between the Danube and the Balkan. Everywhere else they are only to be met with in small patches; and, strange to say, these patches grow smaller and further apart as they approach Constantinople. In Albania they are almost entirely absent; and even in Bulgaria they are few and far between. These facts are well known to the Turks themselves, who, with their usual predestinarianism, resignedly accept them as their destiny."—"Is it not strange," lately said an old effendi to a Greek merchant of Salonica, "that you Ghiaours are lodged in palaces, while we Mussulmans live in hovels; you walk in the streets richly dressed, and we wear patched-up kaftans; you are pashas, we are dervishes?" And he added, in a lower tone, as if speaking to himself, "And why not, if God wills it?" M. Poncade, the late French consul at Bucharest, tells a similar story of an old Mussulman, who taught him Turkish. He had observed that the Turkish houses in the town were dilapidated and falling in ruin, whilst those in which the Albanians lived were sound and strongly built; and, on asking the Turk the reason, obtained the following reply:—"Why do you ask me, when you know better than I do? Are not the great nations of Europe to divide us among them? Our destinies are written down: the strong shall resist, and be killed; the cowardly shall submit, and become infidels. Why should I repair my house for a Ghiaour?"

There are in Turkey at least three distinct European races, each with its own customs and national aspirations. These are the Servians, the Albanians, and the Greeks. Of these, the most important is the Servian, representing 4,700,000 of the total population of 10,000,000 of European Turkey. Russia is aware of this; and her aim, though working in the dark, and apparently inconsistently, has been to crush in the bud the rising spirit of Servian nationality. If the Russian propaganda have failed to do this, it has been more successful among the descendants of the degenerate Greeks of the lower empire, who still inhabit nearly the whole of the coast-line of the Ægean and the Sea of Marmora; and are specially numerous in the vicinity of Constantinople. It is from this people that Russia has recruited some of her most skilful agents; and, doubtless, she would find little difficulty in securing their assistance, with bribes and promises of lucrative employment, if she should ever attempt to make herself mistress of Constantinople; just as the Turkish government, after overthrowing the Greek empire, found in their ancestors its most obsequious subjects. There are, altogether, about 90,000 Greeks on the Turkish continent.

The Albanians, who inhabit the coast of the Adriatic, between Servia and the kingdom of Greece, and who are 1,300,000 in number, are a very different race. They are a proud and martial people; and have little sympathy with either the Slavonians or Greeks, against both of whom they have frequently fought under Turkish generals.

There is no lack of candidates for the succession to the throne of the sultans. Prince Pitzipos, the leader of the Byzantine union, proposes the establishment of a Byzantine empire, with a Greek ministry, under the present Ottoman dynasty. M. Ubicini looks forward to the replacement of the Turkish rule by that of three separate states, which would divide Turkey between them, Constantinople being made a free port; and the Austrian and Russian papers think that the best way of settling the matter, would be to place Turkey under the rule of a strong power: by which the journalists of Vienna mean Austria, and those of Moscow, Russia.

The writer of the article in the *Fortnightly Review* is in favour of Austria rather than Russia. Her rule, he fancies, "would secure to Europe a solid guarantee of peace in the East; and to the races on the Danube and the Bosphorus, the unfettered development of their national existence." France inclines to side with Austria in her Eastern policy—a course to which, we are told, the interests of England also point.

The Eastern question, whatever may be its solution, has now entered on a new phase. Lord Palmerston was the last, as he was the firmest, believer in the regeneration of Turkey, and the stability of her power and rule.

Russia, also, has enough to do to mind her own affairs. Her position in the south is the work of her diplomacy, which strives to obtain for her the predominance in Europe; but it is not in conformity with her natural development; and any conquests she may make in that direction will have to be maintained by artificial and violent means. The whole of her military force was originally concentrated within the triangle formed by St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and Moscow; and although, since she has moved southwards, she has established military positions at Kieff and Sebastopol, these two strategetical points have been quite insufficient to attain her object. The condition of the interior of the country is, however, far from settled; and if the government courts external war, it must be in order to unite the various classes, whose relative position has been somewhat altered of late, in some great national enterprise. There seems, however, no occasion for this, because the whole feeling of the country is thoroughly national; and, probably, nothing is wanted but time to enable the people to settle down in their new state. What is chiefly required is capital, to develop the vast resources of the country. Turkey must probably grow weaker each year; while it is difficult to calculate the wealth and strength of Russia some years hence, when her industrious and homogeneous population shall have realised the value of freedom, and settled down to the labour of cultivating the land on their own account.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ANECDOTES OF LORD PALMERSTON.

OF so distinguished a statesman as Lord Palmerston the slightest personal traits are interesting. We have collected a few, which may be placed here. A writer in *Fraser's Magazine*—we refer to the number for November, 1865—favoured the world with many interesting anecdotes of his lordship. The writer says—

"His first acceptance of high office was related by himself, the year before last, *apropos* of a bet said to have been made and won by the late Mr. Milnes, the father of Lord Houghton, a man of remarkable abilities and acquirements, though somewhat of an idler in his youth. He was lounging in a club, when he overheard a college friend saying that something was as unlikely as Bob Milnes becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“And why should not I become Chancellor of the Exchequer?”

“Simply because the odds are a thousand to one against you.”

“Will you lay a thousand to one?”

“Yes, in tens.”

“Done.”

“The bet was regularly booked; ten thousand pounds to ten. When Perceval wrote to Mr. Milnes to offer him the chancellorship of the exchequer, he enclosed the offer, with a ten pound note, to his friend.

“Such was the anecdote, which was disputed, on the ground that Mr. Milnes never had such an offer, although mentioned in the correspondence and memoirs of the period.

“Lord Palmerston was referred to, and he immediately related how he had been mixed up in the matter. Perceval sent for him, and said he had a curious proposal to make. He had offered the chancellorship of the exchequer to Milnes, who would probably refuse it: if he did, would Lord Palmerston take it? Lord Palmerston said he must consult his friends, especially Lord Malmesbury, the diplomatist, who advised him to refuse on the ground that finance was not in his line, and that his future prospects might be compromised by failure. He refused accordingly. Thereupon Perceval said—‘I have since offered the Secretary at War to Milnes. If he refuses, will you take that?’ He did take it, and his long and prosperous career began.” This version differs from that of Mr. Ward’s, which we have already printed.

The same writer continues—“Everyone has heard the story of Sheridan’s dinner party, at which the sheriffs’ officers acted as waiters. On its being mentioned as apocryphal, at Brockett, ‘Not at all,’ exclaimed Lord Palmerston, ‘I was at it. Sheridan, Canning, Frere, and some others, including myself, had agreed to form a society, projected, you may remember, by Swift, for the improvement of the English language. We were to give dinners in turn. Sheridan gave the first; and my attention was attracted to the peculiarity of the attendance by the frequent appeals, on the part of the improvised servants, to Mr. Sheridan.’

“And did you improve the language?”

“Not certainly at that dinner; for Sheridan got drunk, and many words of doubtful propriety were employed.”

“He was a purist in language, grammar, and orthography; and some curious illustrations of his zeal for their reformation are preserved in the Foreign Office. He had a confirmed dislike to ‘that that,’ and ‘had had,’ as in a sentence thus constructed:—‘It was said that that general had had a check.’

“In the last speech from the throne, her majesty is made to say, that she ‘had great satisfaction in *recurring again* to her parliament.’ Some of the literary men objected, and their objection was stated to Lord Palmerston one evening when he had been unexpectedly detained in the House of Commons, and had only just risen from an eleven o’clock dinner. He defended the expression, and maintained the argument, with unabated spirit, till the subject was dropped. The next morning, before ten, the objector received the Premier’s clear, bold, well-known hand—

“‘Johnson’s Dictionary.

“In this life the thoughts of good and a future state often offer themselves to us. They often spring up in our minds, and, when expelled, *recur again*.

“One meaning of *recur* is to have recourse to; and it is perfectly good English to say I have recourse to you again.

“Etymologically, to return is to run back; and one may say, with propriety, I run back, or come back to you again.

“The queen *recurs*, or comes back to her parliament at the end of every recess; and she does *again* that which she has done often *before*.

“‘P., 10/2—65.’

"His acute sense of the value of words made him fidgety under misquotation. When Pope's line on Peterborough was repeated thus—

" 'Here he whose lightning broke the Iberian lines.' "

"*Pierced* was his quiet correction.

"It having been remarked how many popular quotations are incorrect, his lordship adduced several additional instances : amongst others—

" 'He who's convinced against his will.' "

"He was as much at home in Italian as in English ; and some amusement was caused in the House of Commons, by his correction of his accomplished friend, Mr. Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), who unluckily said Cagliari instead of Cagliari.

"Of late years Lord Palmerston had so much writing to get through, that he had neither time nor eyesight to spare for books. Even his newspaper reading was limited. The stores of information he accumulated, and opportunely applied, were mostly derived from oral sources—from an admiral, general, or governor, just returned from a foreign station ; from a diplomatist, on his transit from one capital to another ; from an intelligent tourist, or well-informed traveller. The facts he got from them were carefully packed away in a corner of his mind till wanted ; and always came out wonderfully well sorted and fresh. In the autumn of 1863, he was riding into Southampton with Mr. Cowper, when he heard that an Austrian of distinction was there, on a sort of free-trade mission, and was about to explain his views at a public dinner. Lord Palmerston attended the dinner, and made a speech, in which he astonished everybody by his familiarity with the subject, and with the position of the Austrian government in relation to it ; that familiarity being exclusively based on the report of a conversation with Count de Rechberg, repeated to him a few days before.

"Literature was the fashion of his early days, when, as Sidney Smith remarked, a false quantity in a man was pretty nearly the same thing as a *faux pas* in a woman. He was tolerably well up in the chief Latin and English classics ; but he entertained one of the most extraordinary paradoxes, touching the greatest of them, that was ever broached by a man of his intellectual calibre. He maintained that the plays of Shakespeare were really written by Bacon, who passed them off under the name of an actor, for fear of compromising his professional prospects and philosophical gravity. Only last year, when this subject was discussed at Broadlands, Lord Palmerston suddenly left the room, and speedily returned with a small volume of dramatic criticisms, in which the same theory, originally started by an American lady, was supported by supposed analogies of thought and expression. 'There !' said he, 'read that, and you will come over to my opinion.' When the positive testimony of Ben Jonson, in the verses prefixed to the edition of 1623, was adduced, he remarked—'Oh, these fellows always stand up for one another ; or he may have been deceived like the rest.' The argument had struck Lord Palmerston by its ingenuity ; and he wanted leisure for a searching exposure of its groundlessness.

"The most wonderful thing about him, it has been truly observed, was the manner in which his faculties went on ripening to the last. On his first becoming Premier, his conduct of affairs in the House of Commons was conspicuous for levity of tone and misplaced jocularly. 'Let him remain Premier for a year or two,' observed a member of the highest literary distinction, 'and our standard will be lowered, till we prefer this laughing devil-may-care method of getting through business to the wit of Canning and the gravity of Peel.' But Lord Palmerston (whose levity was on the surface, and useful as well as justifiable against established bores) rose with each succeeding session ; and, on great occasions, was rarely found wanting in moral influence, or in the dignity befitting his position. He did more than conciliate good-will by his suavity of demeanour and tact ; he commanded respect

by his grasp of mind—his readiness of resource—his comprehensiveness of view—his knowledge of his country and his countrymen—his vast experience—his known patriotism—his expansive liberality—and by all that combination of qualities which make up what the French emphatically term *caractère*. His alleged carelessness was the ease of a consummate master of the craft. He wielded his weapon—

“ ‘With hand whose almost careless coolness spoke
Its grasp well-used to dare the sabre stroke.’ ”

“He was the most earnest of statesmen, despite his levity; just as, despite of that touch of Hibernicism in gait and bearing which the Beau Brummel school disapproved, he was one of the most perfect gentlemen that ever lived. * * * His name was associated with the liberal policy of England all the world over; to such an extent, indeed, that it was positively personified in him. Instead of ‘*Ce perfide Albion*,’ it was ‘*Ce diable de Palmerston*’ that was denounced by every absolute Court in Europe.”

The writer adds—“It is a mistake, however, to suppose that Lord Palmerston did everything off his own hook after 1834. Referring, no later than June last, to the Eastern complications of 1840-’41, he related, that on M. Thiers (October, 1840) announcing an intention to call out an extraordinary conscription of 150,000 men, Lord Melbourne wrote to the King of the Belgians to this effect:—‘Thiers’s announcement is a threat. By God I won’t stand it! If this goes on I will immediately call parliament together, and see what they think of it.’ This letter was forwarded to the King of the French, and the Thiers ministry came to a speedy termination.

“Lord Palmerston was by no means a rash foreign minister, and certainly avoided involving the country in serious warfare. In his diplomatic contests with M. Thiers, he had Austria, Prussia, and Russia by his side. His Spanish operations were in support of the lawfully constituted sovereign and authorities. When Austria and Prussia quarrelled over Hesse-Cassel, and were about to come to blows, he had only to hold up his hand, and Prussia would have crossed the Rubicon. General Radowitz was overruled, and compelled to give way, because even the moral support of England was denied. * * * His predilection for the French emperor did not outlast the appropriation of Nice and Savoy; and he thoroughly enjoyed the joke (Lord Houghton’s, we believe), at Cambridge House, on a French secretary’s saying, on his way to the refreshment-room, ‘*Je vais preudre quel que chose. Vous avez raison c’est l’habitude de votre pays.*’ ” The same writer, who evidently was remarkably well-informed, remarks, that Lord Palmerston supported Turkey because he feared that the disruption of the Ottoman empire might lead to the establishment of an unfriendly power across our overland route to India. Another ingrained opinion of his was, that the treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade should be stringently enforced. Lord Palmerston was no believer in the doctrine of non-intervention. His creed was, that England should never lose an opportunity of transplanting or promoting free institutions; nor even stand by and see a weak nation oppressed by a stronger one. It was a deep mortification to him that we did not join France in preventing Austria and Prussia from plundering Denmark. It is stated that he had an inveterate dislike to parliamentary reform; and that he thought dissenters unreasonable in claiming to be exempt from church-rates. Indeed, so Conservative had he become, that he had thought of applying to Mr. Spencer Walpole to take office under him. We continue our extracts.

“There is, there can be, no difference of opinion about Lord Palmerston in private life, as a host, a guest, a companion, or a friend, although it is the fashion to say that he never had a friend, because he was not exclusive in his intimacies; he was so uniformly considerate and unselfish, so kind, tolerant, and indulgent in word and deed: his geniality, frankness, and simplicity, at once put every one at his ease. That charm of manner could not be feigned, acquired, or studied; it

was the obvious emanation of a warm, cordial, generous nature, which it would be difficult to distinguish or separate from heart. The capacity for warm affection must be implied from the happy act of inspiring it; and who won the hearts of a large and singularly gifted family circle like him? Who inspired such implicit reliance on his support, in all who had ever acted under him, or even linked their political fortunes with his? With all his self-command he was liable to be overcome by strong emotion. His severest illness, for many years, was brought on by the death of the Prince Consort, and his fear of its effects on the queen.

"His company hours were materially curtailed by business; but, from the moment he joined the circle till he left it, he was ready to be amused. He was never out of temper, nor out of spirits; never inattentive, absent, or pre-occupied—the distinctive good-breeding of working statesmen, as punctuality is the good-breeding of kings. He listened as well as he talked; he thoroughly enjoyed good conversation, and he liked it the better for being enlivened with fancy and fun. He told a story capitably, frequently with an *apropos* which brought its application within Barrow's somewhat large and elastic description of wit. * * * * His best anecdotes, when he could be coaxed into repeating them, had always a fresh zest. His play of mind was equally effective in catching and improving any passing drollery or humorous thought.

"When Lord Derby's translation of the *Iliad* was first announced, a guest at Broadlands told him he must keep pace with his great rival by translating the *Æneid*. 'Stop till I am out of office, and the parallel will be complete.'

"He, laughingly, quoted the authority of an eminent physician, that continuance in office, with the resulting employment, was good for his health.

"'Would not actual opposition do as well?'

"'No, no, that stirs up the bile, and creates acidity. Ask Disraeli if it does not.'

"Nothing, by the way, created acidity in him; he never said or sanctioned an ill-natured remark on anybody. On being told that a clever assailant regretted a personal attack, he said—'Tell him I am not the least offended, the more particularly because I think I had the best of it.'

"It was mentioned to him that his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George Lewis, had been writing letters to *Notes and Queries*, on the wakefulness of geese. 'The wakefulness of geese! Why the opposition will think he means them: and, what is more, they may say that they are the geese that saved the Capitol.'

"A couple were censured for going to country houses without an invitation. 'Don't be hard on them,' was his suggestion, 'for if they waited to be invited they might go nowhere.'

"On its being stated, as a good sign, that Lady ——— was only attended by a popular physician, who shall be nameless, he said—'Ah! very true; when you trust yourself to Dr. ——— you should have a superfluous stock of health for him to work upon.'

"When at Broadlands, he was a regular attendant at Romsey church, but was occasionally late. Once when he did not appear till towards the end of the second lesson, the sermon was more than ordinarily long, which a guest attributed to the complacent consideration of the clergyman, who was determined that his lordship should gain in one way what he lost in another. 'I never saw it in that light before; I will take good care not to tax his kindness again.' He passed some hours of every day on horseback, except on Sundays, when he walked. On a cold Sunday, in the November of 1864, after luncheon, he proposed a walk, and led the way to the paddocks, which he opened one after another with an enormous key produced from his coat pocket, pointing out and speculating on the qualities of the colts. 'That filly,' he said, 'will run for the Derby the year after next.' He then took the party over the river by the ferry-boat, which he tugged backwards and forwards by a hard rope over a stiff pulley, taking an obvious pleasure in the exertion, and declining help. Returning home, after nearly two hours' brisk

exercise, in the dusk, across the park, his foot struck against a hidden stump, and he fell flat, but was up again in a moment, saying—"There is no damage, except to the knees of my trowsers." The party looked anxiously at one another, remembering the regretted death of Lord Lansdowne, and were not quite at ease till the next morning, when he joined the breakfast-table with unshaken spirit, and his wonted buoyancy of step.

"He was a generous landlord, and so indulgent to the tenants on his estate in Sligo, that he got little income out of it. He said, one day, he had a thousand tenants who paid under £5 a year each. 'But do they pay?' 'Not always; they pay when they can—when they sell the pig.'

"He was fond of billiards; and, when at Brockett or Broadlands, played three games (neither more nor less) before retiring for the night. He was about on the level of those who play a good deal without taking rank as players. His best strokes were the winning hazards; and fortune favoured him as much in this as in the political game. After three or four *flukes*, he would say—"I think I had better not name my stroke." He was never the least put out by losing; although he enjoyed winning, especially when Lady Palmerston was looking on."

Lord Palmerston, on one occasion, seems to have come into collision with the formidable Henry Brougham. In the course of the debate on the second reading of the Seditious Meeting Prevention Bill, in December, 1819, Mr. Brougham made a savage onslaught upon those persons officially connected with the government, who had taken any share in getting up counter-requisitions against convening the public meetings which then frequently assembled. Having participated in such efforts, the noble lord said—"He had yet to learn that, because a man held an official situation, he was thereby disqualified from giving any opinion upon, or taking any part in, questions of public interest. He had pursued, and would pursue, without consulting the honourable and learned gentleman, or caring whether it met his applause or disapprobation, that line of conduct which appeared to him the most proper. He and those who had acted with him on the occasion referred to (in signing a counter-requisition in Hampshire), had acted upon a well-understood sense of duty, and, in doing so, had consulted the best interests of the country; and he was sorry that others had not followed a similar course. If one person had the right to call on the sheriff for a county meeting, he could see no reason why another had not a right to sign a requisition against it. By the conduct of those who had signed the counter-requisition in Hampshire, that county had been saved from the disgrace of those unwarrantable and unconstitutional attacks that had been made upon the Manchester magistrates."

With Joseph Hume Lord Palmerston had more than one passage at arms. In 1826, his lordship had, over and over again, stated the cause of the dismissal of a Colonel Bradley from the army—a statement which Mr. Hume could not understand.

The noble lord, at last, so far forgot his habitual courtesy as to say, that "it was impossible for him to be answerable for the obtuseness of the honourable gentleman's understanding." As Mr. Hume was not then in high favour—indeed, as he was then very unpopular as a political and economical reformer—the laugh was against him: but, two months after, he returned to the charge. Colonel Bradley's case again came on; and Mr. Hume, though generally the best-natured man in the world, being nettled at having been so taunted by Lord Palmerston, said something inaudible in the gallery, but which induced Lord Palmerston to ask, whether the remark applied to him? Mr. Hume replied, that what he meant to say was, that assertions having been made in that House not founded on fact, he would rather rely on authenticated documents than on such assertions. Lord Palmerston again pushed his question, and Mr. Hume further embroiled himself by saying that Lord Palmerston could not expect any courtesy from him after having, on that occasion, so notably declined acting as a gentleman. "The Speaker here interfered, and put," wrote the late Mr. Francis, "a Pickwickian construction on

the affair, which ended after a flourish of good motives on the part of Mr. Hume." The truth was, that the idea of a quarrel *à la outrance* at that day with Mr. Hume, would have been avoided as a matter of tactics, even if Lord Palmerston's customary good-nature had not rendered such a contingency impossible, except under very extraordinary circumstances of provocation. It was remarkable how rarely Lord Palmerston became involved in personal disputes. Considering what charges have been brought against him from time to time, and how irritating it must be to a public man to see his motives and policy misrepresented at times when he is precluded from explanation, this is very noteworthy, and to be explained chiefly by the possession of his lordship of a rare amount of good-nature.

The references to Lord Palmerston in the correspondence of the late Earl Grey with his majesty King William IV., and with Sir Herbert Taylor, recently published, indicate that, at that time, a very high opinion was entertained of Lord Palmerston by his majesty and his contemporaries. His majesty, on one occasion, suggests that his lordship might be raised to the upper House. Earl Grey replies that he was more needed in the Commons. In June, 1832, his majesty conferred the Grand Cross of the Bath on Lord Palmerston. Earl Grey, in a letter to Sir H. Taylor, expresses his satisfaction at finding the noble Foreign Secretary "has received so honourable a mark of his majesty's favour, which has been earned by a degree of diligence and ability in the management of very different affairs, which are entitled to the highest praise." Sir H. Taylor, in reply, states that the king was glad to find that Earl Grey had approved of the honour being conferred on Lord Palmerston, "of whose able and indefatigable exertions his majesty thinks as you do." From many other passages it is clear, that of his lordship at this time, by those who knew him, the highest opinion was entertained.

The liberal tendency of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy does not appear to have been very satisfactory to his majesty. In a letter to Earl Grey, dated April 16th, 1832, the king writes—"The king wishes to draw Earl Grey's attention also to his recent correspondence with Viscount Palmerston on the subject of the instructions sent to Mr. Seymour, with respect to the proposed administrative changes in the papal dominions; and his majesty is desirous that this correspondence should be laid before the cabinet, as it will show that his sentiments with regard to the foreign policy which should be pursued by this country, have undergone no change, and that he dreads and deprecates at present, as he did in November, as he has ever done, the adoption of a too liberal system by this country—too ready and unreserved a leaning to the spirit of the times, and the eager encouragement of principles and projects which must have the effect of exciting the jealousy and suspicion of its ancient allies, without offering, in the closer connection with France, any security or advantage which shall afford adequate compensation for the change, as it is impossible to place any reliance upon the stability of its government, the permanency of its co-operation, or the sincerity of its professions. His majesty is not disposed to under-value the importance of being upon good terms with France, or even the advantages which England may derive from this circumstance in its negotiation with other powers. He is not inclined to deny that the peace of Europe may have been mainly preserved by the concert of measures between England and France with respect to the Belgic question in its more recent stage; and his majesty is willing to believe that the good effects of this union may be felt in other quarters, so long as it shall suit the views and the immediate interest of France to pursue a pacific policy. But his majesty does not trust France. He does not believe that she has abandoned her schemes of conquest, and of extension of territory, or her designs of disturbing the tranquillity and the prosperity of other countries, by the propagation of revolutionary doctrines and principles; and his majesty is anxious that this country should carefully abstain from committing itself unwarily in the support of measures which may possibly accord with the spirit of the times, but which aim at the destruction of

all established authority, and which it is therefore his majesty's determination, as it is his duty, to resist to the utmost of his power." In the letter accompanying this despatch, Sir H. Taylor adds, that "the question to which it applies agitated him (the king) a good deal." William IV. was not very partial to the spirit of the times.

A communication of this kind was very painful to Earl Grey, who considered it such a censure as must infallibly call for his resignation. A few days after, he had an interview with his majesty. In describing this to Sir H. Taylor, Earl Grey writes—

"I received the king's letter and yours this morning. Having had a conversation with his majesty after the *levée*, it is not necessary for me to say anything more in answer to the former. I rest upon the assurance that his majesty's confidence is not withdrawn: at the same time, I perceive with considerable pain, both in his majesty's letter, and in what passed in the interview with which he honoured me, symptoms of feeling which it must be to me a cause of deep regret that his majesty should continue, in any degree, to entertain.

"In stating to me that he had not withdrawn his confidence, his majesty, at the same time, expressed with some warmth, the necessity under which he felt that no instructions relating to foreign policy should be sent without his previous concurrence. The repetition of this, after what I had said in my letter to his majesty on this point, gave me, I confess, considerable pain. I ventured to remind his majesty that in no case had any instructions of importance been sent without their having been previously submitted to his majesty; that I, myself, had never aided in any matter of consequence without taking his majesty's opinion; and that I felt confident his majesty could not suspect Lord Palmerston, or any other member of his government, of such a breach of duty as committing his majesty on any subject of foreign policy without authority to do so. His majesty did not dissent from this, and expressed himself as well satisfied, not only with the conduct of Lord Palmerston, but of the other two Secretaries of State; but neither in saying this, nor in the long conversation which followed, was there that expression of cordial feeling which I have heretofore experienced in my communications with his majesty." This letter was, of course, shown by Sir H. Taylor to the king, who, in reply, after saying he had as much confidence in the ministers as ever, adds—"The king is persuaded that there never has been any intention to send instructions of importance, or upon which it might be conceived that a doubt could arise, without previously submitting them to his majesty; but there may have been instances in which such doubt has not been anticipated; and adverting to the date of those addressed to Mr. Seymour, and the day on which they were received, the king might have presumed that they had been despatched before they were submitted to him; and yet a perusal of his majesty's letter respecting those to Lord Palmerston, will show that he strongly objected to many parts, as the answers from Lord Palmerston will show that the soundness of many of the objections was admitted."

As a rule, nevertheless, William IV. seems to have been perfectly satisfied with Lord Palmerston. In 1831, we find the king writing to Earl Grey as follows:—"His majesty received, with great interest, the communications from Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston, and other heads of departments, whose zealous and able co-operation with Earl Grey, in the indefatigable and honourable discharge of the most arduous public duties, has proved uniformly satisfactory to him. He has communicated, at some length, to Lord Palmerston his sentiments upon the proposition which has been adopted by the conference for the establishment of the future neutrality of Belgium; and it is almost unnecessary that he should assure Earl Grey that the proposition and the principle upon which it is founded have received his entire approbation, however his majesty may be inclined to doubt the good faith with which it may be entered into by France." Again he writes, by Sir H. Taylor, to Earl Grey—"Your lordship will learn, from the king's letter to

Lord Palmerston, how highly he approves of the whole course of his government in the negotiation about Belgium, and how much he ascribed the altered tone of the French government to the firmness and consistency of his own government, and to the ability and dexterity with which the negotiation has been conducted by Lord Palmerston." Again Sir H. Taylor writes—"The king rejoices, also, that you are so much pleased with his letter to Lord Palmerston, who certainly has not shown less zeal and assiduity than talent in his late laborious task, to which his majesty knows also, from the report of Baron Bulow and others, that temper and patience may be added."

In the correspondence to which we have alluded, we find, accidentally, more than one reference to Lord Palmerston, in connection with the great question of reform, then agitating the public mind. It appears that, in November, 1831, his lordship was against calling parliament together before the first week in January. Earl Grey and the Duke of Richmond were of the same opinion; but they gave way to their colleagues, who argued the state of the country as a reason for parliament meeting at once. Lord Palmerston also appears to have objected to an alteration in Schedule B, contemplated by Earl Grey—namely, leaving eleven of the largest boroughs in that list, and, as a counterpoise, giving ten votes to the largest towns which, by the late bill, had only one member. In this objection Lord Melbourne coincided.

A writer, in the *Times*, of a very interesting account of Lord Palmerston, after referring to the way in which, in his second Premiership, he led the House, says—"Nor was it merely his fame, his dexterity, and his good-humour that thus succeeded: he worked hard for success even in extreme old age. As a young man, he did less than his friends expected of him; as an old one, he did far more. It was amazing to see him; he could sit out the whole of the House of Commons, even in its longest sittings. At three or four o'clock in the morning, he was the freshest and liveliest man there, ready with his joke, or a clever explanation to appease the irritability of a worn assembly. Besides the taste for debate, and incessant watching in the House of Commons, his office-work was enormous. His despatches, all written in that fine bold hand, which he desired to engraft upon his foreign office, are innumerable. His minutes upon every conceivable subject of interest, in the last fifty years, would fill many volumes; and it is to be hoped that some of them will be published. Moreover, in private he was always ready to write for the information of his friends; and he always wrote well. We may add, in a parenthesis, that he generally wrote standing. To get through this immense amount of work, he lived, during the session, what most men would regard as an unwholesome life. Four days a week, when the House sat at night, he dined at three o'clock; on other days, at half-past eight. When his dinner was late, he took no lunch; when it was early, he seldom took any supper. While young men went off from a debate to enjoy a comfortable meal, he sat on the Treasury bench all night, and never budged from it, except to get a cup of tea in the tea-room, where he liked a gossip with whoever was there. * * *. All this was the result of a prodigious vitality. Any doubt upon that score might be settled by seeing Lord Palmerston at a public dinner—he sat down to it with the zest of an Eton schoolboy—or by seeing him on horseback. When nearly an octogenarian he would ride some fifteen miles to cover, and think nothing of it. His mind never lost its interest in anything that was new. He was as keen as any young man about the coming Derby, and would rather have won it than gained any political triumph." The share that Lord Palmerston took in the last parliament in which he was destined to sit, was highly creditable to the veteran statesman, who occasionally played the part of a pacificator.

On his death-bed, it appears, from one account, that his lordship dwelt still on public matters. One writer says, that his state of mind, up to the last, remained unclouded; but there came a lassitude over him, which prevented any effort or wish to converse: questions put to him were either disregarded or

answered by a look or a sign. A silence, half imposed by weariness, half of his own inclination, possessed him. On the day before his death, however, when, in a doze preceding the last change, his mind was evidently still amidst its old associations; for he was heard to murmur, as in a dream—"The treaty with Belgium!—yes, read me that sixth clause again."

As soon as it was known that the Duke of Newcastle had lost the seals of office, all the bishops forsook him, and fled. In our day, the clergy are more grateful; and many were the clerical eulogies heaped upon Lord Palmerston after his death.

On the Sunday after, the Rev. Dr. Cumming addressed his congregation, among whom were seated Lord Alfred Paget and Lord Keane, at his church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, upon the death of Lord Palmerston. He said that it had been his (Dr. Cumming's) privilege to be in the company of that great man more than once, and no one could come in contact with him without being struck with his kindness, conciliation, and gentleness, as well as with the solemn sense he entertained of everything relating to true religion. He had the honour of meeting him once in private, and of then witnessing many of his estimable qualities. He remembered seeing him in the pews of that church, listening attentively and earnestly to the words of eternal life; and on retiring, on one occasion, his lordship said, to the family in whose pew he sat, "A very useful and a very instructive sermon"—a compliment which he (Dr. Cumming) prized very highly, because it came from one who was a consummate judge of the goodness of a discourse. Though he might not have spoken much upon religious subjects during life, it was not therefore to be supposed that he was indifferent to them. On the contrary, like very many persons, his thoughts of religion were far deeper than he ventured to express. This was shown in his last hours, when he implicitly placed his trust in the Prince of Peace, and when, with full confidence in the merits of his Saviour, his last sleep introduced him into everlasting bliss. His sufferings over, his eternal happiness commenced. "Absent from the body," and that at eighty-one years of age, he was "present with the Lord." His sun gone down here, at once he beheld the sunrise of a glorious and blessed eternity, over which the sun ceaselessly shines, where no cloud, or storm, or tempest rises, but where glory encircles all things for ever and ever. In some circles it was thought that the reverend gentleman had rather over-done his panegyric: but there is no accounting for tastes.

Alexandre Dumas, in a gossiping article, published in *Le Journal Illustré*, says:—"Some months before my departure for Spain, I was along with Victor Hugo, at a grand evening reception given by the Duc Decazes, at the Luxembourg. Lord Palmerston came to this reception. The duke presented to him the political personages who swarmed in his saloon. But, as we were only poets and romance-writers, the presentation of Victor Hugo and myself was forgotten. We consoled ourselves by chatting away a portion of the evening in a corner of the saloon, which was rather retired. I do not know at what hour our chat commenced; I know that, at a quarter-past eleven it still continued. It appeared that Lord Palmerston had inquired who were the two misanthropic beings that thus chatted together; they had told him our names, and those two names had excited his curiosity. But you know, my dear readers, his politico-aristocratic dignity did not permit him to ask that we should be presented to him; on the other hand, not being presented, the English etiquette positively forbade him to address a word to us. This is what occurred; and here commences the recital of the eccentricity which I led you to expect. Our two arm-chairs, that of Victor Hugo and mine, were touching each other. The Duc de G—— came to me, and said, 'I do not know what is Lord Palmerston's object, but he wishes that for a moment you should sit upon the arm-chair which is to your right, and thus leave vacant the one upon which you are at present sitting.' I was satisfied to salute Lord Palmerston from my place, and to do as he desired. Lord Palmerston then arose, and took Lady Palmerston by the hand, and led her with marked solemnity to the vacant chair, and pointed with

his finger to the clock. 'My lady,' said he, 'have the kindness to tell me the hour?' 'It is a quarter-past eleven, my lord.' 'Well, my lady,' replied his grace, 'always remember that, at a quarter-past eleven, on the evening of this day, you have had the honour of being seated between Messrs. Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas, who are two of the first literary characters of France—an honour which, during your life, you shall never have again. Come, my lady.' My lady rose, and, with the same solemnity as they came, he re-conducted her to her place, without addressing to either of us a single word."

We add a few more anecdotes, which, in addition to those already printed here, or in other parts of our narrative, will help clearly to set forth to the reader the character of the deceased Premier.

Dr. Russell and Lord Palmerston.—At the end of the Crimean war, a newspaper correspondent who had taken some part in causing a general, and not altogether unfounded, distrust in the public mind at home respecting the "system" of our army, was invited by Lord Palmerston to talk over the events of the late campaign. He frankly told his lordship—who of all men living knew most, and felt most deeply the facts of importance which concerned the British army—all that he had witnessed, or could decide upon, of its shortcomings. "Well, now," said my lord, "as you have said all this, what do you propose?" It was a difficult question to answer; but the correspondent pointed out several conditions susceptible of change, if not improvement; and, in the course of his reply, had occasion to say, or did say two or three times—"As the French do." At last Lord Palmerston exclaimed—"Yes, as the French do! But don't you know we *can't* do as the French do? The English army is the army of England, and it is just as much a peculiar growth as the English constitution. We can't take anything because it is good unless it is English too—*Cædit questio.*"

Lord Palmerston's Promptitude.—Many years ago, Mr. Gruneison, the correspondent of an English daily paper, at the camp of Don Carlos, was taken prisoner by Espartero, and was sentenced to be shot as a spy. On the arrival of the news, Mr. Mitchell, the managing proprietor of the paper, went to Lord Palmerston, ringing his lordship up in the middle of the night. Lord Palmerston wrote a despatch, sealed it, gave it to Mr. Mitchell, with instructions to proceed at once to the residence of a cabinet messenger, who had just returned from Vienna. On arriving, the messenger was in bed; but, to Mr. Mitchell's surprise, came down in ten minutes, booted and spurred, and all ready for a journey. His orders were to start for the Christines head-quarters at once; to travel night and day, and to spare no expense. He started, and by incredible exertion—the railway system was in its infancy in those days—presented himself at the entrance to Espartero's tent at the very moment when poor Gruneison was waiting, amongst a crowd of Chapelchrowries, the arrival of the firing party. "What's your business?" "I come from Lord Palmerston to request that the Englishman's life may be spared." "Impossible! he's a spy." "Read that!" pulling out his despatch. The grim general read and swore, and stamped, and cried "Carrajo!" But he also called his *aide*, and instructed him to have Gruneison unbound and delivered up. What was in that little despatch (there were only three lines) never transpired; they were neither "deep as a well nor as wide as a church-door;" but they were enough, and our "special" of the old days was liberated.

Lord Palmerston's Gallantry.—An incident occurred in the neighbourhood of Walmer, which proved (said a local paper) that the gallantry which distinguished the Premier in the days of his youth has not departed, spite of the weight of years, and the activities of public life. A party of ladies and gentlemen were walking, on their return from Walmer Castle, when a dog-cart, driven by some careless ill-mannered clown, rushed by and caught a lady's dress in the wheel, bringing its beauty in rags to the dust, and reducing its wearer to a state of desperate millinery distress in the highest degree mortifying. The dog-cart went on, and was quickly out of sight. A carriage came up immediately after the

accident, was promptly pulled up, and an elderly gentleman stepped out, and insisted on the lady, although a perfect stranger to him, taking a seat by his wife. The courteous offer was accepted, and the lady was conveyed to her home in the carriage, although this caused a considerable *détour* in the intended course of the owner. The doer of this very grateful act—this polite as well as good Samaritan—was Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston's Handwriting.—Our octogenarian Premier (wrote the *Guardian*) is not above enlarging on the advantages of cultivating a plain, large, legible hand, "with good thick up-strokes as well as thick down-strokes." It cannot be said that Lord Palmerston does not practise what he preaches, on this occasion at least. In a complete collection of franks of a parliament some five-and-twenty years ago, which lies before us, the handwriting of his lordship is, if not the very boldest, at all events one of the boldest, in the entire volume; and the envelope of a letter not many weeks old, which fell into our hands a few weeks since, with "Palmerston" in the corner, serves to show that his "up-strokes" and "down-strokes" are as bold and thick as they were then, though perhaps a trifle more shaky.

Haydon, in his *Autobiography*, gives an account of his interviews with Lord Palmerston, while engaged in painting his celebrated picture of the reform banquet. Under the date of September 18th, 1832, we find the following entry:—"I afterwards called on Lord Palmerston, and was amazingly impressed with his good-humoured elegance. Colonel Walpole had made a mistake. He did not mean to *sit*, he only thought I wanted to *see* him. He said he could no more sit than he could fly; but the first leisure hour he would not forget me." Again he writes, October, 1833—"Lord Palmerston sat; we had a delightful conversation. I stuck it well into him about the Elgin marbles. I showed him from his own wrist their truth in hands. I proved to him their science, in the action of two feet and legs, and he acknowledged that he now saw the cause of my enthusiasm. Lord Palmerston was very sincere in this." 12th—"Lord Palmerston sat finally. I bored him on Greek art, which he listened to with the most amiable patience. I showed to him drawings from dissections; explained to him principles of form, which he entered into. It varied the monotony of sitting; but I fear he thought me a nuisance." 17th—"Dined at Lord Palmerston's. Met Baron Bulow, Baron Weissenberg, the American minister, and a distinguished party." These glimpses are brief, but they show the amiable character of his lordship.

Carrying a Prime Minister's Umbrella.—Lord Palmerston always came down to the House in his carriage at half-past four o'clock, partly to avoid recognition from the idlers about Westminster Hall, and also because he was busily engaged all the morning until the House met. A great-coat and a stout umbrella were brought down in the carriage for the walk home. A cabinet minister tells an amusing story about this umbrella. The House was counted out early one summer's evening, and, as their way home lay together, he offered Lord Palmerston his arm. The offer was accepted. As he was the younger man, he offered to carry the summer over-coat. The Premier thanked him, but declined to take it off his arm. The minister then insisted on carrying the umbrella. It was a very stout, useful umbrella, well known in and about the House of Commons—quite Sairey Gampish, indeed, in its outline and proportions—a sort of gig umbrella *razéed*. In Lord Palmerston's hands it passed without notice. But the smarter and younger cabinet minister was painfully conscious—first, of the attention it excited; and, secondly, of its unusual and inconvenient weight. He could compare it to nothing but a good thick blue-book tied to the end of a stick. Up Parliament Street, through the Horse-Guards, and up the steps at the foot of the Duke of York's column, they walked together, the umbrella seeming to get uglier and heavier at every step. The stout old Premier would have used it as a walking-stick, and flourished it as a drum-major wields his baton. In his colleague's hand it was so much dead weight. He declares that he never was so glad to get rid of anything he had been entrapped into carrying; and that, whenever he gave

Lord Palmerston his arm again in the street, he was particularly careful not to offer to carry his umbrella.

Lord Palmerston and the Prince Consort.—From the same writer as the last we get another anecdote. Lord Palmerston declared to a friend that the death of the Prince Consort would double his responsibilities. He knew better than any man the public loss the queen and the nation had sustained in the transaction of public business. Now that the grave has closed over both, it need not be concealed that coolness and differences existed between them, which, at one time, threatened a scandal. The Foreign Secretary, while in the full glow of his parliamentary triumph in 1850, fell under the displeasure of the highest personage in the realm; and received a severe rebuke, in the shape of a well-known memorandum on the transaction of business between the crown and the state. Lord Palmerston was placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and at length took a step which led to a demand for an explanation. One or two seemingly independent acts on his part—such as the sending off a certain important despatch to Lord Normanby, at Paris, without previously obtaining the sanction of her majesty—were not, it is said, intended as slights to the queen, but were marks of distrust of the interests and intrigues of German cousins and connections, and the backstairs influence of German secretaries. Lord Palmerston, with great magnanimity, went out of office, without justifying himself in the eyes of the country; but Mr. Monckton Milnes (now Lord Houghton), a personal friend of Lord Palmerston, gave the House a hint of the real state of affairs, when he said that there was much behind the Premier's statement which was not expressed, and of which Lord John Russell himself was perhaps hardly conscious. Lord Palmerston, when he held the seals, always knew what was going on in foreign courts, and he had probably learned more than he chose to tell either to the court or cabinet. The queen and prince could not be insensible to Lord Palmerston's magnanimous conduct. He lived to gain the entire love and confidence of both, and he learned, in turn, to appreciate more correctly the thorough English spirit which the Prince Consort manifested in everything relating to our foreign relations.

We can add another anecdote from our personal knowledge of Lord Palmerston's patience and forbearance. A clerk in a city warehouse had got a crotchet in his head on the working of the Bank Charter Act—a subject which the late Mr. Cobden always avoided. The clerk wrote to the Premier, asking for an interview. It was granted, and they had a discussion, which lasted upwards of an hour. Lord Palmerston was not convinced; and, we believe, the impression left on the clerk's mind was, that, at any rate, his lordship knew as much about the subject as he did. Most Premiers would have treated the clerk's request as impertinent.

In his great speech on the vote of confidence in himself, proposed by Mr. Roebuck, Lord Palmerston was very happy in his reply to Lord Derby, who made an eloquent speech, replete with stinging satire in condemnation of his foreign policy. Lord Derby described *Pacífico* as a contemptible Jew. Lord Palmerston said—"As if a man, because he was poor, might be bastinadoed and tortured with impunity; or, because a man is of the Jewish persuasion, he is fair game for any outrage. It is a true saying, that has very often been repeated—a very moderate share of human wisdom is sufficient for the guidance of human affairs. But there is another truth, equally indisputable; which is, that a man who aspires to govern mankind, ought to bring to the task generous sentiments, compassionate sympathies, and noble and elevated thoughts." This was evidently a dart aimed at "*Scorpion Stanley*." Again, speaking of two Ionians who were arrested, manacled, and thumb-screwed, he observed—"Then it was said that the application of the thumb-screw had not maimed them for life. Had that indeed been the case, the men would have been entitled to compensation; but for a very little thumb-screwing, applied only during an evening walk, no compensation ought to have been required. I am of a different opinion. Thumb-screws are not so easy to wear as gloves, which can be put on and pulled off at pleasure."

Lord Palmerston's schooling began later than is usual with boys. It used to be a reproach urged by her neighbours in Hampshire against his mother, that she kept Henry too long in the nursery. He was a big fellow, it is said, at eleven years of age, before he was released from that gentle petticoat government to pass under the ferule of tutors and professors. He graduated Master of Arts, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1806.

If Haydon be correct, it appears that, about 1815, the word *bull* became fashionable; and that to Lord Palmerston it was due that such was the case.

"We have heard Joseph Hume," says the writer of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, "say, that he used to torment Palmerston on his army estimates, merely to enjoy the excitement of hearing a man of fashion reply to him; and that if the army estimates had come oftener than once a year, he would have made a great debater of him even then" (1816). A general officer, one of the few remaining heroes of the Peninsula, remarked to us one day—"I never saw Lord Palmerston but once, and that was in 1814, when I returned after the peace, and went to the War Office, a mere subaltern, to inquire about some prize-money. I had no introduction, but Lord Palmerston saw me himself; and I remember to this day the charm of his manner, and his careful inquiry into the subject of my visit."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

IN the course of our work, we have given, occasionally, extracts from such of Lord Palmerston's letters as have already appeared in print. We now add one or two letters perfectly original. For the first we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Professor Reynolds, of Cheshunt College, who has forwarded us one written by Lord Palmerston to his father, the Rev. John Reynolds, of Romsey, afterwards of Halstead. The letter, which is dated C. T., 14th February, 1844, and is on the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade, after a line or two of introduction, proceeds as follows:—

"The general argument of the case seems to me to be in a narrow compass, and to be plain, and not to be mistaken.

"The great majority of this nation earnestly desire the abolition of the slave-trade; some time ago, I should have said the whole nation; but I fear that recent experience tends to show, that some are, at least, grown indifferent on the matter. The slave-trade can, however, never be abolished and extinguished until slavery itself shall have ceased to exist among all the nations of the world; but, in the meantime, and waiting that consummation, for which we ought also to labour by all means adapted to accomplish that end—in the meanwhile, however, the slave-trade may be greatly checked, and may be confined within narrower and narrower limits.

"This might be done by either or both of two means—first, by the sincere and resolute determination of the Christian states to prevent any of their subjects and citizens from carrying on that trade. But this we cannot at present hope to see brought about: other nations have not the same moral and religious feeling about the slave-trade that we have; and their governments do not, and will not, exert the means in their power to prevent their subjects from slave-trading. Many foreign powers have bound themselves by treaty with us to do so: but they disregard and break their engagements. Remonstrances are met by false denials and evasive promises; and unless we went to war with most of the maritime states, we should have little chance of getting them to fulfil their engagements on this

subject. Even the French government, the most enlightened on this subject of any foreign power, was detected by us, some two years ago, as appears in the slave-trade papers laid before parliament, in making a contract for the purchase of negroes on the coast of Africa, to be carried away to serve as soldiers in their black regiments in the West Indies, and in Guiana. This was, to all intents and purposes, slave-trade; and they promised to leave it off; and, in fact, were rather ashamed of being found out.

"The second means is an efficient force on the seas, to stop and examine vessels suspected of slave-trade; and to seize and send in for trial such as may be found engaged in the commission of that offence. But this police cannot be effective unless all the states which, by being seafaring people, have a merchant flag on the sea, agree to give to all naval powers, or, at all events, to England, a neutral right to stop, and search, and detain, within certain latitudes and longitudes, merchant vessels suspected of slave-trade. If each state were simply to act for itself, the police would be good for nothing, unless each state were to have a cruiser sailing always in company with a cruiser from every other state; because if a single cruiser of one state falls in with a vessel suspected of slave-trade, that vessel would, by hoisting the flag of some other state than that to which the cruiser belonged, set all search and stoppage at defiance, and escape with impunity. But to have little knots of cruisers of different nations always going about together is physically impossible; and even if it were possible, it would be a great waste of force, because, by means of a mutual right of search, each cruiser of such a state might go alone, and accomplish the same purpose; and the cruisers sailing singly would cover a far greater extent of sea than when altogether. But we being the only nation sincere on the subject, are also the only one that is willing to employ sufficient sea police for the purpose.

"It has, for these reasons, been the endeavour of every administration since the peace of 1815, to get all foreign powers to agree to treaties with us for the mutual right of search. Some progress had been made in this before 1830. Treaties imperfect, indeed, in many respects, had been made with Spain, Portugal, and Holland; but slave-trade was still carried on greatly under their flags. With France nothing had been done, on account of the maritime jealousy between the two countries—the result of their long rivalry at sea, and of the reverses sustained by France during the war. Consequently, slave-trade went on to a great extent under the French flag.

"In 1830, the French revolution happened, and a Whig administration came into power in England. France wanted our support against the military despotisms of Eastern Europe; and a perfect cordiality was established between the two governments. We took advantage of that state of things to ask them for a slave-trade suppression treaty; and our friendship was so important to them at that time, that they yielded to our request. We took care to render the thing as little wounding as possible to the pride of either party; for our naval feeling revolted at a French search, as much as theirs did at an English one.

"By the arrangement which we proposed, the English cruiser was to stop and search a suspected French vessel, not as a cruiser of the English government, but as a special constable appointed for the purpose by France, and in virtue of a warrant given and signed by the French Admiralty; and so, *vice versâ*, the French cruiser acted by a warrant from the British Admiralty.

"The vessels, when detained, were, moreover, not to be tried and adjudicated by any foreign authority, but were to be handed over to the tribunals of their own country for that purpose; and if those tribunals found that any abuse had been committed by the detaining cruiser, they might award damages to be paid to their own subjects by the government of the other country.

"This arrangement was established by two treaties—the one in 1831; the other in 1833. These compacts acted like magic, and instantly drove the slave-

trade away from the French flag. They have now lasted more than eleven years, and not above three or four cases have occurred in which the shadow of a complaint has been made; and those cases have been adjusted, or are in train to be so, to the great satisfaction of the parties concerned.

"But lately, the French opposition, goaded on by the French slave-dealers of Nantes, and by the slave-holders of the West Indies, of Guiana, and the Isle of Bourbon; encouraged by the wretched agreement made by us last year in the Washington treaty, by which we abandoned all demands for mutual right of search, and accepted a most inadequate and nonsensical arrangement instead of it; encouraged by this, these parties have now begun, as a piece of party tactic, to press the French government to demand from our government that the treaties of 1831—'33 shall be rescinded, the mutual right of search given up, and the flag of each country placed under the exclusive control of its own cruisers; and I am sadly afraid, from what Lord Aberdeen said the other day, in that comedy or juggle which was got up for the purpose between him and Brougham—I am sadly afraid that our government, out of civility to Guizot, and in order to keep him in office, are going to sacrifice those treaties.

"If they do, there will be an immediate revival of the slave-trade under the French flag; and if we give up the neutral right of search with France, all other powers with which we have right of search treaties will require to be released also. Austria, Russia, Portugal, Prussia, Spain, Holland, &c., will all, with equal justice, demand to be released; and all that former governments have been laboriously accomplishing during the last quarter of a century, for the suppression of the slave-trade, will vanish like a dream, and we shall have this abomination renewed in all its former magnitude.

"Some people fancy that the means taken to put down the slave-trade have only aggravated its horrors. This is an entire mistake. No doubt, the greater vigilance and activity of our cruisers have driven slave-traders to look more than formerly to means of escape; and the sufferings of the negroes during the middle passage are greater than when the trade was permitted openly to be carried on, because a greater number of negroes are huddled together in a given space; but the sufferings of those negroes in the process of capture in a fray, and in slavery afterwards in America, are not greater on account of our endeavours to put down the slave-trade; and the number of negroes thus annually transported across the sea, is infinitely less than it would have been if we had not made the exertions we have, both by treaties and by cruisers.

"As to Brougham, he is abandoning all his old friends, his old opinions, and his old principles; and it is therefore not surprising to hear him say, as he now does, that all he cared about was the extinction of our own slave-trade, and that he never pretended to meddle with that of other countries.

"I have written this in a great hurry, but wished not to lose a post.

"My motion cannot come on the day it is now fixed, for that is Thursday week; and I must postpone it till that day sennight.

"My dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"PALMERSTON."

"Rev. J. Reynolds."

The above letter occupies twelve pages of ordinary letter-paper. It must have been written at one spurt, with not a single erasure; the only correction attempted being the insertion, on two occasions, of omitted words. It may also be stated, that the whole is very legibly written in the round open hand for which his lordship was celebrated. It is also clear that it was written with a quill that wanted mending before its appointed task was done.

Of the slave-trade, which it was the constant aim of Lord Palmerston to put down, the following are the latest particulars. Despite the wholesome checks which civilisation has exercised upon it since the emancipation of 1834, it is

notorious that the illicit traffic still flourishes, if not under the auspices, at least with the connivance of foreign governments. This fact is demonstrated in documents presented to parliament, containing the reports of our ministers and commissioners abroad.

Her majesty's judge at Sierra Leone reports, that while only two seizures of slave-traders were adjudicated in the colony during the year 1865, he has not heard of a single cargo of slaves having been shipped in the north, formerly the great centre of the trade. Even in Cuba, where, so recently as 1860, some 40,000 slaves were landed, Lord Stanley is informed that there is fair reason for supposing that the trade is virtually almost at an end. The report of her majesty's commissioner at Cape Town, divulges a determined effort still made to maintain the slave-trade on the east coast of Africa. The British ships on that station have been principally occupied against the trade to the Persian Gulf, they having made numerous captures, and liberated more than 200 slaves. There appears to have been no diminution of the illicit traffic to the Mozambique Channel, as Arabs and Persians keep up an unrestricted supply of slaves to Zanzibar from the Portuguese possessions at Madagascar. The governor of the Cape of Good Hope has been impelled to remonstrate with the President of the Transvaal Free State, against a new system of involuntary servitude, imposed upon the native tribes under the guise of apprenticeship. The Portuguese government, according to our commissioner at Loando, are fostering a trade in negroes under the disguised name of libertos, from the river Cama and Cape St. Catherine to the islands of St. Thomé and Principe; and the British governor-general, by direction of Lord Stanley, in a despatch of recent date, called the serious attention of the government of Portugal to the subject. The reports from our naval officers on the African stations, furnish gratifying evidence that, by means of their activity, the slave-trade can only with much difficulty be carried on; and, if no more serious work elsewhere engage the British naval forces, there is but little doubt that to our power this nefarious trade must eventually succumb—an augury of which we discover in the report, to the Admiralty, of the commodore of the Cape of Good Hope squadron, in the year 1866, that "he has no reason to believe that any slave expeditions are being fitted out within the limits of the station under his command."

But as there are other sources of information than those we have mentioned, so is there another view—the diplomatic—from which our action against the slave-trade may be regarded. And "the correspondence with foreign powers," under this head, discloses the most complete insight into the progress of this nefarious trade. The Brazilian government, early in 1865, took a wise step, which liberated 20,000 persons from slavery. It was the pleasure of Earl Clarendon to express the satisfaction of her majesty's government at the determination that no slaves should in future be employed on the government establishments of Brazil. The monks of the Benedictine Order, established in that empire, who owned 2,000 slaves, following the worthy example of the government, declared free all children born of their slaves; in appreciation of which measure, the Emperor of Brazil presented the President of the Order with a diamond snuff-box. Whatever may be the sincerity of the emperor, he openly pretends to favour the abolition of slavery within his dominions. Lord Stanley received a communication that his majesty had granted freedom to more than 4,000 slaves under his control, on their agreeing to serve as soldiers during the war with Paraguay then carried on. Altogether, the prospects of Brazil, in respect of the extinction of slavery, are exceedingly favourable. The anti-slavery feeling in the empire, and the non-renewal of the trade with Western Africa, tend to inspire a belief that it only awaits the conclusion of the Paraguayan war for an act of the Brazilian legislature to consummate the great work of totally abolishing slavery in the empire. Dr. Livingstone, in a letter to Lord Clarendon, gave particulars of his expedition to a land-locked harbour in Central Africa, called Pemba, from

which Arabs emerged with their slave dhows. Earl Russell received an intimation, at the beginning of the year 1866, from our consul in the Comoro Islands, that remonstrances had been made with the sultan for permitting the introduction of slaves into Johanna; and Mr. Sunley was dismissed by her majesty's government from his consular office, for employing slaves on his estate. The slave-trade on the west coast of Madagascar was by him reported to have been actively carried on until October of the preceding year, when the Hova government threatened to punish with fine and mutilation any one caught having slaves in the Hova possessions.

From Egypt comes a picture of a more saddening character. Consul Stanton informed Lord Clarendon, in 1866, that even in Cairo and other towns of Egypt, bartering in slaves continued. But the principal sources of supply for the slave-trade, are the White Nile and the Blue Nile, upwards of 10,000 slaves having been imported, in one year, through Metemma into Egypt, from the Gallas and other tribes south of Abyssinia. Albeit this illicit traffic is avowedly prohibited, it is difficult to acquit the government of connivance, when slave-dealers can elude the capture of their ships and slaves by landing the latter almost within sight of Egyptian naval stations, and sending them over desert roads till re-embarkation can be safely effected. Though some reluctance was evinced by France to interfere respecting our representations as to the purchase of slaves by French agents in the islands of the Indian Ocean, there seems, from the despatches, to be no disposition on the part of the emperor to countenance the slave-trade. Both Spain and Portugal have issued new decrees forbidding traffic in slaves; but while it still thrives to such an extent that in Porto Rica alone the Spanish government tolerates the existence of nearly 50,000 slaves, it becomes a matter of suspicion whether those governments which are not actively engaged in the suppression of the trade are not upholding it, if not openly, at any rate with connivance. But there is little doubt that the negroes in those quarters will soon emancipate themselves; for, as Consul Cowper writes, "there can be no question that the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, the insurrection in Jamaica, the retreat of the Spaniards from St. Domingo, and the propagandism of the Haytians, have given hopes to the coloured race which it never entertained."

We have another letter now lying before us, very short, and evidently penned in a great hurry, as the paper on which it is written is blotted from the too sudden application of the blotting-paper. It refers to an effort made by the friends and admirers of Kossuth in this country, to put him in possession of funds, and is as follows:—

"C. G., 24th November, 1853.

"My dear Sir,

"I return you, with thanks, the enclosed lithographic circular from Kossuth. I should think that he would get more returned bonds than cheques on bankers.

"Yours faithfully,

"PALMERSTON.

"Dr. Beddome."

The writer has also several telegraphic messages of his lordship in his possession. While residing at his seat near Romsey, it was his habit, during the Crimean war, to copy out these despatches, and send them to the local bookseller and stationer, and news agent, for the benefit of the inhabitants of that locality. His lordship knew the interest they felt in the question; and his care in transmitting immediately to them the news, is surely an evidence of kindness of heart, rare in a man of his lordship's exalted position, and numerous responsible official labours. These despatches were written on a side of note-paper thus—

"By telegraph from London, 7th October.

"Despatches from the Crimea of the 28th September, state that the allied armies had reached Balaclava without meeting with any opposition from the enemy."

In another despatch, soon after, his lordship transmitted the news of the downfall of Sebastopol by sudden assault on the part of the allies; but intimated very wisely, as it turned out, that he was somewhat sceptical as to the truth of the report of which he had sent a copy.

Enough has been given to show what kind of a correspondent Lord Palmerston was. It is clear he was as active with his pen as with his tongue; and that he was a perfect master of either means of communication. There must be many of his lordship's letters locked up in official quarters, or scattered in all parts of the world. It is a pity that some of them are not published. Especially do we regret this the more, when we remember that Guizot has published so much that relates to Lord Palmerston's career as Foreign Minister in very delicate and troublous times; that many of Sir Robert Peel's papers have appeared in print; and that, in the memoirs of the courts and cabinets of George III., George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria, by the Duke of Buckingham, we have a mass of correspondence all bearing on transactions in which Lord Palmerston was deeply concerned. It appears we shall have to wait for papers and correspondence illustrating his lordship's career, till they have ceased to be of any interest, save to the antiquarian or historical student.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LORD PALMERSTON'S SPEECHES AND POLICY.

WE propose to insert in this chapter such of Lord Palmerston's speeches as are of permanent interest—in which he unveiled or defended his policy; and which we have been unable to glance at till now.

In his *Modern Orators*, Mr. Francis thus describes the subject of our sketch as a speaker:—"All things taken into account, Lord Palmerston is, perhaps, the best debater among the Whig leaders of the House of Commons. In the different qualities, which, when combined, go to render a man an orator, he is excelled by many individuals among his contemporaries. Lord John Russell shows more tact, more intimate acquaintance with party history (not with parties, for in that knowledge Lord Palmerston beats all men living, having been member of almost every government within the memory of man), greater skill in pointing allusions to the political errors of opponents; and, altogether, more refinement in the management of his parliamentary case. In eloquence, both of conception or in delivery, Lord Palmerston, is, of course, excelled by Mr. Shiel or Mr. Macaulay, and even by men holding a far inferior rank as speakers. In soundness and vigour of argument, he cannot stand even a moment's comparison with Mr. Cobden or with Earl Grey, when that nobleman does justice to his powers, or even to Mr. Charles Buller. Each speaker on his own side is, in fact, in advance of him in some particular quality of the orator. Yet no one would for a moment hesitate to place Lord Palmerston among the first speakers in the House of Commons, or would deny that he had derived, from hearing one of that nobleman's speeches, as much pleasure of its kind as if he had listened to the most brilliant efforts of Macaulay, the most stirring of Shiel, or the most skilful and satisfying of Lord John Russell." This sketch is pretty accurate, though the writer subsequently admitted, that in it he had scarcely done justice to Lord Palmerston's powers as an orator. We now commence our extracts.

THE EXPEDITION TO COPENHAGEN.—FEBRUARY 3, 1808.

"I object, sir, to the motion of the honourable gentleman, Mr. Ponsonby,

because, in this particular case, his majesty's ministers are pledged to secrecy; but I also object, generally, to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up further sources of information. With respect to the present expedition, it is defensible on the ground that the enormous power of France enables her to coerce the weaker state to become an enemy of England. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) has urged that we have been guilty of a violation of the law of nations; but the question in this case is, how to apply the admitted principle that the law of nations is sacred? It is one thing to admit the right of nations, another thing to succumb to the policy which may, for the time being, govern them. A nation coerced by a superior power, loses that independence which is the plea for its rights, and the guarantee of their maintenance by mankind.

"In the case now before the House, the law of nature is even stronger than the law of nations. It is to the law of self-preservation that England appeals for the justification of her proceedings. It is admitted, by the honourable gentleman and his supporters, that if Denmark had evidenced any hostility towards this country, then we should have been justified in measures of retaliation. How, then, is the case altered when we find Denmark acting under the coercion of a power notoriously hostile to us? Knowing, as we do, that Denmark is under the influence of France, can there be the shadow of a doubt that the object of our enemy would have been accomplished? Denmark coerced into hostility stands in the same position as Denmark voluntarily hostile when the law of self-preservation comes into play. We must remember what has been the conduct of France towards other countries; and if we would preserve the blessings of a free constitution, we must not judge this question by a barren and abstract rule of justice, but by those larger and more free principles which regulate the conduct of nations in great emergencies."

"Does any one believe that Bonaparte will be restrained, by considerations of justice, from acting towards Denmark as he has done towards other countries? Is it at the very moment when his legions are returning triumphant to France, that Denmark can hope for an exemption from the calamities of war, if she refuses to comply with the hostile intentions of France? Or can it be doubted that this would be the season when he would more especially seek to carry out his gigantic designs against us? England, according to that law of self-preservation which is a fundamental principle of the law of nations, is justified in securing, and, therefore, enforcing from Denmark a neutrality which France, by compulsion, would have converted into active hostility."

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES.—1813.

"Putting this question, however, entirely on the ground of expediency, I cannot concur with those who think that they have proved the expediency of continuing the Catholic disabilities now, by showing that they were necessary in the times when they were originally imposed. These disabilities are not the rule of the constitution, but an exception from that rule: their necessity in one century is no evidence of their expediency in another; and it is as much incumbent on those who now contend for their continuance to show that they are required for the present security of the state, as it was upon those who first framed them, to prove the necessity of their original enactment.

"The great stand has been made upon the admission of Catholics into the two Houses of Parliament; and the danger apprehended is, that they will influence the decision of the two Houses in some vote which might, directly or indirectly, affect the Protestant establishments of the empire. Now how does this stand? In the House of Lords their numbers must of necessity be too small to have any effect upon the decisions of that body. In the House of Commons the numbers would undoubtedly be greater, but would still bear so very small a proportion to the whole, as to render it absolutely impossible for them to carry any such point by

themselves. Now I beg to say that I am inclined to think that Catholics coming into the House would, much in the same way that Protestants do, range themselves under the banners of the different religious parties which might exist within its walls, according as they might be influenced by considerations of personal connection or political feeling; but supposing, for the sake of argument, that they move in one compact mass, directing all their efforts to the attainment of this particular object, by themselves they would be powerless. They must then bargain with some great Protestant party, and barter their aid in the contest for the concession of their object, when the victory would be gained. Now I know well, that in a popular constitution like ours, when conflicting parties are nearly balanced, when all the passions of the mind are roused, and the prize to be fought for is nothing less than the direction of the affairs of a great and mighty empire, men may be led to make large sacrifices at the shrine of political ambition. The history of the country is, unfortunately, not without such examples; but whatever may be the error of individuals, I never can bring myself to believe that there would at any time be found in this House a sufficiently powerful and numerous Protestant party, so profligate in principle, and so dead to everything which would be due to themselves and to their country, as to barter away the religious establishment of an empire for the gratification of political ambition. But supposing, again, this combination of improbabilities to occur, and such a vote to be extorted from this House, I trust that there would still be found in the other House of Parliament, and, above all, in the indignant feeling of a betrayed people, barriers amply sufficient to protect the Protestant establishment of the empire from profanation by such sacrilegious hands."

In the course of the same speech his lordship dwelt on the practical evils of exclusion.

"Is it wise to say to any set of men that they may enter, it is true, the army and navy; but whatever may be the talents and bravery they display, however brilliant the achievements they may perform, they must remain in the inferior ranks of the service? Can we hope from such men the full stretch of exertions to which, by proper incentives, they might be led? Is it wise, again, to admit men to the profession of the law, and forbid them to aspire to its honours? Might not the knowledge and habits of business so acquired sometimes be perverted to mischievous purposes? Might not the activity or ambition which is cherished in one direction break out in another? If men feel that they cannot hope to rise to professional honours, may they not be tempted to gratify their love of distinction by becoming the leaders of a faction? I do not say that such things would, but, undoubtedly, they might be. Is it wise to say to men of rank and property, who, from old lineage or present possessions, have a deep interest in the common weal, that they live, indeed, in a country where, by the blessings of a free constitution, it is possible for any man, themselves only excepted, by the honest exertions of talent and industry in the avocations of political life, to make himself honoured and respected by his countrymen, and to render good service to the state; but they alone can never be permitted to enter this career? That they may, indeed, usefully employ themselves in the humbler avocations of private life; but that public service they can never perform, public honours they never shall attain? What we have lost by a continuance of this system it is impossible for man to know; what we may have lost can be more easily imagined. If it had unfortunately happened, that by the circumstance of birth and education, a Nelson, a Wellington, a Burke, a Fox, or a Pitt, had belonged to this class of the community, of what honour and of what glory might not the page of British history have been deprived. To what perils and calamities might not this country have been exposed. The question is not whether we would have so large a portion of the population Catholic or not. There they are, and we must deal with them as we can. It is in vain to think that by any human pressure we can stop the spring which gushes from the earth. But it is for us to consider whether we will force it

to spend its strength in secret and hidden courses, undermining our fences and corrupting our soil, or whether we shall at once turn the current into the open and spacious channel of honourable and constitutional ambition, converting it into the means of national prosperity and public wealth."

SPAIN AND FRANCE.—1823

"Having, then, determined on neutrality, the question was, how best to dissuade France from attack, and to persuade Spain to concession, in order to give France a fair pretext for retraction? It has been said that a higher moral tone ought to have been taken by this country; and that true and just principles ought to have been more prominently put forward. If, indeed, the government, instead of labouring to preserve the peace of Europe, had only thought of getting up a case for the House of Commons, it would have been easy to have written papers to satisfy the keenest cravings of the most constitutional appetite. But the object of the government was not to lay a good foundation for a parliamentary debate, but to persuade those whom they were addressing. Gentlemen opposite are constantly declaring against the governments of Europe, representing their sovereigns as arbitrary despots, and their ministers as insensible to all the principles of public rights, by which the intercourse of nations should be governed, and by which their independence is maintained; yet these very men would have the government address nothing but long and elaborate disquisitions upon those abstract principles which they are alleged not to admit. * * * * I am no lover of despotic government; I hate it upon principle as much, perhaps, as some of those gentlemen opposite, who are the loudest and most frequent declaimers against it; but I cannot shut my eyes to the glaring defects of the Spanish constitution; and sorry, indeed, should I be to live under such a government. Instead of providing for its gradual consolidation, it carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction; and instead of securing the welfare and tranquillity of the people, it contains nothing but the elements of eternal discord. This is the opinion not merely of strangers, but of some of the most enlightened Spaniards. Was it false friendship, then, to advise our allies to remedy the most glaring of those defects? And was that advice the less honest because by its adoption might have been purchased external peace as well as internal concord? * * * * But an objection has also been taken to the channel by which this advice was tendered. I differ entirely from those who urge such an objection; and I cannot but think that the choice of the Duke of Wellington, as the person by whom this advice was to be given, was most delicate towards Spanish feelings, and most consistent with a regard to Spanish honour. If there is any man in Europe from whom advice to Spain would flow free from the slightest taint of suspicion, and might be taken by all Spaniards as dictated by the sincerest regard for Spain, it is the Duke of Wellington. It is often said that nothing creates so strong an affection as the consciousness of benefits conferred. If ever there was a man who conferred upon a nation benefits which ought to call down blessings upon his head from every voice, from the lisping accents of infancy to the tremulous benedictions of age, that man is the Duke of Wellington—that nation the Spanish people. It is also true, in the principles of human nature, that man loves the theatre of his glory, and the companions of his triumphs. The proudest laurels that encircle the head of the Duke of Wellington were gathered in the sterile and unfertile fields of Spain; it was in the provinces of the Peninsula, and surrounded by its co-operating population, that he displayed those various qualities which form the character of the unconquered general and the consummate statesman—characters which, rare in their separate existence, are uncommon indeed in their union in the same individual; it was there that he established that imperishable fame that will last while history endures. Is it in human nature that the Duke of Wellington should not take the warmest interest in all that concerns Spain and the Spanish people? Is it possible that they should not feel that advice from him came as free from

suspicion as from the best patriot in Spain? And can they suppose that the man who has rescued Spain from subjection, and washed out from her soil the pollution of invading footsteps in the blood of the defeated invader, could counsel Spain to dishonour? * * * * He must, indeed, have been an unwise politician who would have plunged us at once, and blindfolded, into the war. * * * * But who is prepared to say that we ought, at this moment, to engage in such a contest; and that the government has not acted wisely in keeping out of it as long as possible? If Spain is divided, our interference is on principle questionable; if she is united, our interference is unnecessary: if, being united, she is successful without our aid, much will have been gained, and nothing lost; by our abstinence we shall have preserved unbroken our resources for future occasions, if any should occur, in which our honour, interests, and safety shall be more directly concerned; and Spain will have had fuller and freer scope to develop that national energy which, while it will make her more worthy her independence, will qualify her better to enjoy and to maintain it; and if, in spite of our forbearance, we should be at last compelled to take a part in the war, the prolongation of repose will better enable us to bear the burdens which will become inevitable; and the people of this country will then more cheerfully submit to the sacrifice which must be demanded at their hands, because they will have the satisfaction of knowing that the government have deferred those sacrifices till the latest possible moment. * * * * It has been urged that we might, by means of our fleet, have crippled the resources of France, attacking her commerce, and taking possession of her colonies. If such had been our policy, what would have been the language of reproach which the governments of Europe would have been justified in addressing to us? 'O ye consummate hypocrites!' they would have said, 'you have made Europe ring with the loftiest sentiments of good faith, of justice, of generosity; you have declaimed, eloquently and loudly, against interested attacks of one nation upon another, against acquisitions of territory, and projects of individual aggrandisement; but oh, ye nation of philosophers! have ye practised the principles ye preach? You have, indeed, made the rupture between France and Spain a pretence for declaring war against the former; you have, indeed, taken advantage of the difficulties and embarrassments which rupture brings upon France, to enrich yourself by plundering her unprotected commerce, by seizing upon her undefended colonies. To gratify British cupidity, no effort has been omitted, no opportunity foregone; but as to the unfortunate Spaniards, those much-loved allies for whom such sympathy has been professed, for whose sake you pretended to be driven to arms—to whose rescue you pretended to be preparing to rush—as to the unfortunate Spaniards, those you have abandoned to their fate; and, though the legions of France are pouring down from the summits of the Pyrenees, and spreading, like a torrent, over the plains of Castile, not one bayonet have you sent to succour and support your sinking allies. Tell us not,' they would have added, 'that you are a maritime power, and engage not in continental wars; tell us not that England fights her battles upon the ocean, and mingles not in combats by land; for in this very Spain, in support of these very Spaniards opposed to those very French, we have seen you take the field in all the plenitude of military power; and we have seen you drive back this invader over the mountains from which he came, and restore liberty and independence to Spain. But then you had objects of your own to accomplish—then you had a Bonaparte to dethrone; it was your own battle you fought, and not the battle of Spain: now you have no such inducement to exertion; you know the immeasurable distance between the Napoleon of those days and the Bourbons of this; and, true to your selfish policy and interested principles, you refuse to make an effort which would alone benefit your allies, and meanly content yourself with plundering merchantmen, and conquering sugar islands.' If such reproaches had been addressed to us under such circumstances, I think it would have been difficult indeed to have found a satisfactory reply."

DISSENTERS.—1824.

“It may be necessary for me, after what I have heard to-night, to disclaim all hostility to dissenters. I am not of those who wish to see political distinctions established between religious sects, as I have often proved by my votes in this House; but, at the same time, I regret to see the increasing number of dissenters. It is my wish that the established church should be the predominant one in this country; for nothing, I am persuaded, can tend more to the general tranquillity and happiness of a people, than a community of sentiment, as far as it can be obtained without intolerance to any party, in matters of religious doctrine. * * * * If we deny to the people the means of attending divine worship, according to the practice of the established church, how can we expect that the members of the establishment will continue to increase? It has been said that this defect ought to be remedied by voluntary subscriptions; and the case of the dissenters has been alluded to in support of the opinions. But there is a difference between the two cases. The dissenters, both rich and poor, are under a necessity of providing themselves with places of worship, for which the state makes no provision; and it is easy for the rich dissenters to make up the sum required. But with the church of England it is the poor alone who feel the want of church accommodation; the rich can purchase pews, and they are always certain of finding sufficient room; but it would be preposterous to say that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their small earnings.”

REASONS FOR JOINING THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION.—1828.

“Much discussion, sir, has arisen to-night on the subject of the understanding and the guarantees on which my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, my noble friend in the other House, and myself, consented to join the present administration. It has been attempted to be shown that we were not justified, when we agreed to join the government, by sufficient assurances on the part of those from whom the invitation proceeded, that the measures in which we might be called upon to concur, would be such as we could conscientiously support. My right honourable friend, in particular, has just been accused by a noble lord (Morpeth), of abandoning what he calls the party of the late Mr. Canning, in order to take office with an administration, some of the members of which are stated to have been hostile and strongly opposed to the measures which have been introduced by my right honourable friend. It is objected to us, that we neglected to make those stipulations upon which the country had a right to expect that we should insist; but, on the occasion to which allusion has so repeatedly been made, no such stipulations could, for a moment, have been proposed; nor, if proposed on the one side, would they have been for a moment entertained on the other. But what my right honourable friend says, amounts in effect to this—he tells you that we felt it our duty to parliament and to the public, to ascertain, by the most direct course of proceeding, and with the most explicit request for full explanations, what were the opinions, and what the intentions of those individuals whom we were thus called on to join before we agreed to become members of the new government, then about to be formed.

“When application in the first instance was made to myself, the only answer which I felt I could give to an application thus general in its nature was, that I should wish to know, at the outset, of what persons the government was to consist of which I was invited to become a member. But when I found, sir, that my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, was proposed to be continued in his office—an office in which he had already given much satisfaction—that it was wished my noble friend, Earl Dudley, should continue to superintend our foreign relations; and that my right honourable friend, the President of the Board of

Trade, was still to retain the direction of our commercial system, I felt it assuredly unnecessary to ask for regulations with respect to the policy or the principles on which those individuals would act. The confidence, therefore, I felt in joining the government, was founded upon the conviction that all the public principles on which I would propose to act would be embodied in these measures; and I wanted no other pledge, and would require no other test of the sincerity of the Duke of Wellington's declared intentions to persevere in these measures, than what I found in the fact of the continuance in office of these distinguished individuals; and when it is stated by my noble friend on the other side, that my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, has embraced power in conjunction with those who were opposed to Mr. Canning, why, sir, from the mouth of the right honourable the Master of the Mint, do I draw a refutation, and a triumphant refutation, of the charge. What is the amount of that full explanation the Master of the Mint has given? Why, sir, that for one year and a-half he had supported the policy of Mr. Canning. Now, under what administration, I ask, was the support of the right honourable gentleman rendered? Why, sir, unfortunately for us all, my lamented friend, Mr. Canning, did not sway the powers of the government over which he presided more than a year and a-half altogether. No longer period elapsed between his appointment as Prime Minister, upon the retirement of the Earl of Liverpool, and his own death. I contend, then, that there has been no abandonment of principle or political consistency, either on the part of my right honourable friend or myself, in joining the present administration; nor has there been any such abandonment, either on the part of the noble head of that government, the Duke of Wellington, or of my noble friend Earl Dudley, because we were not called upon to depart from any principles on which we had already acted, and to which we were already pledged. All we could require from the noble duke and his colleagues was, that we should continue to act on those principles which we had formerly advocated under another ministry; and to support those measures, in the preparation of which we had been partakers. So much then, sir, for what regards our consistency in respect of our general public principles—in respect I mean, first, of our foreign relations, and, secondly, of our commercial policy." It will be seen that this defence is complete, and that Lord Palmerston resigned office rather than sacrifice his opinions.

THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.—1828.

"I can very sincerely assure the House that, at this period of the night, and at this stage of the present debate, it is not my intention to detain them more than a very few minutes. I do declare to the House, that I am really most anxious to be permitted to state, however shortly, the ground of the vote which I shall this night feel bound to give; and I am the more desirous of doing this as that vote will be adverse to the motion of the noble lord (Russell). I am still further anxious to do so; for I should be extremely sorry, indeed, were the considerations which influence my intended vote, for a moment misconstrued into acknowledging myself favourable to a continuance of the laws now under consideration. I beg most distinctly to declare that I am a warm and zealous friend to the principles of religious liberty; that I am as strenuous a partisan of religious freedom as the noble lord himself, or any other honourable member of this House. I concur with him, as far as he or any other man can wish, that restraints upon the consciences of men can never be advantageous. No good, no public benefit can arise from them; much evil may possibly ensue from their operation. They convert into hypocrites men who would otherwise have been honest. They sow the spirit of disaffection amongst men who would otherwise have been loyal. They proceed upon a principle the most fallacious that can be conceived—namely, that of assuming that particular religious opinions necessarily indicate the existence, in the same individual, of peculiar political opinions; for it is not for a moment contended that these restraints were imposed for the purpose of putting down

religious sentiments of a peculiar character. No such thing: it is fully understood that they were imposed for the purpose of guarding against political acts, which were expected to proceed from political opinions, attributed to those who held religious tenets like theirs against whom these statutes had been directed.

"Now, sir, I fully agree with those who think that, in their operation—if they were in operation at all—they must prove nugatory for the object of their framers, and most unjust as respects those against whose consciences they were directed. If we refer to times of internal dissension, when breaches of law were frequent, and even treason did not fear to show itself, I am perfectly ready to admit—and I take much pleasure in referring to the fact—that the dissenters were not open to any accusation; and, as a sincere though humble advocate of religious freedom, I take leave to say that no particular set of theological opinions has been found to distinguish those who have ranged themselves against the existing government, and the preservation of social order. It is asked, do these precautionary tests afford a sufficient guarantee for the interest of the established church? I think they do not; in that point of view I attach no interest or importance to them. In my humble opinion, no rational man can set the slightest value on them for such a purpose. The safety of the church depends upon the number and character of those who are included within its pale—depends upon its doctrines, its opinions, and its practical morality. But when it seeks to sustain its existence (and I deny that its friends in the present case propose to do so) by means of imposing upon others tests contrary to their consciences, it only moves into activity that principle of human nature which makes men instinctively revolt from any shackles upon the freedom of thought—which makes them hold, with increased tenacity, those very opinions which persecution would in vain seek to eradicate. Now, sir, I think that in the present day the established church of this country derives no advantages from such safeguards, if safeguards they at all can be considered. In these times, the safety of the established church is founded upon the piety and learning of its prelates and clergy; and still more upon their practical morality. Its safety is in these times insured, not by the pains and disabilities imposed upon other denominations of Christians, but by the reverence which it has inspired, and continues to inspire, among the bulk of the people. So long as that freely is acknowledged, that learning pre-eminent, that morality spotless, and that general reverence unabated, it may disdain any attempt at external hostility. If, then, I consider these laws unjust in the abstract—if I think them inefficient even now—if I disregard them as securities to the established church—it will naturally be asked on what grounds I propose to justify voting against the motion of the noble lord? Now, sir, I must, in the first place, be permitted to say, that in spite of the refined legal arguments this night so ingeniously placed before the House—in spite of all the hypothetical cases suggested with such ingenuity, I must contend those acts have been, to all intents and purposes, practically repealed. It is utterly vain to deny that they have been virtually suspended, and that there is not now, and that there has not been for years, the slightest possible grievance affecting the dissenters. It must be fully in the recollection of this House, that there are two great classes in this country who complain of labouring under religious disabilities. I mean the Catholics and the dissenters. Now, I am unwilling that the jealousy of the latter should be excited towards the former. I am unwilling that the lesser evil should be removed before the greater becomes the object of legislative interference. I wish to bring the one up to the level of the other; or, rather, I do not wish to be guilty of the partiality of relieving the dissenter from that which is merely nominal, while the Catholic labours under real and substantial disabilities, and has, in fact, great grievances to complain of. It is upon these grounds, sir, that I am unwilling to accede to the motion of the noble lord. Just as the measure may be in the abstract, expedient as it may be under any circumstances, and indifferent as it may be to the interest of the established church, I am unwilling I say, sir, to be so unjust towards the Catholics, as to remove from others, or mitigate, I might

say, an imaginary grievance, while real inflictions press upon them. While their fetters yet remain to be struck off, I can never consent to the demands of the dissenters."

SECESSION FROM THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION.—1828.

"It may be thought presumption in so humble an individual as myself to imagine it of importance to any one in this House, or elsewhere, to know what were the grounds upon which I either accepted office, or retired from it; but it will be a satisfaction to set myself right with the public on this, to me, interesting subject; and it is a satisfaction which I cannot deny myself. My main reason, then, for joining the government formed by the noble duke in January last, was confidence in my right honourable friend, Mr. Huskisson. I have strong and decided opinions on some general principles of government. To the greater part of these principles my right honourable friend is pledged; upon them his high reputation has been founded, and by them he must abide. I felt, therefore, that so long as my right honourable friend was a member of the government, I had a security that I should never be placed in the embarrassing situation of having singly to withdraw myself from the councils of his majesty, or of being obliged to give my assent to measures of which I could not approve. I had not the presumption to think that I could have sufficient weight of myself to give effect to opinions I might entertain; but I knew that I should be secure so long as my right honourable friend continued to be a member of the government to which I belonged. Such being the ground on which I joined the government, the retirement of my right honourable friend from office, under any circumstances, would naturally make me deliberate on the possibility of my remaining a part of the administration; and I could scarcely feel that I could do so with comfort and satisfaction to myself. But, sir, in considering the circumstances which attended my right honourable friend's removal from office, they did appear to me to form such strong indications of feelings, and impressions, and opinions in the cabinet, different from those which I supposed to exist, or which I was disposed to be a party to, that, even if I had no share in the vote out of which those circumstances arose, I could not have reconciled my mind to remain a part of the government after my right honourable friend had been removed from it in the manner he had been. Sir, I must say that there is a striking contrast between the manner in which my right honourable friend has been recently treated, and the manner in which he was treated in January last. In January the greatest importance was attached to the accession of my right honourable friend to the government then forming. At that period there seemed no indisposition to receive or to give explanations; there was no difficulty in coming to mutual understandings; but now the explanations offered on one side, so far from being met by similar explanations on the other, were not even noticed, and all the attempts made to come to a satisfactory understanding seemed only to confirm this original misunderstanding. I could not look upon this great change without supposing that it proceeded from some cause or other. It was impossible for me not to feel that there was a diminished confidence in my right honourable friend on the part of the noble duke at the head of the government. It was also impossible for me not to feel that that diminished confidence was not the result of the public conduct of my right honourable friend. He was not less able than when his accession was sought for; nor did he possess, in a less degree, the confidence of the House or the public. When I saw this—I am speaking of my own impressions—when I saw this change of sentiment towards my right honourable friend, and saw him removed from his majesty's service, I felt that it was high time for me also to withdraw. It was impossible I could longer remain a member of the government which seemed opposed to the principles I was inclined to act upon. This impression that I have spoken of was not, however, mine alone. I appeal to those who have opportunities of knowing what is passing in this great town, whether the streets of the

metropolis have not been alive with persons running about in the ecstasy of exultation, congratulating each other upon the changes which have taken place in men, and those which they expect in measures. I appeal to any gentleman in this House, to say whether the language of those to whom I have alluded does not prove my assertion that my impression is that of others. The persons who have held this language are the avowed friends, supporters, and well-wishers, if not the actual organs and advisers of the present government. What are we to conclude, then, when we hear of these persons talking of 'cleaning the Augean stable;' of 'expelling traitors from the camp;' and 'turning out Liberals whom it might be useful to take in just at first, and whom it might be convenient to retain if they became docile and tractable?' When we hear such language as this from those who can have no wish or desire to misrepresent the sentiments of those they support, can I be wrong in saying that that impression was not confined to me? It is clear that these persons, whose language I have repeated, have the same impression as myself; and they speak with open heart; for they can have no disposition to impute to the government anything which they would think likely to throw any discredit on it. All they have said has been matter of boast, and it is an inclination not to be doubted."

EAST RETFORD DISFRANCHISEMENT.—1828.

"I am anxious to express my desire that the franchise should be extended to a great town, not because I am a friend to reform in principle, but because I am its decided enemy. I think that extending the franchise to large towns, on such occasions as the one in question, is the only mode by which the House can avoid the adoption, at some time or other, of a general plan of reform. The practical evil which results from large manufacturing interests not being represented, is that which we have so frequently to observe in the disturbed state of the manufacturing towns. It is my opinion that the disturbances which, on many occasions, have agitated these great commercial districts, would have been prevented had such places possessed a legitimate organ for the expression of their opinion. In my view of the matter, there are a great number of well-disposed and well-intentioned persons who are advocates of reform because they see the glaring inconsistency and absurdity of the fact, that such a place as Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester, with a large population, is unrepresented, while a green mound of earth sends two members to this House. I admit that it is better to submit to this inconsistency than to allow of the introduction of general reform; but then I also say, let us take advantage of the other occasions that may present themselves; and when we are called to legislate on the delinquency of a borough, let us gradually remedy the existing corruption. The question is, what are we to do with the bill in its present state? Now I object to it as it stands; but I can conceive of a case in which I would vote for the bill. It is too late, however, for the bill to pass this session. If it went up to the Lords, there would not remain sufficient time to enable them to dispose of it. Our agreeing to the passing of this bill, would not therefore be attended with any practical benefit. Thus, to open the franchise to the neighbourhood, is not the kind of transfer that I wish for. Instead of punishing those who have pursued a course of corruption, it will tend to sanction them in that course. Under these circumstances I shall vote for the amendment, rather than sanction a principle to which I cannot agree."

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—1829.

"My first objection to the present measure is, that it is unnecessary, considering the course which we are now going to pursue; and my next objection is, that if we do not follow that course, it is perfectly ineffectual, for there is not an act of parliament consistent with the spirit of the English constitution, which can put down the Catholic Association, except emancipation. Put down the Catholic

Association! You may as well talk of putting down the winds of heaven, or chaining the ceaseless tides of the ocean. The Catholic Association has been spoken of to-night as if it were a corporeal being, capable of being grasped by the arm of the law. This is folly, for the Catholic Association is the people of Ireland. Its spirit is caused by the grievances of the nation; and its seat is the bosom of 7,000,000 of the population. It is therefore idle to talk of putting down the Catholic Association, except by removing the causes to which the Catholic Association owes its existence. But as I am well aware that the opinions of many persons are to be consulted on this question, I am willing, if the granting of this bill is likely to make them converts to the cause of liberality, to make a sacrifice of principle for so material an advantage. I must, however, repeat again that I do not like the grant of such a boon as Catholic emancipation to be accompanied by such an ungracious measure as the present. We have often heard of the policy of providing a bridge of gold for our enemies; but in this case we are providing a bridge of iron for our friends. I could wish it to have been otherwise; but as that cannot be, I will assist in establishing the bridge of iron, rather than go without a bridge at all."

DEFENCE OF MR. PEEL.—1829.

"My right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, has been taunted with the inconsistency which appears between his past and present conduct. As to the taunts which have been cast upon him by a party which is not only stung by disappointment that this measure is granted, but which is also stung by disappointment that he will not lend himself to the furtherance of their purposes, I trust that my right honourable friend will treat it with the disdain it merits. Gentlemen may say no, but I say yes. What I have said I have said on deliberation. I say that there is a party in this country, if not in this House, which is stung with disappointment that my right honourable friend, instead of lending himself to the furtherance of their purposes, has lent himself to the great purpose of pacifying contending factions. I think that my right honourable friend has acted in a direct, manly, and honourable manner. When once he came to a conviction that the dangers of further resistance were greater than those contingent on a settlement of this question, he pursued a manly course in recommending to parliament to settle it; and I am of opinion, that when my right honourable friend, at the close of his valuable life, shall review the great benefits which it has been his good fortune to confer on his country, he will fix upon his conduct upon this question as the greatest and most glorious portion of his career. It would be, sir, perhaps, unbecoming were I, on the present occasion, to mix up party feelings in exultation at the progress of this question; but I must be permitted to say, that those who have laboured for a long course of years in forwarding this great cause—who have fearlessly encountered public obloquy, and incurred private inconvenience—who have often risked the favour of their constituents, whose confidence they valued as their highest possession—to them, surely, it must be a matter of just exultation to find that, at this hour, their opinions are admitted as just, and their constancy in maintaining them honest and praiseworthy. Whatever obloquy or privation such men have endured, they will at least feel that the anxious hours they have devoted to the support of the claims of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, have been the best spent in their lives, and their exertions in that great cause the best accounts they will have to render of the manner in which they have employed the brilliant faculties conferred upon them by Providence for the good of their country.

"To make it a reproach, then, to public men that they have changed opinions on such a subject, and that too in a popular assembly, is, indeed, very strange to me. In the name of common sense, I ask, for what purpose does this House sit? Of what use is it that great men appear among us to pour forth those rich stores from the fountains of their illumination—to unlock their mighty minds, and to

develop the treasures of their genius? Of what use, I say, are those rich and splendid exhibitions of human talents, save to open our minds to true conclusions, and, amid contending and conflicting opinions, to enable us to convince each other of what is right?

“At least, among the charges brought against the government, it cannot be fairly said that they have yielded precipitately—that they have taken up this subject, as a parliamentary measure, before a grave and serious necessity has compelled them. And in their justification, if they need any, I will say, without the least fear of contradiction from any man acquainted with the result of the last six months in Ireland, that that country was, from day to day, on the verge of civil war, which nothing, in fact, would have prevented but the immediate presence of a large regular army; and that even that would not have been done, were it not for the co-operation and aid of the wisdom and temperance of the noble marquis, who was lately at the head of the Irish government. When the whole country was precipitating itself into the gulf of civil commotion—when the population of Ireland was divided into two exasperated parties, there being, from one end to the other, not one spot of neutral ground—when the bonds of society were broken asunder, and when a chance spark might have burst into a general and all-consuming conflagration—when these unerring symptoms became too palpable to be mistaken, was it, I ask, extraordinary to see the government abandon long-indulged opinions, from a conviction that the danger could no longer be averted, and that the day had at length arrived when they were bound to call on parliament to grant peace to the empire by the settlement of the great national question?”

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE IRISH FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS.—1829.

“I thought we were told that these measures were to be proposed in a spirit of peace. I must, however, say the bill seems to me to be proposed more in the spirit of punishment than of peace. If the freeholders of Ireland had steeped themselves in corruption like the voters of Penryn—if their delinquency had been equally notorious, it is not for me to say how parliament might have dealt with their rights. But these men have shown themselves to be independent and honest; they have ventured to defy the dictates of those in power over them; they have dared the threat of ruin; they have ventured boldly to treat with contempt the mandates of those landlords on whose breath it was supposed their very existence depended. And, sir, for that which was a noble devotion to a cause which we ourselves have now pronounced to be just, are we about to visit them with the same measure of justice which we were about to award to those who were guilty of the most profligate abuse of their rights.

“The only intelligible reason for the bill is, that the persons on whom it is intended to operate are Catholics, and are likely to be influenced by their priests. If so, the House will be doing the very thing my right honourable friend stated he wished to avoid; and it will not be giving an equality of political rights, and an abolition of civil disabilities. It may be said, however, that the disfranchisement is not confined to the Catholics, but extended to the Protestants. In the first place, I do not consider it any consolation to the Catholics that the skirt of the storm which swept them away, passed over the Protestants. I contend that they are not placed on an equal footing with the freeholders of Great Britain, mainly because there is a difference in their religious opinions. Therefore these measures will leave the Catholic question behind them, and parliament, in passing them, will be defeating its own ends. Some persons assert that the effect of raising the franchise will be to improve the morals of the freeholders of Ireland; but I cannot avoid distrusting the moralist who begins his system by committing a flagrant act of injustice. It is said that frauds and perjury are now daily practised; and if they do prevail I should be happy to concur in any measure to lessen their prevalence. Fraud and perjury are unquestionably an injury to the honest *bonâ fide* freeholder; but it is most unjust to make the existence of one injury the reason

for inflicting another. Is it anything like justice to take this short and sweeping method of extinguishing rights, because parliament does not choose to apply a specific remedy to a partial abuse? It is to be observed, also, that there is no charge against the honest *bonâ fide* freeholder; but that he has acted independently, and according to the dictates of his best and surest guide, his conscience.

“It has been argued that parliament must step in to prevent landowners from cutting up their property into small freeholds. This course may be very kind, paternal, and considerate; but I think it a very unnecessary, if not an officious, interference. There is a government in Europe, which I will not name, not supposed to be much interested in the welfare of its subjects; and where they are dealt with rather upon the principle of predestination than of free-will. I am unwilling to take a leaf out of the book of that government; and, for that reason, I am desirous that the landlords of Ireland should be allowed to take care of their own interest. If they choose to be so foolish as to ruin their own estates for the sake of obtaining political influence, that is no reason why parliament should be called upon to interpose. But the statement on which the bill is founded, is not borne out by facts. I do not believe that landlords generally have divided their estates for that purpose; and it is to be recollected, that the registry of a freehold is no proof of a creation at the time of registration. The objectionable practice may have prevailed among a few landlords; but they are the exceptions, and not the rule: on the contrary, as has been well stated by my noble friend, who has shown himself so well acquainted with the situation of Ireland, where he has spent so much of his time, and has proved himself so good a landlord—the tendency of landlords is rather another way. A system has been carried on for thinning the population; whole families have been removed from estates without considering the miseries and distresses to which they were thereby exposed. It has been said, as an excuse for this bill, that it will create for Ireland a substantial yeomanry. The gentlemen who use this argument are not able to wait for the regular progress of society towards improvement, but they must hasten the consummation by a special enactment. What is to be done? And, when it is done, what will be gained? An Irish ten-pound householder. And is he to be compared with the substantial freeholder of England? As if all this machinery would manufacture yeomanry at once. Ere long, the ten-pound franchise will be found too light; then it must be raised to twenty pounds; and when that proves insufficient, where is it to stop? I apprehend that a great mistake is prevalent in this country as to the subdivision of property in Ireland—its causes and consequences. I maintain, with my right honourable friend, that it does not arise from the election laws, but that it proceeds from the state of society; and the truth of this position is demonstrated by the fact, that, in the land belonging to church corporations, where no vote can by possibility be created, the holdings are as much subdivided as the estates of the most aspiring political landlords. The distribution of property must, more or less, affect the size of the holdings. In an agricultural district, where large capitals are afloat, large farms will exist; but in a country like Ireland, the farmers are possessed of little capital; they exist by manual labour: and it is idle to expect, by an arbitrary enactment, to accelerate the consolidation of farmers.”

IMPORTANCE OF PORTUGAL TO ENGLAND.—1829.

“It has been the opinion of the ablest statesmen, that it is important to the security of England that the Tagus should be in the hands of a friendly power. It has been thought, by the most competent judges, that, with Gibraltar our own, and with an ally at Lisbon, we might face the combined hostility of France and Spain, should we ever be expected to meet it, if not without effort, at least without alarm. This opinion, too, has not been confined to our ablest statesmen; it was shared by our ablest enemy—I mean Napoleon Bonaparte. It has, also, been the opinion of the wisest statesmen of Portugal, that the best security for Portuguese

independence was to be found in the selfish interests of England; and that, as it was worth while for England, for her own sake, to make great efforts to prevent Portugal from being annexed to Spain, England, therefore, was to be the most sincere and trusty ally to whom, in the hour of need, Portugal could turn for assistance. These reciprocal interests engendered connexion and alliance; mutual usefulness led to good offices on the one side, and to confidence on the other; treaties imposed obligations, and conferred corresponding rights; and hence it is that Portugal has always solicited and received the advice of England as that of a friend whose interests were identified with her own; and hence it is, also, that England has been permitted to exercise an interference, and to possess an influence in the councils of Portugal, which did not naturally belong to her as regards an independent state. For proof of these assertions I would refer the House to the treaties of Charles I., of Cromwell, and of Charles II.; to the war of succession; to transactions of the eighteenth century; to the wars and treaties of the century in which we live: from all of which it will be seen, that it has been the practice and conceded privilege of England to concern herself in a peculiar manner in the affairs and destiny of Portugal. But those who contend that it is the duty, and has been the practice, of England to withdraw herself entirely from all interference in the internal affairs of Portugal, and to stand aloof a passive spectator of what then might happen, have they forgotten the transactions of even the last few years? Have they forgotten our active and successful interference in 1807, to prevail upon the royal family of Portugal to traverse the Atlantic, and transplant their royal stock to the South American dominions? Have they forgotten the spirited interference, in 1824, of our then ambassador, Sir Edward Thornton, against the proceedings of the Portuguese government towards its own subjects—an interference which was attended with complete success? Have they forgotten that, by the urgent advice of the same ambassador, the seat of the Portuguese government was transferred to a British line-of-battle ship; and that on the quarter-deck of an English man-of-war, with our hardy soldiers as his pages in waiting, and our menacing guns as his guard of honour, the King of Portugal received the homage of his subjects on the celebration of his birthday; and from that self-same palace of council, issued a proclamation to his people, and gave out his decrees; banishing the queen from the Court, depriving Don Miguel of his command, and ordering him to absent himself from Portugal? But all this, I suppose, was no interference in the internal affairs of Portugal. Invert the case—put London for Lisbon, the Thames for the Tagus; and then let me ask you if this is interference or not? I pass by the bringing over the constitution of 1826 from Brazil to Lisbon; because, although that circumstance was considered, by many of the Portuguese (unfortunately, as it has since turned out, by them so considered), as an indication that the British government had interfered to procure for them the advantages of that constitution, yet, it is well known, as has just been stated by my right honourable friend, the member for Liverpool, that the selection of Sir Charles Stuart to bring over that charter, was the accidental choice of the emperor, Don Pedro, himself; and that the Portuguese nation were indebted for that gift so valuable, if they had known how to prize it and preserve it, solely and entirely to the spontaneous liberality and uncounselled wisdom of that enlightened sovereign. But have we forgot the active and successful interference of England to bring about a separation of the crowns of Portugal and Brazil, and to obtain the abdication of the crown of Portugal in favour of Donna Maria—an interference founded upon a just regard for the interests of England? We should, indeed, do well if we could forget this interference, since we have been so backward to make any the slightest exertion to recover for Donna Maria that crown which, in accordance with our advice, her father had placed upon her head.”

TURKEY AND GREECE.—1830.

“Sir, I object to the policy of making the integrity of the Turkish dominions

in Europe an object essentially necessary to the interests of Christian and civilised Europe. I do not wish to see Turkey garrisoned by Russians, nor the Russian frontier extended in that line. Indeed, such an extension would not be for the interest of Russia herself; and I am sure that it would not be for the interest of the rest of Europe. But I ask, Was there no alternative between putting Russia into possession of Turkey, and the cessation of the existence of Turkey as a European power? I must conclude, sir, from what has occurred, that the Russian war has not ended satisfactorily to our government. We had two courses to pursue; one was evidently out of the question: but if we had not assisted Turkey openly, we might, by inducing her to make timely concessions to just demands, have prevented the occurrence of war. Sir, I am decidedly of opinion that the government should have used all means to induce Turkey to avoid a contest which must finally end in her humiliation. * * * * It is, sir, most important to Great Britain, in the settlement of Greece, that the new state should be decidedly able to maintain itself, and that it should not, by a crooked course of policy, be driven into the arms of that power which, since the termination of the war with Turkey, might turn her ambitious views towards that quarter. It is, sir, the interest of Great Britain to give Greece the means of keeping up her establishments, and to prevent her from becoming the victim of military coercion. In settling the limits of that state, it is a matter of little importance to Turkey, in her present condition, whether this or that island or valley be taken from her, and assigned to Greece. But it is of importance to Europe that the new state should be capable of maintaining itself in an independent situation, as it would exist otherwise under the dread, daily and hourly, of attacks from Candia and other islands left to the Turks. Considering the spirit which the termination of the war must have infused into them, the character of the Greek power should be not merely sufficient to raise a revenue, but to protect its territories from the reaction of Turkish hostility."

INTERFERENCE IN BELGIUM.—1831.

"The honourable member, Mr. Hume, accuses us of reviving the doctrines of the holy alliance, and departing from our pledges of non-interference. I totally deny that charge; and contend that there is nothing in my view of the proceedings which can, in the slightest degree, warrant it. The honourable member must have been strangely confused in his mind when he said the external limits of a country were a matter connected with its internal affairs. Sir, if any two things are more distinct from another it is those two. But let us see what is the right which this country, or the other powers of Europe, have to intermeddle, as he calls it, in the affairs of Belgium. I will tell him; and it is the only title by which we are called on to interfere. Belgium, in the history of modern times, never was an independent state; it was first Spanish, then Austrian, then French; and, finally, was conquered from France by the united efforts of Europe, when all Europe differed with Bonaparte as to what should be the limits of his empire. He happened to think that the fit limits were the confines of Europe and Asia; the other powers thought it would be more convenient that they should be nearer to France: the result of that difference of opinion was that Belgium was separated from France. The natural course would have been for Austria, the last preceding master, again to enter into possession; but Austria surrendering the right she might have set up, the powers of Europe, including France herself, by treaty, united Belgium to Holland—not for the purpose of advantage to Holland, or as a favour to the King of the Netherlands, but as that disposition of Belgium which it was thought would be most conducive to the security and peace of Europe. Events have occurred which rendered that union no longer possible. The powers, parties to the treaty by which the union was established, had a right to concern themselves with the separation of the two countries. They were not to concern themselves with the question, whether Belgium, having now

her freedom, with her arms, should, or should not, be again subject to Holland; and no such interference took place. Neither were they to concern themselves with the internal government of Belgium; and, accordingly, there has been no interference with its internal government. I say, sir, that the other powers of Europe have a right to look narrowly at proceedings in which their own interests are so nearly connected; they have a right to say to Belgium—‘You never have been an independent state—never have had a national king; you have been the servants of one master after another; you have no right to deprive Holland of her ancient boundaries; you have no right to convert yourselves into aggressors, and claim that which belongs of right to another.’ Holland is a state whose existence is known to the world. Holland is a state which the powers of England and Europe have united to maintain. Holland is a state whose independence and integrity concern the welfare of other countries. We have a right to say to Belgium—‘You are a legislature of yesterday; your independence has hardly been established; and you have no right to claim as yours that which of right belongs to another.’ I say, therefore, that the powers of Europe, and England especially, have not only a right, but, in my opinion, are bound to see that by no separation between Belgium and Holland shall the ancient territories of Holland be prejudiced.”

NECESSITY OF A LARGE MEASURE OF REFORM.—1831.

“The course which, in 1828, lay before parliament was simple and easy. They had only to transfer the franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption, and thus to connect with this House, gradually and as occasion required, the great manufacturing towns. The course in 1831 is, however, far different; and it has now become necessary for the government to take into consideration the whole system of parliamentary representation, and to propose to this House an extensive and effectual plan of improvements. Our constitution has grown up piecemeal, and by changes wrought gradually, and from time to time, in the frame and texture of our institutions; and it may, perhaps, be thought by some that it would have been better piecemeal, and from time to time, to have made the necessary reparations. This was possible in 1828; in 1831 it has ceased to be so.

“His majesty’s government, in framing the plan which they have proposed to parliament, have cast aside every consideration but an honest performance of their duty and the permanent good of their country. They have not set their nets to catch particular parties—they have not laid traps for particular interests—they have fixed their eyes on their object, and have advanced to it steadily and straightforward.

“By those who are wedded to abuses, and who on principle are hostile to improvement, our plan may be denounced as revolution; by those who wish to overthrow all existing institutions, and to erect on their ruins a system by which they might be rulers, it may perhaps be stigmatised as insufficient and delusive; but by those in whose minds party prejudice has not dethroned reason, who look only to their country’s good, and who admit the great truth that timely correction and improvement are the conservative principles of free institutions, our plan will appear, as it does to us, well calculated to bring back the practice of the constitution to the original principles upon which it is founded, to consolidate the fabric, and give it new consistency and strength.

“Any one who looks at the constitution of the representation of this House, cannot fail to be struck by five prominent defects—the nomination boroughs, or the system by which an individual exercises an undue influence in the elections; the gross, general, and barefaced corruption which prevails, not only in small, but also in large places; the want of members for some of the greatest and most important manufacturing towns; the expenses of elections; and the unequal distribution among different classes of society of that power which results from the exercise of the elective franchise.

“To all these defects the plan before the House applies sound and wholesome

remedies; and I am convinced that, if calmly and dispassionately examined, there is not an evil they generate which it will not prevent the continuance of. It is impossible for any man to say that the existence of nomination boroughs is consistent with the theory of the constitution, according to which honourable members sit in this House as the representatives of the people of England. I do not deny that some of these boroughs have afforded an entrance within these walls to persons of splendid capacity and great talents, who have done good service to their country, and who might not otherwise have been able, constituted as parliament now is, to have obtained access to this House. I am well aware, too, that popular rights have not always been sacrificed by those in whose election the popular voice has had no share; and that among the most illustrious champions of constitutional principles have been many of those who have owed their seats in this House to the discriminating kindness of some of these borough proprietors. But though I admit the force of the argument drawn from these facts, yet, when I find how impossible it is to maintain in argument the practice of such nominations as consistent with the theory of a representative government, I am compelled to declare that no plan of reform can be perfect or effective which is not founded upon the disfranchisement of those boroughs. Without this disfranchisement, indeed, it would be impossible to carry the plan of reform into effect; for else how are we to provide for the great commercial and manufacturing towns those representatives which all now admit it is necessary to concede to them? This House is already sufficiently numerous, perhaps too numerous, for the convenient despatch of public business; and unless we take from the closed boroughs the members which we are about to bestow on the counties and the large representative towns, we must add to the evil which is felt and acknowledged."

DISFRANCHISEMENT AND THE REFORM BILL.—1832.

"It has been contended that the amendment on which the division was against ministers, was an amendment of no importance, and that they might have continued in office, notwithstanding their defeat. Now, those who use such an argument must either be children themselves, or fancy they are addressing themselves to children. What was the amendment in question? Was it a matter of mere legislative pedantry? If it were so, I would ask them why did the movers of it so pertinaciously insist on carrying it? They state that it was a matter of indifference, and of not the least consequence. Now, if it were of importance to ministers, though of no importance to the movers, was it possible for ministers, after a defeat upon it, to imagine that they possessed the confidence of the House of Lords; or, not possessing that confidence, to discharge their functions honourably to themselves, and beneficially to their country? But the proposition embraced in that amendment contained a principle essential to the bill. The proposition amounted, in plain words, to this—'We will not affirm disfranchisement as a principle; we will not even affirm the amount of disfranchisement to which we will subject the boroughs which now return representatives to the House of Commons. No; we will first affirm enfranchisement.' And, in the name of goodness, why? 'Because we may find much less disfranchisement necessary than that proposed in the bill.' There is, therefore, a principle of great importance involved in the success of the amendment; indeed, no less a principle than that of disfranchisement, which is the chief and leading principle of the bill. Now, to whatever other alterations ministers might have submitted, it is quite clear that to no alteration of that principle could we in any degree consent. They were, therefore, compelled to apply to his majesty for the means necessary to carry the principle of the bill, and, on failing to obtain them, to retire immediately from his service.

* * * We have been told that ministers were guilty of a violation of the constitution, because we endeavoured to increase the number of the House of Lords. Now, to that charge I plead not guilty. I deny the position of the honourable and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Sugden) in toto; and, in denying

it, I am not afraid to acknowledge that I am joined with my colleagues in giving that advice which the honourable and learned gentleman denounces as unconstitutional. The creation of a peer is, I admit, a measure which only extreme circumstances can justify. But that those extreme circumstances have arisen, who can deny? Ministers have found themselves, in the House of Lords, in circumstances which rendered it impossible for them to hope that they could remain masters of their own measures."

THE GERMANIC DIET AND PEOPLE.—1832.

"I can also assure the honourable gentleman (Mr. H. Bulwer), that even without such an address as that which he has proposed, the advisers of his majesty will deem it their duty to keep their attention fixed on those circumstances which are now taking place on the continent of Europe, never, I trust, under-valuing the deep importance of those circumstances with reference to this country; because, let persons recommend as much as they will the propriety of England withdrawing herself from all political connexion with the rest of the world, my opinion is, that as long as our commerce is of importance to us; as long as continental armies are in existence; as long as it is possible that an overgrown power in one quarter may become dangerous to a power in another, so long must England look with interest on the transactions of the continent; and so long is it proper for this country, in the maintenance of its own independence, not to shut its eyes to anything that threatens the independence of Germany. But, sir, I cannot bring myself to believe that any one administering the affairs of a great country, can take so erroneous a view of its own interests, or of the interests of society, as to wish to deprive these independent states of those constitutional rights which are such a blessing. I cannot believe that such a wish exists where there is a power to carry it into effect; or even, if such a wish did exist, I cannot believe that those who have the desire, deem it possible for them, in the present state of the world, to carry it into execution. I cannot believe that they can think it practicable, by mere military force, to deprive millions of men of those constitutional privileges which have been formally conceded to them. To believe those things would be to impute to them a want of knowledge and judgment under which it is impossible to suppose these persons to labour, whose extensive experience must have led them to come to a far different conclusion. I am, therefore, convinced that the intention of these resolutions (however calculated they may be to excite alarm) was merely to guard against those local dangers, the existence of which it is impossible to deny, though I think their magnitude and importance have been greatly exaggerated. Under these circumstances, when the contemplated purpose of guarding against these local dangers is accomplished, I cannot but believe that those governments, on whose decision may depend, not only the fate of Germany, but the peace of Europe, will have sufficient wisdom to abstain from pursuing the matter to further extremities, and will foresee those perils which their moderation and forbearance may prevent. I cannot but believe that, while on the one hand the violent party, which is but small, will abstain from exciting further alarm, so, on the other hand, the government will see there can be no advantage in trenching on the right of the constitutional states; but that their own interests, as well as the interests of all Europe, will be best promoted by the preservation of peace."

THE LAW OF EMBARGO.—1833.

"The right honourable baronet, Sir Robert Peel, contends that we have no right to lay an embargo with regard to our foreign relations, except for injuries done to our own subjects, or in contemplation of acts of hostility. He then says it is not justifiable to lay an embargo in favour of third parties. I deny that we have laid such an embargo at all. I say that this embargo was laid strictly in furtherance of our own views, and strictly in maintenance of our own engage-

ments. I should like to know what honourable member will undertake to tell me that the faithful performance of an engagement entered into by the King of England, by a treaty signed and ratified by him, is not a duty connected with the British interest, which he is legally and morally bound to fulfil by every means in his power. I assert, that in the fulfilment of an engagement which without them he is prevented from completing, he has a right to resort to the mediatory course of an embargo. * * * It has been further said, that although a power may have a right to detain ships in their own ports, it does not possess the right of seizing them on the high seas, and carrying them away; and yet, sir, I find that the latter course was adopted in the case of the embargo which was laid on Turkish ships in 1807; in the embargo on Danish vessels in the same year; in the embargo on Russian vessels also at the same period; and in the embargo upon American ships in 1812.

"In all these cases, not only were the ships of the country against whom the embargo was directed, seized, and detained in our ports, but special orders were given to our cruisers to bring in from the high seas all ships under those flags, which they might fall in with. Hostilities followed, but none had commenced at the time. In some cases in which the embargo was laid, war followed; in others it did not. The thing speaks for itself. If you declare war against a country, where is the sense of issuing an embargo?

"After declaring war, you issue letters of marque and reprisal immediately. It seems to me absurd to say that you should declare war one day, and on the next lay an embargo on the ships of the power with whom you are, by your own declaration, at war. * * * To make war complete there must be two parties. America, certainly, had declared war at the time the embargo was laid on, but we did not do so for many weeks afterwards. Again, it is said, 'Issue orders for an embargo, pending negotiations.' Who ever heard of such a thing? Why, sir, what was the ground assigned in our subsequent declaration of war against America? Simply, that whereas the United States of America had declared war, in ignorance of certain concessions made by the English government, we had hoped to prevail on the government of the United States to withdraw that declaration. Was that negotiation? It certainly was something very like it. If it was not, I know not what negotiation is.

"But what did England do on the failure of that negotiation? Why, it was announced, 'that whereas the government of America had not withdrawn its declaration of war, notwithstanding that we had contented ourselves with merely laying on an embargo; therefore war with America must follow:' and the embargo vessels were, therefore, confiscated. The object of this course of proceeding, I submit, is clear. The government of this country did not wish, prematurely, to plunge into war beyond the power of retractation; and therefore they issued an embargo as a precautionary measure. Had the United States met our conciliation by conciliation on her part, the embargo would have been taken off, and there the matter would have ended. I say, therefore, there is nothing incompatible in the issuing an embargo with the carrying on negotiations, but the contrary. I contend that it is the duty of every country, if it be at variance with another power, to mediate in the first instance, especially in a case depending between equal and unequal parties; where the danger is necessarily great on one side, and the triumph comparatively easy on the other. I fully admit that war, in any shape, is to be avoided as long as may be possible; and I hold, that wherever, in place of deciding a dispute by the sword, measures of mediation may attain the object in view, it is the duty of the parties to resort to mediatory measures."

MILITARY FLOGGING.—1833.

"We are told that if this punishment were abolished, men would more freely enter into the ranks, and that we should get a better description of men to enter the service. I never knew that when we required men we failed in getting the

requisite number. I believe it is more the particular circumstances in which a man stands at the moment, that influence his choice of a military life than those complicated considerations of discipline. But, sir, it is said that there are examples to prove that this punishment has very considerably diminished. Cases have been quoted in which officers, in the exercise of their judgment, and by their attentive and discreet mode of commanding their men, have been enabled, for a certain time, to dispense with the infliction of this punishment. Now, in the first place, I ask, Does it follow, that if the power of inflicting this punishment had not existed, they would have been able, for so long a time, to withhold the exercise of it? I must confess I doubt it; but then I say, these cases are exceptions, which, instead of subverting the rule, tend rather to prove it. What is said by those honourable gentlemen who advocate the abolition of this punishment? Why, they tell us that if officers in the army were only to take the trouble to make themselves better acquainted with their men; if they were only disposed to share the same shelter, to rest beneath the same tree, and to bivouac in the same field; if they would partake, with these men, all the inconveniences, all the dangers, and all the difficulties incidental to a military life, they would gain such an ascendancy over their minds, that they would be enabled to govern them by the mere force of moral influence, without any punishment whatever. Why, if we were considering what was to be done with respect to regiments fortunate enough to have such officers as my noble friend near me, or those who have been alluded to, we might, perhaps, be enabled to dispense even with the power of inflicting this punishment. But, sir, we are not now legislating for any particular officer, but for the whole army. We must take the chance of all the different officers, and of the dispositions of the men; and, therefore, I do say it would be a most fatal mistake if we were to be run away with by one or two examples, and to draw from hence the conclusion that the power of inflicting this punishment might be altogether taken away. What was the instance quoted by an honourable gentleman opposite? Why, it appears, that in one particular instance, when it was endeavoured to abolish this punishment, the privates began to knock down the non-commissioned officers like so many nine-pins; and that they were eventually obliged again to resort to corporal punishment. I say, therefore, that neither the example of foreign armies, nor of our own, leads me to suppose that the motion of the honourable member for Middlesex is one which it would be safe to adopt."

PROTECTIVE DUTIES.—1833.

"Now, I do not think that we are entitled to find fault with foreign governments because they are not so enlightened on this subject as we are, nor have adopted a liberal commercial policy, seeing that it is only very recently that we have done so ourselves. At the same time, I have no hesitation in stating, that although I do not think there is any advantage derived to a country from protective or restrictive duties, and though I think that any restriction on commerce is as injurious to the country imposing it as it is to the country against which it is imposed, yet, if any country chooses to enter into a fiscal war with us, and to lay high restrictive duties, either against the produce of our soil, or against the produce of our skill and industry, it may neither be a wise nor a politic thing to try the effects of a retaliatory system, which, though it may be injurious to the other country, may be still more injurious to ourselves. I consider that the effect of these restrictive measures on the part of other countries, cannot be so productive to the commerce of England as, perhaps, many persons imagine. These restrictive measures may prevent other countries from taking our manufactures; but then, if they prevent the introduction of articles of British manufacture, our merchants will not be able to take their produce. These attempts, then, to cripple our commerce must prove injurious to their own if they are effectual; but if they are ineffectual, there is an end to the argument, and we escape the injury attempted to be inflicted on us. If, among foreign governments, there are those

who imagine that they can injure our commerce by exposing it to high duties, still, so long as there are men in this House of high reputation, who sincerely believe that protective duties are of advantage to our own artisans and our own productions, it ought not to be matter of surprise that those governments should adopt their arguments; that they should follow our precepts rather than our practice; and that they should linger on in the old region of error which we ourselves have but recently abandoned. * * * *

“Nothing is more common than to say, ‘Your theories about free trade, and liberal principles of commerce, are all very good applied to a new state, but are impracticable in an artificial state of society like that which prevails in England. It may be all very good in a country not overloaded with debt and taxation to let commerce be carried on at the least possible expense; but if you have a great amount of debt to provide for, and a large sum to raise annually for the payment of the interest of that debt, then the logical inference is, that you must shackle your commerce; you must paralyse your industry; you must cripple your relations with foreign states; and thus, by imposing protective duties on the commodities produced in foreign countries (which duties go as bounties to those who produce the same commodities in your own country), you make everything dearer than its natural prices.’ So, therefore, the argument of the honourable member resolves itself into this—that because you have a great debt to provide for, you must levy upon your people a tax, and a heavy tax too, for everything which they get from foreign countries; or, in other words, you must prevent them from buying as cheap as they can; and, of course, prevent them, in the next place, from selling as cheap as they can. This is a simple explanation of the common doctrine that the principles of free trade may do very well in an infant country, but that they will not do for an old and artificial state like England.”

THE CORN-LAWS.—1834.

“Certainly, if I am to understand this question as leading to the affirmation which the honourable member for Middlesex has omitted in the motion as it now stands, but which was included in the first notice—namely, the establishment of a perfectly free trade in corn, without any duty whatever—to such a proposition I should be decidedly opposed, because I think that such a proposition would be fraught with injustice to the interests of a large and important class of the community, and would not be founded upon the principles of true policy. Taking the motion of the honourable gentleman, as it now stands, merely as being a proposition to go into committee to consider the propriety of diminishing, to a certain extent, the protection now afforded to the agricultural interest, either by reducing the present graduated scale, or by substituting for that scale a fixed duty, I should be disposed to agree with my noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in stating, that upon that question, taken in the abstract, my opinion is not adverse to a diminution of that protection. I think that such a diminution, if it were gradual, and not too great, would not be attended with injury to the agriculturist, on the one hand; but, on the other hand, it would not produce the expected benefit to the manufacturing labourers, because I do not think it would be followed by any considerable diminution of the price of corn. Looking, however, at the circumstances at the present time; seeing that, under the law as it now stands, prices have been low, have been steady; seeing that the commercial and manufacturing interests are thriving, that there is no want of employment for manufacturing labourers, and no want of a market for manufactured produce; seeing, on the other hand (as it is admitted on all sides), that the agricultural interests are suffering under considerable distress, I am decidedly averse to entertaining, at present, such a proposition as that of the honourable member for Middlesex. And I will go further, and say this—that even if I expected that good might ultimately be looked for from the adoption of such a proposition, it would be much better that it should be introduced in the shape of a bill, which would be

tangible, and could be discussed with an immediate result, than to disturb the agricultural and commercial transactions of the country, and to keep the minds of all parties in a state of suspense and anxiety, by entering into an inquiry which would necessarily occupy a considerable portion of time, and might lead to no decision during the present session."

DISSENTERS AND UNIVERSITY DEGREES.—1834.

"Only see the inconsistency to which these honourable gentlemen are reduced! They admit dissenters to sit with us in this House, and to discharge the highest functions of legislation. They admit them, together with members of the church of England, to perform every duty, civil and political, which can be performed in every class and relation of life; and yet they say that dissenters shall not be admitted, in common with the members of the church of England, to those institutions of the country where the best education can be afforded. They, in effect, therefore, say that dissenters may be placed in situations which shall require every degree of political knowledge, and the highest cultivation of the mind, and yet they shall be denied the means to qualify themselves for the discharge of duties which such situations may impose upon them. This does appear to me the grossest absurdity and inconsistency of which public men were ever guilty. In the name of common sense, all those persons who have most properly and most advantageously to their own character, as well as to the country, enabled dissenters to take a share in all the civil duties, and to partake of all the civil rights which the constitution recognises, are bound to give them their support upon the present occasion, if they are prepared to act up to their own principles. I do not value the argument which has been advanced, that this bill will be ineffectual; because I can never bring myself to believe, that if the legislature shall admit the principle that religious dissent shall not form a ground of exclusion from the benefits of a good education to be attained at the universities, however the ministers may, by the strict exercise of their particular privileges, defeat the object of the legislature, that enlightened, intelligent, and honourable men, such as those persons are who are charged with the government of those universities, whatever may be their private opinions, will endeavour, by any new regulations of their own, to defeat that which shall appear to be the deliberative opinion of the legislature of the country."

DEFENCE OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN.—1835.

"The fallacy of the noble lord's (Lord Mahon) speech is this, that he confounds the measure now under consideration—namely, the permission accorded to English subjects to enter into the service of the Queen of Spain—with a measure perfectly distinct in its nature—the sending into Spain of armies under generals obeying foreign sovereigns, and receiving foreign pay, and therefore not under the orders, and not at the disposal, of the government of Spain. When the noble lord quotes opinions of mine, expressed at the time when France was sending an army of nearly 200,000 men to dispose of and remodel the internal government of Spain, and when he founds on them a charge of inconsistency, he should bear in mind that those opinions are not applicable to the present case, from which the case of that former period is totally and entirely distinct. * * * * The noble lord has said that there is no precedent for the course pursued. I will not dispute with the noble lord as to that point. I wish to found the conduct which the British government shall pursue upon the circumstances of the case, and upon the expediency of the time. If the government be wrong in what they have done, twenty precedents in their favour cannot convert that wrong into right. If we are right, as I contend we are, it is indifferent whether we are following a stream of former precedents or boldly establishing a precedent ourselves for times to come. Satisfied I am, that when similar contingencies arise, our example will be followed if we have been right, and abandoned if we have been wrong. I therefore

maintain that the case is not one of precedent, but a question of right or wrong. I hold that we are right; that we are acting in strict pursuance of the true interests of England, and in fulfilment of the treaty by which we are bound; and I maintain, that if we had gone a step further than we have done—if, for instance, France had sent French troops under French generals, and England had sent troops under English generals, on the demand of Spain for assistance—such operations might have rendered fresh articles necessary, in order to regulate their execution; but they would not have been beyond the spirit of the quadruple treaty. A question might have arisen as to whether such a mode of proceeding was expedient or wise; but no question could have arisen as to whether the adoption of it implied the entering into a new course of policy, and a departure from the spirit of the engagements which were contracted twelve months ago, which have been before parliament since that period, and of which parliament has not hitherto expressed any disapprobation. It is an English interest that the cause of the Queen of Spain shall be successful; it is of great importance to this country, that the alliance which has been fortunately cemented between the four powers of the west—England, France, constitutional Spain, and constitutional Portugal—it is, I repeat, of great interest and importance, in the most enlarged views of national policy, that that alliance should continue; and it can only continue by the success of the Queen of Spain. * * * * We know that Europe, since the French revolution of July, has been divided, I will not say into hostile, but into different parties, acting each according to their respective principles; and if those parties have not actually met in the conflict of arms, it is only because of the anxiety which all the governments of Europe have professed and felt to maintain peace, and to avoid everything that tends to involve Europe in war. The maintenance of peace, not only in the Peninsula, but also in Europe, is one great object which the quadruple alliance was intended to effect; and, in my opinion, there is no better guarantee for the continuance of peace in Europe than that alliance—an alliance founded, not on any selfish views of separate interests, nor for any purposes of national aggrandisement—not from the remotest design of aggression against others, but solely for the purpose of preserving the peace of Europe, and of maintaining the independence of the states who are parties to it. With regard to the convention, it is clear that it does include the troops who are going from this country: on that point there cannot be a question. With regard to their pay, the noble lord is pleased to taunt those men who shall enroll themselves in the service of the Queen of Spain, with being mercenaries; ready to call themselves Englishmen to-day, and Spaniards to-morrow; with being men who disgrace their country, and are about to sell for lucre their own blood and the blood of others. I cannot but express a deep regret that the noble lord, whom I know to possess the feelings of an Englishman, and who has devoted his leisure, and the faculties of his mind, to subjects connected with the history of his country and of Spain, should have felt so coldly on this matter; that he should take so false and narrow a view of it, as to throw out, on brave and honourable men, imputations so entirely undeserved. Can the noble lord not conceive that any motive could lead Englishmen to fight under the banners of a constitutional sovereign except the mere love of pay?"

THE AGGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF RUSSIA.—1836.

"My noble friend, in his speech, has, with great ability and research, traced the progressive augmentation of territory which the Russian emperor has acquired. If there is one subject more peculiar than another connected with these acquisitions, it is that they have been almost invariably made at periods when the other nations of Europe were engaged in quarrels among themselves, and their attention was occupied in their own respective wars. That being the case, my noble friend must approve of the policy we have pursued in preserving the peace of Europe, because he must be convinced that it is a better way of preventing the further aggran-

disement of that power than that of pursuing the advice of the honourable member for Birmingham, to have a war either of gold or paper. My noble friend must, upon reflection, be satisfied that the preservation of peace can alone prevent the recurrence of the events of former times, the evils of which he has stated to the House. I say this affords us an additional motive for endeavouring to avoid the causes of war, and to cement those alliances in peace, by means of which we may prevent occurrences which might be followed by consequences which my noble friend so strongly deprecates. I agree with my noble friend that it is of importance to this country, both commercially and politically, that Turkey should be maintained in integrity and independence; and individually, upon former occasions, I have endeavoured to satisfy the House, that it is not only the opinion now entertained by her majesty's government, but one which has been constantly expressed upon those occasions when, according to custom, they have made communications to parliament; and I can assure my noble friend that he does not feel more strongly than we do upon this subject. I believe that feeling is also shared with us by all other countries, whose interests, as well as ours, require that Turkey should continue independent and powerful."

THE OCCUPATION OF CRACOW.—1836.

"It is quite true, as my right honourable friend has stated, that the treaty of Vienna stipulates that foreign troops shall on no account whatever enter the state of Cracow. That treaty also contains an individual reciprocal condition, on the part of the state of Cracow, that on no account shall it harbour such persons as are described in that treaty; but shall, on demand, deliver up such persons to either of the three contracting powers, whose subjects they happen to be; and it is upon this article of the treaty that the residents of the three powers, in their note to the senate of Cracow, found their claim to the expulsion, within eight days, of the Polish refugees from that territory. It is obvious that the demand was not precisely that which was contemplated in the treaty; the treaty not requiring that these persons should be delivered up to the resident of either of these powers, but simply that they should be removed from the territory of Cracow. It is our duty to take a fair and impartial view of the subject, whatever may be the interest we must naturally feel in anything which relates to Poland. However prone the House may be to sympathise with her as the weaker power, still it is necessary that we should continue to discuss the subject with that calmness of which my right honourable friend has set so commendable an example, and to take into consideration all the facts bearing upon the stipulation of the treaty.

"Looking upon the matter with this feeling, and supposing the reports we have received (which are not yet, however, officially confirmed) to contain the statement of the case, I shall say it must be considered that the measures adopted by the residents of the three powers have fallen within the spirit of the treaty with the state of Cracow; for it is alleged that a number of the natives of Poland assembled at Cracow, and (inspired by feelings perfectly natural under the circumstances) were in constant communication with the Austrian and Russian provinces of Poland, and carrying on plans calculated to disturb the government of those places. If this were so, I should say that the spirit of the treaty was such as to forbid Cracow from allowing the residence of such persons in their state. * * * But although the three powers might be justified in calling upon the state of Cracow to order such persons to depart, it does not follow that they were justified in their military occupation of the state, in consequence of any temporary delay in complying with their demands upon the part of Cracow. I am bound to say that no sufficient reason has been given, either for the entrance of the troops, or the shortness of the interval which existed between the time of the demand and that of the occupation of Cracow, although it would be difficult to deny the right of the three powers, under the circumstances I have assumed, to require that those persons who were really carrying on this improper correspondence, should be

removed from Cracow; and this being necessarily acceded to, that they should afterwards, within eight days, require the expulsion of individuals, many of whom are known to have settled in the place, to have contracted marriages there, and even to have entered into the service of the state, was carrying their demand altogether beyond what appears to have been necessary for the safety of the adjoining countries. * * * I have said that, under the treaty of Vienna, I think the three powers, if they had named certain persons, and had stated their grounds for doing so, might have been justified in requiring their expulsion from Cracow. I should even say, that if no treaty had existed at all—if Cracow had only stood on the same footing as other nations of Europe, and a neighbouring power pointed out to her the existence of certain persons within her territory who were employed in exciting disturbances among the population of that power, the mere duty of good neighbourhood would require that Cracow should take efficient measures to prevent her soil from becoming an asylum of the disturbers. But, on the other hand, as I have before stated, even if Cracow has refused immediately to comply with the demands made upon her, I do not think that that would have been a sufficient justification for the violent measures which have been adopted towards her. The allied powers should, in the first instance, have exhausted every source of friendly representation and communication within their power. It does not appear that this was done. It may have been done; but if done, it has been done without our knowledge: and even if they had failed to obtain, by such friendly representations, that which they thought necessary for their own safety, there will still be other measures obviously applicable for the purpose, without resort being had to the step they have taken. I do not stand up here to defend a measure which, on the contrary, I must censure and condemn. I have merely stated these circumstances, which, though they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, might yet afford a justification for the demand of the three powers, if it had been made in a more limited form than it has. I think it right here to observe, that as Great Britain was a party to the treaty of Vienna, before the contracting powers made such a demand as they have done, it was their duty to have communicated to the government of this country the ground upon which they were about to proceed; but, at the same time, in determining to take a step which, to say the least of it, was one of unnecessary violence, without consulting his majesty's government, they may be justly said, perhaps, to have paid an involuntary homage to the justice and plain dealing of the country, and thus to have recognised the fact that they were aware we should never have given our assent to such proceedings. * * * It is of as much importance to us that the independence of a state like Cracow be not causelessly and wantonly disturbed, as if the case were that of Prussia, or any other powerful nation."

ADMISSION OF LADIES TO THE GALLERY.—1836.

"As an appeal is made to me, as a member of his majesty's government, and as I wish that there should be no misunderstanding on this question with regard to my view of it, I feel it right to say, as this is not a cabinet question—I am very glad it is not a cabinet question—I differ from my right honourable friend, and I will vote for the resolution now in the hands of the House. I cannot think that any inconvenience can possibly arise to our proceedings, or to the ladies themselves, by allowing them to be present to hear the debates. I am quite satisfied, that whatever interest the novelty may produce on the first or second evening, it will soon wear off, and we shall pursue our avocations without thinking of the ladies' gallery at all; and we shall say, as an honourable member once said of another gallery, when he was told by a friend to speak louder, because he was not heard in the gallery—'Really, when one speaks, one forgets that there is such a thing as a gallery.' My honourable friend, the member for Truro, seems to think that the ladies could scarcely wish to take any part in the discussions which take place; but I consider that naturally they have a great deal of interest in them."

DEFENCE OF THE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.—1837.

“We have been accused of favouring innovations, and encouraging revolution. But that accusation is unfounded and unjust. We have, indeed, given our moral support, as we have given our good wishes, to this great Spanish nation, who have been endeavouring, of their own accord, to improve their institutions, and to imitate, though at a distance, the proud example of this country, by acquiring the inestimable privilege of representative government. It has been the part of his majesty’s ministers to give their acquiescence in, and support these objects, as we were bound to do. We may say that, during the period in which we have had the honour to administer the affairs of this country, the principles of national liberty have made greater progress in Europe than they have ever before made within the same time at any period of our history. To the diffusion of those principles we have given every support; and it is our boast that we have done so. Of what I am now about to mention I must not boast, because their administrators unquestionably are entitled to share in any praise which may attach to such a course, as having had a large share in the arrangements by which it has been followed out. Yet on this, at least, it may be said we have reason to congratulate ourselves, that during the period for which we have been responsible for the conduct of affairs in this country, the people in Belgium have been free, happy, powerful, and tranquil; that Portugal, which had been worse governed than Spain, and of which the natural resources had been, so to speak, crushed and exhausted, and rendered unavailing by a long course of misgovernment—Portugal has established free institutions, is prepared to profit by them, and is on the high road to that prosperity which, in my own opinion, free institutions can alone open to a country. Spain, notwithstanding the discouraging predictions of the honourable member for Sandwich, I may be allowed to hope—and that hope is founded on very recent and authentic information—may yet follow the example which is set her by Belgium and by Portugal. She may yet become, with the same friendly assistance which England has been lately affording her, what she was in former times—a great and powerful member of the European community. If she shall do so, she will accomplish that destiny, not by experiments founded on a crude system of innovation and revolution, but by regenerating her ancient and national institutions, by becoming again a free country such as, in a modified sense, and according to the spirit of ancient times, she so long continued to be, and by renewing those institutions, adapted, in their forms, to the altered conditions and exigencies of society. By these means, and by these means alone, it will be that Spain will recover and retrieve herself from the state of degradation into which the noble lord tells us she has now been plunged for a century: and if she shall do this, I humbly beg to say for myself, that notwithstanding all the taunts and reproaches to which I have been exposed from the noble lord and honourable House—if I may claim, however humble, a share in the triumph of bringing about such a state of things, I shall feel a high degree of pride, and the most lasting satisfaction.”

THE FRENCH IN ALGIERS.—1838.

“The honourable member for Lymington has said very truly, that there are many subjects connected with this matter to which it is unnecessary to refer, and I shall not therefore enter into an inquiry as to the effect which the possession of Algiers may have had upon the interests of this country in certain cases which may be supposed; nor, on the other hand, shall I inquire into the manner in which the possession may affect the interests of France herself in certain cases. I, however, differ from the honourable member on one point with regard to the rights which the Porte has over the territory of Algiers, because the hon. member is mistaken in supposing that the Porte had no rights of sovereignty previous to the French occupancy. No doubt she has rights, and they are secured by France; but they are more attended to by Austria, and the other powers of Europe. I shall

not question the right which France has of demanding and enforcing, from the government of Algiers, amends for injuries which have been inflicted on her commerce; and it is not for England to send out an expedition to compel satisfaction with regard to the pledges of assurance which, before the undertaking of this expedition, were given by France to England and the other powers of Europe. They will be found in those papers upon their being printed, and the House will then be able to see how France has complied with those engagements. With respect to the other point referred to by the honourable member who has moved for these papers—the designs of France on other parts of the coast of Africa—some satisfactory declarations have been made by the government of France as to what is their ultimate result, and the matter is still under discussion in the French Chambers. There is no intention or wish, however, to make any encroachment on Tunis or Morocco. On a matter of this description, both with reference to the communications which are now passing between the French government and the Chambers, I shall best consult my duty by abstaining from expressing my opinion upon the subject, which I am sure the House would not wish to hear, and which would not be convenient or satisfactory. In one sentiment of the honourable member I must express my cordial concurrence: he said he believed that the people of this country do not imitate the example of the French in rushing into unnecessary and unprovoked warfare for mere glory. I agree with him there; and I hope that the time may come, and is not far distant, when civilised and Christian Europe will coincide in the propriety of adopting this sentiment, and when nations may feel that there is no real glory to be derived from a warfare of aggression, and in believing that in Christian countries no honour can be gained from the slaughter of thousands for the purpose of invasion and oppression; and that when trophies are erected by the hands of a conqueror, which have been obtained by the invasion of the rights and liberties of other nations without the privileges of his own country being secured, they serve to reflect discredit and disgrace upon that conqueror.”

CANADA AND LORD GLENELG.—1838.

“What has happened? What is the state of the Canadas? Why does any man suppose, is any man so ignorant, are even the honourable gentlemen opposite, who have attended to what has passed on this subject in the debates of this House, are they so ignorant as not to know that the prevailing dissatisfaction in Canada did not date its origin from the period when Lord Glenelg took office. * * * I may unhesitatingly declare that the dissatisfaction has been, in one province, entirely removed, and in the other it has greatly diminished. The events of the last few months in Canada, prove, in the most incontestable manner, the wisdom of the administration of her majesty’s government there. (Laughter.) Why, there has been a revolt; and how was that revolt put down? Some of the French in Lower Canada took up arms; and were they supported by the great mass of the French in that country? On the contrary, did they not remain firm and loyal to their sovereign; and was that not a proof that they felt their connection with this country was more desirable than separation? But what has happened in Upper Canada is a stronger proof that there has been a proper administration of the affairs of that colony. Only a short time ago, the province in question was in a state of extreme discontent—was bordering on revolution; the supplies were refused; the machine of government was almost suspended; and if only a spark had fallen on the inflammable materials which abounded in the colony, the result must have been most deplorable. What has happened? A few desperate men have attempted, in the first place, to take the capital of the province: they were repelled by the inhabitants without the aid of a single soldier of the line; a band of foreign invaders was repelled, on the eastern confines of the province, by the Canadians themselves; a similar attempt was made in the west, and with similar results. I will say, then, that a province that has acted so nobly as the province

of Upper Canada (there having existed there extreme discontent), does give proof that the administration of the colony must have been deserving the approbation of parliament. In my judgment, the honourable baronet (Sir W. Molesworth) has utterly failed in adducing any ground on which he can propose to the House a resolution of censure against the government. Speaking of the state of the colonies generally, I will say, that so far from their condition affording any proof that the system of their administration has been faulty, it affords ample evidence that it has been wise and proper. The colonies, taken as a whole, are prosperous and tranquil, with the single exception of what has taken place in the provinces of Canada; and there no ground exists for the attack of the honourable baronet. How have affairs stood in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia? They were in a state of discontent little short of what lately occurred in Canada: what is their state now? They are perfectly satisfied, and perfectly loyal. I therefore contend, that the very statements of the honourable baronet, the very instances he has quoted, so far from justifying the motion he has made, ought to be taken as evidence against it."

INCREASED HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—1838.

"I will not compare the present mode of conducting the slave-trade with a description which I have lately read in Mr. Clarkson's history of the abolition of this trade. In that work more than one writer on the slave-trade is described as deposing, that what is called 'the middle passage' is the happiest period in a negro's life. If that be so, then must the other periods of his existence be wretched indeed! I will therefore abstain from taking that passage as a proof of the manner in which the cruelty of the slave-trade has increased since that account was written. I will content myself with remarking, that the space then allowed to the negro on board the slave-ship was very different from the space allowed him at present. When I recollect that cargoes of negroes are now packed and carried into places not more than two feet and a-half in height, and that hundreds of them are confined, during the passage—not in a space, for space it is not to be called—but in the closest crib which human ingenuity could devise, I cannot doubt that the beings so crammed and huddled together do endure the greatest possible amount of human suffering. I have been told by officers who have captured these slave vessels, that when these unfortunate wretches have been dragged from the hold into which they were jammed together, the majority of them were quite unable to stand, and that some of them had become completely paralysed, and never again recovered the use of their limbs. This is, however, only one portion of the cruelties to which they are exposed; for when the slavers are chased, it is not unusual for them to throw the slaves overboard with weights attached to their persons to sink them immediately: they fling them overboard, wedged up in casks, in which they float about the sea, enduring the most incredible sufferings; the slaver calculating on the possible chance of afterwards picking some of them up in the event of the cruisers wearing off, or being unable to maintain the chase. I therefore concur in the correctness of the honourable baronet's assertion, that the cruelties of this infamous traffic have become, of late years, greatly aggravated. That is, in my opinion, an additional reason why this House and the country should insist upon its speedy termination. It is no reason for repenting us of our past exertions, but it ought to serve as a stimulus to excite us to greater efforts in the times that are to come."

CASE OF MR. BELL AND THE "VIXEN."—1838.

"The subject which, it appears, the right honourable gentleman wishes the committee to inquire into, is, whether Mr. Bell has lost money and character by the expedition of the *Vixen*; and whether he received from me—for I wish to cast off the intermediary term, the Foreign Office—whether he received from me, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, any encouragement to undertake that expedition? I think the right honourable gentleman has not shown the slightest ground for the

assertion which is the basis of his motion; nor has his noble friend, who has come to his aid with that pugnacious speech of his, been able, with all his ingenuity and greater practice, to offer the shadow of a ground for the position he has assumed. There are two points which may be altogether laid aside in the discussion—the losses of Mr. Bell (for I do not suppose the right honourable gentleman considers a committee of this House necessary to make the valuations of the ship and its cargo), and the loss of character sustained by Mr. Bell; which, also, I put on one side, as I do not conceive that Mr. Bell has lost any character at all. He entered into a speculation for views and purposes of his own, which he was quite at liberty to do; and it would be utterly unjust to him to say that he, on that account, stands less well in public estimation than he did before. If I were to find fault with Mr. Bell, it would be because his speculations were entered upon, not with commercial but political motives, and with the intention of placing two great countries in a position in which war might be the consequence; and herein he showed himself not actuated by proper views.

“But did he receive encouragement from me to enter upon that expedition? I repeat my denial of that assertion; and I have not heard anything, in the course of the debate, to invalidate that denial. I disclaim the interposition of the phrase ‘Foreign Office.’ That office comprises a number of officers, who act on the authority of the Secretary of State; therefore, any man who talks of communications which he has received from the Foreign Office, asserts that which has no meaning unless he can state that such communications have passed under the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. Now, it is said that Mr. Bell—this innocent Mr. Bell—was led by me into a trap by the answers I gave him. I deny that there is the slightest foundation for any such assertion. The inquiry he made of me was, whether it would be wise and prudent for him to enter into a certain speculation for the sale of salt on the coast of Circassia, whither he had been invited by the native authorities; and he wanted to know whether there were any restrictions, recognised by this country, applied to that commerce by the government of Russia? My answer to these inquiries was precisely what the right honourable gentleman says it ought to have been. ‘He ought to have been told,’ said the right honourable gentleman, ‘that he must judge for himself—that the government of England could not give advice to a merchant as to any enterprise in which he proposed to engage.’ That is precisely what I said in my communication of the 30th of May, in which I replied to the inquiries he had addressed to me. There was one point I did not answer; and it must be admitted that, if I had done so, I should have been guilty of a great breach of propriety. He wished to know what was the opinion of her majesty’s government with regard to these great questions to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded—namely, the right of Russia to the sovereignty of Circassia; and whether I thought she was or was not entitled to establish those custom-house and sanatory regulations she was enforcing by the power of arms? Now, I must say, that no individual merchant is entitled to ask her majesty’s government to give an opinion on questions of that sort; and if such questions be put, it would be most dangerous and imprudent in the minister to satisfy them.”

RIGHT OF SEARCH.—1839.

“This is the extent of the powers called for under the present bill. I am convinced they will be sufficient to enable the government to put down the traffic in slaves carried on under the Portuguese flag, and a great point will thus be accomplished. I know it may be said that the trade may still be carried on, for that the slave-traders, when driven from one flag, will seek refuge under another. I am aware of that. But if we succeed in gaining all the flags of Christendom in the common cause, then I would ask to what course can the slavers resort? They may have no flag: they may divest themselves of every document that might enable the captors, upon whom the responsibility will rest, to prove that they

belong to this or that particular nation; so that the captor would not be able to bring them before the tribunal of the country, or the mixed commission. That would be the last effort of despairing crime. But I shall, therefore, propose a clause to remedy this evil. I propose that a slaver taken under such circumstances should be considered as, and dealt with in the same manner as, though she were an English slave-trader, provided always that, in the course of trial, her nationality shall be made to appear; then the case shall not be adjudicated upon by the Court of Admiralty, but dealt with as if, at the outset, she had been of the nation to which she is ultimately proved to belong. It may be objected that this will be making war against all the world; but I do not see how any nation can complain of such a course. If a ship abjure her country, and cast the protection of its flag to the winds, the state to which she happens to belong cannot, at least, complain that we have not respected her nationality, the existence of which had been studiously kept from our knowledge. Then what prospect is there of arriving at that general union in putting down the slave-trade, the hope of which I have held out to the House? When all the powers of Europe shall have united in giving a mutual right of search, or the power of condemnation by a mixed commission, there can no longer remain any defence for carrying on the slave-trade under any European flag."

ENGLAND ONLY SINCERE TO PUT DOWN SLAVERY.—1841.

"It is only from England, and from the exertions of England, that any hope can be entertained of the extinction of the slave-trade, and of the ultimate abolition of slavery throughout the world; because it is England alone that feels any deep and sincere interest in the matter. England now holds a proud position among the nations of the earth, and exercises a great influence upon the destinies of mankind. That influence is owing, in the first place, to our great wealth; to our unbounded resources; to our military and naval strength. But it is owing still more, if possible, to the moral dignity which marks the character and conduct of the British people. I fear that the resolution of the noble lord, the member for Liverpool, will tend, if adopted, to impair all these elements of our strength. I cannot but think that the respect which foreign nations have hitherto felt for the sincerity, the plain dealing, the straightforwardness of the British character, will be lowered when they see the House of Commons adopting a resolution by which the principles of humanity and justice are (I am sorry to say so) prostituted to serve the party purposes of a day; and I am sure that we shall sap the foundations of our strength, if, by the continuance of our restrictive and prohibitory regulations, we undermine those great commercial and manufacturing interests which are the main supports of our power. Those who desire to see the principle of liberty thrive and extend throughout the world, should cherish, with an almost religious veneration, the prosperity and greatness of England. So long as England shall ride pre-eminent on the ocean of human affairs, there can be none whose fortunes shall be so shipwrecked; there can be none whose condition shall be so desperate and forlorn, that they may not cast a look of hope towards the light that beams from hence; and though they may be beyond the reach of our power, our moral support and our sympathy shall cheer them in their adversity, and shall assist them to bear up and to hold out, waiting for a better day. But if ever, by the assault of overpowering armies, or by the errors of her misguided sons, England should fall, and her star should lose its lustre, with her fall, for a long period of time, would the hopes of the African, whether in his own continent, or in the vast regions of America, be buried in the darkness of despair. I know well that, in such a case, Providence would, in due course of time, raise up some other nation to inherit our principles, and to imitate our practice. But, taking the world as it is, and states as they are constituted, I do not know—and I say it with regret and pain—I do not know any nation that is now ready, in this respect, to supply our place. I say, then, that they who are the sincere friends of that cause of which we

have been the strenuous advocates, and the not wholly unsuccessful supporters, instead of giving their assistance to a resolution which is founded upon a hollow pretence, ought to lend their aid to us, and to help us to accomplish those purposes which they themselves have so deeply at heart."

A FIXED DUTY PREFERABLE TO A SLIDING-SCALE.—1841.

"I contend that a sliding-scale, modify it as you will, contains in itself fundamental principles which render it a much less expedient mode of keeping up the object of the corn-laws than a fixed duty, supposing a fixed duty to be always moderate in its amount. What we proposed last year was a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter; but the right honourable baronet has this night almost convinced me that this was too high, and that such an amount would be almost as prohibitory as the scale which he proposed. I do not admit this; but what I contend for is, that the duty should be fixed and known, and that it should not be allowed to vary with the rise or fall of prices in the market. If a moderate fixed duty was established, you would have a complete change in the trade altogether; you would have an entirely different system of transaction in the corn-market; for, instead of gambling transactions, you would establish a sound and advantageous trade; and instead of the merchant hurrying, at every rise in price, to the foreign markets on the continent (for the distant markets are now hardly touched), and thus at once enhancing the price of corn, you would establish a steady and well-regulated barter, which would, at the same time, supply your wants, and open new fields for the consumption of the produce of your manufacturing industry."

DEFENCE OF THE MINISTRY AGAINST THE TORIES.—1842.

"I contend, then, not only that we helped the government to make the speech from the throne, but that the government have been employed, during the whole of the session, in reaping the harvest of treaties, of which we sowed the seed; and they have had an abundant crop. But let me ask, what are, generally speaking, the means by which a government can best promote the commercial interests of the country? And have we been deficient in employing those means? Why, first and foremost, I put the maintenance of peace—of peace not only between this country and foreign nations, but peace between the other great powers of the world; for it is manifest that if serious war rages anywhere, and especially a naval war, the interests of all commercial nations must be more or less affected thereby. Now, in spite of every prediction to the contrary, we maintained peace for ten years: we maintained it in spite of many difficulties thrown in our way by gentlemen belonging to the other side of the House, who, one after another, endeavoured to magnify into importance every petty question that arose with other countries, and to embitter every trifling dispute, whether with Russia, with France, or with the United States; whether it related to a doubtful right, or to a chapel in Cuba, or to a pilot in the Gulf of Mexico, or to some blockade established by some foreign power. In spite of all these attempts (not always to be disregarded) to create ill-feeling between this country and foreign powers, we did succeed in maintaining peace during the whole time we had the honour to conduct the affairs of this country. We maintained it, moreover, without any sacrifice of British interests, and without any injury to our national honour; and I would appeal to any candid and impartial man to say whether he could find anything to complain of in the position which this country held among the other powers of the globe at the time when we quitted the government. But not only did we maintain peace for ourselves; we were also frequently instrumental in preserving peace between other nations who had got into serious disputes. * * * *

"But then it may be said, all this is very true. True it is that you preserved peace: but of what use is mere peace to the commerce of this country, if you do not obtain, by the stipulation of treaties, those securities which are necessary for the advantageous prosecution of trade? Were we idle in this respect? We have

been accused of restless activity, and of incessant meddling with regard to foreign affairs. I take the charge as a high compliment, and I admit it to be particularly just with respect to our proceedings about treaties of commerce. There are now in existence about eighteen treaties of commerce, which were concluded before we came into office in November, 1830, including in that number the ancient treaties with Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco. We concluded fifteen more treaties; and two of them—the treaties with Austria and Turkey, in 1838—are of considerable importance. There is one other, also, to which I must for a moment direct the attention of the House: it is not entitled a treaty of commerce, but it deserves to be so described; and it is not only a treaty of commerce, but a treaty tending to secure the maintenance of peace. I allude to the convention of 1839 with France, for regulating the boundaries of the fisheries of the two countries. * * *

“I now come to the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade. Of these there were ten in existence when we came into office. We concluded sixteen additional ones; and there is this distinction between those which we concluded, and those which had been concluded by our predecessors—that our treaties contained holdier and more effective stipulations than are to be found in the former treaties. * * *

“The largest augmentation of our commerce, for which we have laid the foundation, is that to which I have already referred as certain to take place in China, when that early and satisfactory arrangement shall have been made with the Chinese government, which her majesty’s ministers announced to us in the speech from the throne. Another new and vast opening for our commerce will be afforded by the great operations which we undertook in the countries to the west of the Indus. These great measures may be made the subject of derision by men who never heard of such places as Cabul and Candahar till they read of them in our despatches; and who, before the glorious exploit of Lord Keane, could not have told us whether Ghuznee was an inland fortress or a seaport town. Such gentlemen may laugh at things which they do not understand; but their laughter cannot deprive the people of England of their good sense, nor make that trivial and unimportant which is really of the utmost consequence. I may again be accused of assurance in boasting of these matters; but I presume no man will deny, that if we retain our military and political position in those countries and passes which command the navigation of the Indus—a river navigable for more than 1,200 miles from its mouth, and traversing regions inhabited by numerous natives who, if internal tranquillity was secured to them by good government, would afford a vast market for our manufactures;—no man can doubt that if we do this we shall obtain a great additional opening for our commerce. I say that no rational man—no man, at least, who possesses any other of the attributes which distinguish the human race from the inferior animals except laughter—would treat these matters otherwise than as being of the highest importance. We are told, however, that it is great assurance on my part to assert that we obtained for our Indian empire the barrier of Afghanistan. I conclude that this charge had reference to the disasters which had lately happened in that quarter, and that what was meant was, that although we had at first got possession of that barrier, yet, by subsequent events, a part of what we had so gained had been lost. But I say that these recent losses and disasters had nothing whatever to do with the original policy of the war, and are no proof whatever that we did not judiciously adapt our means to the end that was to be accomplished.”

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—1843.

“Now, sir, we object to the proclamation of Lord Ellenborough, on the ground that its language is altogether unworthy and unbecoming a public functionary. My right honourable friend beside me compared it to some of the bulletins of the earlier part of the French revolution; in which he slightly erred, as the noble lord opposite has shown. It does not appear to have been taken from the bulletins of

so early a period. It is rather from the bulletins of Bonaparte, who certainly was, as the noble lord says, pre-eminently fitted for the government of empires. 'Napoleon' says the noble lord, 'was able to command large bodies of men, and rule the destinies of millions, and therefore we ought not to blame Lord Ellenborough for imitating his example.' We have heard of those who thought, by holding their heads on one side, they would be thought as wise as Aristotle; or that by stuttering they would rival Demosthenes. If Lord Ellenborough wished to rival the genius of Napoleon, I think he might have found a better subject for imitation than his bulletins, which excited the ridicule of all sensible men. * * *

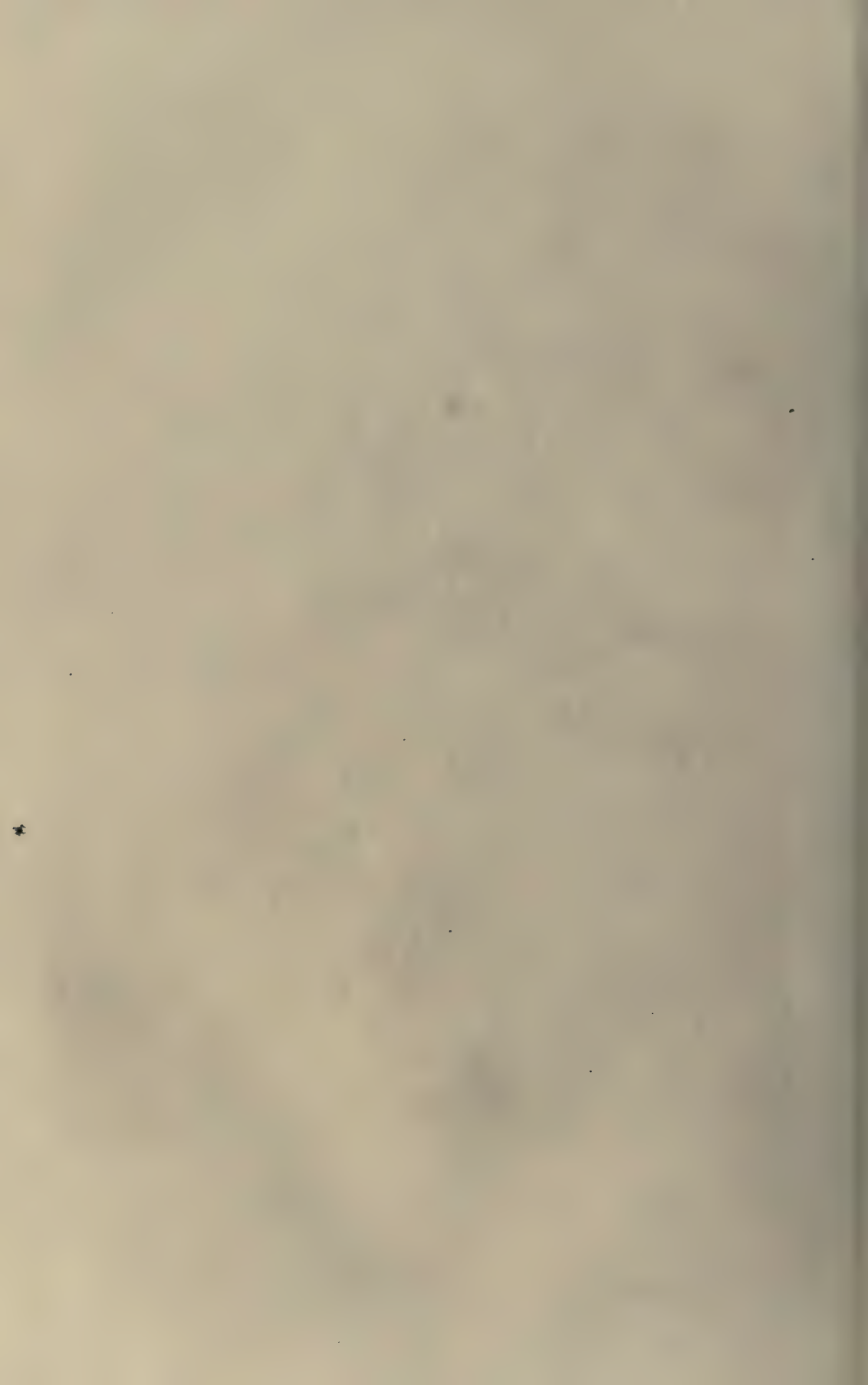
"I say, then, that no ground has been laid why this House should not express that opinion which appears to have been unanimously felt—that this proclamation was unwise and indecorous; and if it were so, it must in a Governor-general be reprehensible. It is in vain to tell us that Lord Ellenborough has, in other respects, during the short period of his administration, deserved so well of the country that we ought to pass over his faults, and think only of his merits. I say that his services have been next to nothing; that they consist chiefly in his having employed those military means which his predecessor had provided, which he himself had not the courage to employ, and which he employed against his own inclination. His merit, therefore, in the transactions which have taken place in Afghanistan is next to nothing; whilst, by this proclamation, which the noble lord has characterised as boastful, he has proved his unfitness for so responsible a situation. I think it is essential that the House should notice this. I think, that when a proclamation of this sort, proving the individual who issued it to be devoid of those feelings which ought to guide a person intrusted with so important a charge, is brought under the notice of the House, it would not only show a want of courage on the part of the House, but an abandonment of our duty as the representatives of the people, if we were to shrink from expressing that opinion which all of us entertain, however much some of us may wish that it should not be expressed."

LORD ABERDEEN'S FOREIGN POLICY.—1844.

"I am anxious to call the attention of the House, and of the government, to the inconvenient consequences which have arisen from the system of policy pursued by her majesty's present advisers—a system which appears to be one of resistance at home and concession abroad. When the right honourable gentlemen opposite came into office, they adopted a policy which they probably thought would lead to a state of tranquillity abroad, and secure to them the good-will of foreign governments. I doubted at the time the success of that line of policy; and affairs which have arisen since, must have convinced ministers, as they have convinced the country, that it is not a system calculated to uphold the honour, or advance the interests of the country. They commenced by making a great concession to the United States, in the hope, no doubt, that by such means they would restore perfect harmony between the governments of the two countries; but the result was, that after the cession of the greater part of the disputed territory, another question arose—namely, that concerning the Oregon territory, which promised to lead to as many difficulties as that respecting the north-east boundary. Then there was the question of the right of visit, and the annexation of Texas to the United States, which were of great importance to the interests of England, and which yet remained to be resolved. In like manner, with regard to France, the policy thus adopted towards that country was of the same character and tendencies. In Spain, shortly after their accession to office, there occurred questions of considerable difficulty, the embarrassments connected with which were fomented by French intrigue; and ministers, out of deference to the French government, counselled the regent of Spain to submit to great indignity in the question which had arisen with M. Salvandy, the French ambassador; and also in the affair regarding the conduct of M. Lesseps, the French consul at Barcelona. The consequence of this



EARL OF ASHMUN



was that the Spanish nation felt that the regent had lost the moral support of this country, and his enemies were allowed to prevail. He fell, and British interests were, in my opinion, sacrificed in his downfall. In Otaheite a question arose as to whether France should accept the protectorate of the island, which had been refused by England; which, indeed, had been twice refused by England. But, be it always remembered, that the former government, who had declined the offer, had assured the government of Tahite, that England would always give it the support of her good offices in any difference which might arise between Tahite and any foreign power. When that question presented itself her majesty's government again acquiesced; and that acquiescence in French aggression led that power to take another step, which may be productive of very serious consequences. No doubt that line of policy was undertaken for the purpose of attaining temporary quiet, and without foresight or regard as to what the eventual consequences might be, putting aside all care for the ultimate sacrifices which must be made in following such a course. Ministers, in fact, appear to shape their policy, not with reference to the great interests of their own country, but from a consideration of the effect which their course may produce upon the position of foreign governments. It may very well be a desirable object, and one worthy of consideration, that a particular individual should continue in the administration of affairs in another country; but it is too much that, from regard to that object, the interests of this country should be sacrificed, and that every demand of foreign powers should be acceded to. The same course, indeed, was pursued by the party opposite on former occasions. In 1830, the French were allowed to obtain possession of Algeria. The right honourable gentlemen opposite were then in office; they remained quiescent in order that the ministers of Prince Polignac might be maintained in power; and we are all aware of the consequences which have arisen from their acquiescence on that occasion. No doubt it is for the interest of this country—it is for the interest of France herself, as well as for the interests of the world, that M. Guizot should remain minister of France; but the government of this country has no right to sacrifice either the honour or the interest of England in order to continue M. Guizot in power. * * * It seems to me that the system of purchasing temporary security by lasting sacrifices, and of placing the interests of foreign ministers above those of this country, can never be other than a fatal one to the country, or to the administration which pursues such a course. Since the accession to office of the right honourable gentlemen opposite, no one can have failed to observe that there has been a great diminution of British influence and consideration in every foreign country. Influence abroad is to be maintained only by the operation of one or other of two principles—hope or fear. We ought to teach the weaker powers to hope that they will receive the support of this country in their time of danger. Powerful countries should be taught to fear that they will be resisted by England in any unjust acts, either towards ourselves, or towards those who are bound in ties of amity with us. But after the abandonment of Spain by her majesty's government, what weak power can retain any hope of moral support, or of effective aid from this country? And after we have ceded and given up the disputed territory in North America, what powerful country can entertain any apprehension of our resistance to encroachment? Although her majesty's late advisers had sometimes the misfortune to be in a minority in the House of Commons, still, in their foreign policy, they had the good fortune always to be in a majority. In the Belgian negotiation, when the Dutch were intractable, and had the assistance of France and Belgium, we controlled the Dutch; when, afterwards, the Belgians grew unreasonable, we had the support of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and we restrained the Belgians. In Portugal, when we wished to establish the constitution and Donna Maria, we had France on our side, and carried our point. In Spain, when we were desirous of upholding Isabella and liberty, we had France and Portugal with us, and we carried our point. When we desired to effect an arrangement in the Levant, which we thought essential to

the peace of Europe, as well as to the interests of England, we had Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Turkey with us, and that arrangement was carried into execution. In all these great questions her majesty's late government had the concurrence and co-operation of all those powers which were nearest to the scene of operation, and were, from their local position, the best informed upon the subject, the most able to co-operate, and the most interested in the policy pursued. What may be the interest of the present government I know not; but while it is exercised upon the system I have pointed out, and where important and prominent interests are sacrificed for the temporary convenience of foreign governments, it can never be exercised in a manner which is satisfactory to this country. I am most anxious that the House, the country, and the government itself should direct their attention to the results which have already arisen from the mistaken system on which the ministers set out, and which they appear still to pursue. It is a system, of all others, the most likely to lead the country into serious difficulties, and which has already provoked occurrences which may involve us in war."

NATIONAL DEFENCES.—1845.

"I think that any man who values peace, and who is sensible of the advantages which the country derives from it, must feel that this is a matter of first-rate importance; for peace between two countries can never be secure except when they stand upon a footing of equality with regard to their respective means of self-defence. Now, sir, France, as I had reason to state on a former occasion, has now a standing army of 350,000 men, fully equipped, including a large force of cavalry and artillery; and in addition to that, 1,000,000 of the national guard. I know that the national guard of Paris amounts to 80,000 men, trained, disciplined, reviewed, clothed, equipped, and accustomed to duty, and perfectly competent therefore to take the internal duty of the country, and to set free the whole of the regular force. Now, sir, if France were a country separated from us by an impassable barrier; if she had no navy, or if the Channel could not be crossed, I should say this was a matter with which we had no concern. But that is not the case. In the first place, France has a fleet equal to ours. I do not speak of the number of vessels actually in existence, but of the fleet in commission and half commission, in both which respects the fleet of France is equal to that of this country. But again, the Channel is no longer a barrier. Steam navigation has rendered that which was before impassable by a military force, nothing more than a river passable by a steam bridge. France has steamers capable of transporting 30,000 men, and she has harbours inaccessible to any attack, in which these steamers may collect, and around which, on the land side, large bodies of men are constantly quartered. These harbours are directly opposite to our coast, and within a few hours' voyage of the different landing-places on the coast of England. Well, then, I say that is not a state of things under which you can remain secure of peace, unless you are in a state of preparation to meet any sudden attack. Sir, I shall be told, perhaps, that our relations with France are of the most amicable nature. I admit it, and I trust they may so continue. But questions of the greatest importance may start up in any quarter of the globe; and we can never be sure, from month to month, with respect to two countries which have such extensive and diversified interests to be considered, that questions of the utmost delicacy and difficulty will not unexpectedly arise. Therefore, I say, when those questions do arise, you cannot deal with them on a footing of equality, and in a manner consistent with the interest and dignity of the country, if you are not in such a state as to be at least inaccessible to any sudden or early attack. * * *

"I will suppose that our dockyards are perfectly inaccessible. I will suppose that we have harbours fortified against attack, as well as against the sea, in which our steam-vessels—assuming that we have a sufficient number of them—might be kept ready to act against any sudden invasion. But you must recollect that Calais, St. Malo, Cherbourg, and Dunkirk, are within a few hours' passage of our coast;

and that, supposing a rupture to occur between the two countries (which I hope will not be the case), you would have very short notice of any meditated attack; you would have very little means of sending your steamers in sufficient numbers to prevent a landing; and therefore, though not for the purpose of attacking your dockyards, still for that of invading your coast, you might have 20,000 or 30,000 men landed without any possibility of your preventing such an event. Well, then, what is the state of the internal garrison which you can rely upon, supposing such an unfortunate event to happen? Why, you have nothing but the regular force of this country, which amounts, probably, including that in the Channel Islands, to less than 50,000 men; 20,000 in Ireland, and the rest distributed over Great Britain. And this force must be brigaded, a staff must be appointed, and the cavalry and artillery must all be brought together before you could put into the field a force capable of opposing an enemy. I would ask the government what time must necessarily elapse before that could be done? You would have to recruit your army, and to ballot for the militia; and I ask any man who understands these matters, in what condition you would be placed in case of a rupture with any foreign power? The time and expense required for recruiting and collecting an army, would be more than any man, who has not turned his attention to these things, could possibly imagine. Well, then, I say you have an acknowledged, established, and constitutional mode of guarding against this state of things, which, of late, has been abandoned on account of the expense; but for the continued abandonment of which, I hold that that reason does not any longer apply, while other reasons for resorting to it have greatly augmented within the last few years. I refer to the summoning of the regular militia. * * * *

"The estimate for training the militia of Great Britain, in 1821, was £90,000; that was the whole expense connected with 50,000 men. I do not mean to say that this is not a considerable sum; and, no doubt, if there was a deficiency in the revenue, it would be a balance of consideration whether you would incur this expense or take your chance of two or three years' continuance of peace: but then we have a war-tax in time of peace; and that being the case, for heaven's sake let us have those ordinary precautions which will save us from the necessity of incurring the greater expense of actual war. For a comparatively small amount, you might have the means of assembling in arms, within a fortnight, 50,000 men as the organised British militia; and 70,000, if, in addition to that number, you organised the militia in Ireland. A training of twenty-eight days annually would place that force in a state of efficiency, sufficient, probably, for all the duties which they might suddenly be called on to perform; and if you choose, at the end of the third year, to give them fourteen days more, you would have a force which would be amply sufficient for the national defence. * * * *

"I know governments are very apt to think—and the present one is not less so than any former one—that the duty of ministers of the crown is, first of all, to obtain and retain a majority in this House. That is quite true; for without a majority in this House, they could not continue to be ministers. But that is not enough. It is not enough to be able to struggle through the debate, and to scramble through the attack; it is not enough to bring in good measures (and some of the measures of this year I admit to have been good); it is not enough to act upon the best and soundest principles of domestic legislation, if you do not, in addition to that, place the country in as perfect a state of security as you possibly can; for, if your shores are not sufficiently protected, all legislation may be in vain. Well, then, I say that this country is in a most defenceless state, considered with reference to the means of attack possessed by other powers: on the other hand, there never was a period at which resources, population, and wealth were so great, and at which you had equal means, with less pressure on the resources and industry of the country, of placing yourselves in a situation of comparative security. I contend, therefore, that it is the duty of government to look seriously at these matters. Sir, the old maxim, *si vis pacem para bellum*, is both true

and false. It is a false maxim if it mean, that in time of peace you ought to prepare a sufficient force for aggressive hostility. Such a course of proceeding is doubly mischievous. In the first place, it excites unnecessary jealousy on the part of foreign countries, and leads them to engage in preparations which may tend to render the preservation of peace uncertain. But, moreover, the power which, in time of peace, arms itself with a view to aggressive movements, naturally acquires a disposition to make use of the means so attained; and thus what is done begets a feeling which is inimical to peace. But if the maxim refers only to the preparation, in peace, of the means of defence in case of war, it is a most legitimate and sound maxim. It is by that means alone that any country can secure to itself the continuance of the blessings of peace. I hold that we have not, at present, that state of military preparation which would enable us to look with indifference upon any sudden contingencies. I hold that it is in the power of the government to secure the necessary means of defence, at least to a very considerable degree, at a comparatively small expense, and without any infringement of those constitutional principles which I, for one, have not the least wish to disregard. Sir, it is upon these grounds that I have thought it my duty to call the attention of the government to this subject. I would entreat them to consider whether it would be consistent with that responsibility which weighs upon them, not merely to govern this country well, but to defend also that country which they so govern, to refrain from resorting to those constitutional methods of defence which may be so easily adopted, and which, in time of war, would add so greatly to our means of national defence."

HOSTILE TARIFFS AN ABSURDITY.—1846.

"Is the state of our commercial relations with foreign countries a reason why we should maintain this system of protection? Some people say it is. Some gentlemen argue that free trade might do very well if it was practised by all nations, but that one-sided free trade will not do; that our example will not be followed; and that this system, not being mutual and reciprocal, will be an injury to ourselves, and an advantage to other nations. Now, I hold this to be just as great a fallacy as the other. For what is the effect of mutually hostile tariffs between ourselves and other countries? Take any foreign country; take France, for instance. The high tariffs of France and England are alike injurious to both countries. Our high tariff against French commodities is an injury to ourselves as consumers, and to the French as producers; while the high tariff of France against British commodities is an injury to the French consumer as well as to the English producer. Here, then, is an inconvenience on both sides of the water. * * * *

"By free trade I do not mean necessarily, and in all cases, trade free from custom duties. We are obliged, as I have already said, to raise a large yearly revenue; and we must, for that purpose, have heavy taxes. The least inconvenient and the least objectionable method of raising a large portion of that revenue is by indirect taxation, and that involves the necessity of constant duties. Therefore, when I speak of free trade, I mean trade free from duties laid on for the purposes of revenue, and which, in order to accomplish that purpose, must be so moderate as not to impede or cripple commercial transactions. Now, my opinion has been, and, I own, still continues to be, that there is no reason why the trade in corn should be, in this respect, an exception to the general rule. I am for a moderate fixed duty."

DEFENCE OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY.—1849.

"I am conscious, that during the time for which I have had the honour to direct the foreign relations of this country, I have devoted to them all the energies which I possess. Other men might have acted, no doubt, with more ability; none could have acted with a more entire devotion, both of their time and faculties.

The principle on which I have thought the foreign affairs of this country ought to be conducted, is the principle of maintaining peace and friendly understanding with all nations, as long as it was possible to do so consistently with a due regard to the interests, the honour, and the dignity of this country. My endeavours have been to preserve peace. All the governments of which I have had the honour to be a member have succeeded in accomplishing that object. * * * * I hold, with respect to alliances, that England is a power sufficiently strong to steer her own course, and not to tie herself, as an unnecessary appendage, to the policy of any other government. I hold that the real policy of England is, to be the champion of justice and right; pursuing that course with moderation and prudence; not becoming the Quixote of the world, but giving the weight of her moral sanction and support wherever she thinks that justice is, and wherever she thinks that wrong has been done. * * * * As long as she sympathises with right and justice, she will never find herself altogether alone. She is sure to find some other state of sufficient power, influence, and weight, to support her and aid her in the course she may think fit to pursue. Therefore, I say that it is a narrow policy to suppose that this country or that is to be marked out as the eternal ally or perpetual enemy of England. We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow. When we find other countries marching in the same course, and pursuing the same object as ourselves, we consider them as our friends; and we think for the moment that we are on the most cordial footing; when we find other countries that take a different view, and thwart us in the object we pursue, it is our duty to make allowance for the different manner in which they may follow out the same object. It is our duty not to pass a harsh judgment upon others; and it is our duty not lightly to engage this country in the frightful responsibility of war, because, from time to time, we may find this or that power disinclined to concur with us in matters where their opinion and ours may fairly differ. That has been, as far as my faculties have allowed me to act upon it, the guiding principle of my conduct. And if I might be allowed to express, in one sentence, the principle which I think right to guide an English minister, I would adopt the expression of Canning, and say, that with every British minister the interests of England ought to be the Shibboleth of his policy."

MOCK MEDIATIONS.—1849.

"Now, with regard to what have been called our mock mediations. Why, any one who has heard what has passed here and elsewhere within the last twenty-four hours, might be induced to think, that never before this year was there such a thing as mediation, and that it was a thing newly invented for some mischievous purpose by the present government. I confess that I must plead guilty to having committed this crime of mediation long before the present year; and, fortunately, I may state with considerable success. The government of which I had the honour of being a member was able, in 1834, by means of a mediation, to prevent a rupture between France and the United States; and was also, by the same means, in 1838, enabled to make peace between France and the government of Mexico. Other smaller and less important mediations I do not mention; but I might do, and they were also successful; but the two which I have mentioned prevented hostilities which must have been followed by very serious consequences. But in this sweeping condemnation of mediations, my predecessor in office, the Earl of Aberdeen, is liable to a similar charge as myself; for he, in conjunction with Russia, mediated between Turkey and Prussia, and also between Denmark, Sardinia, and Morocco—to say nothing of that unfortunate mediation upon which the honourable member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) so much dwelt. I mean that respecting the affairs of the river Plate; which is still going on, and the responsibility in regard to which I share with my predecessor in office. I trust that some paragraph will be inserted in the amendment in condemnation of my

predecessor, as well as myself, for resorting to those courses. 'Mock mediations' indeed! One would really suppose, from what has been said, that these mediations were merely diplomatic dramas, got up for the amusement of diplomatists, and leading to no practical or useful result."

THE WAR IN HUNGARY.—1849.

"With regard to the present question, I am sure that everybody who has heard what has passed, everybody in this country who has given attention to the most important events that have now taken place in Hungary, must feel that my honourable and gallant friend need have made no apology for calling the attention of the parliament of England to transactions deeply affecting the political principles of Europe, and having a most important bearing upon the general balance of European power. The House will not expect me to follow those who have spoken to-day, by endeavouring to pass judgment either way between the Austrian government and the Hungarian nation. I say the Hungarian nation; because, in spite of what has fallen from the noble lord, the member for Tyrone, I do believe, from the information I have received—and I do not pretend I may not be mistaken—but I firmly believe that, in this war between Austria and Hungary, there is enlisted on the side of Hungary the hearts and souls of the whole people of that country. I believe that the other races, distinct from the Magyars, have forgotten the former feuds that existed between them and the Magyar population, and that the greater portion of the people have engaged in what they consider a great national contest. It is true, as my honourable and gallant friend has stated, that Hungary has for centuries been a state which, though united to Austria by the link of the crown, has, nevertheless, been separate and distinct from Austria by its own complete constitution. * * * * So far as I understand the matter, I take the present state of the case to be this—without going into the details of mutual complaints as to circumstances which have taken place within the last year or year and a-half—I take the question that is now to be fought for on the plains of Hungary to be this:—Whether Hungary shall continue to maintain its separate nationality as a distinct kingdom, and with a constitution of its own; or whether it is to be incorporated, more or less, in the aggregate constitution that is to be given to the Austrian empire? It is a most painful sight to see such forces as are now arrayed against Hungary, proceeding to a war fraught with such tremendous consequences on a question that it might have been hoped would have been settled peacefully. It is of the utmost importance to Europe that Austria should remain great and powerful; but it is impossible to disguise from ourselves that, if the war is to be fought out, Austria must thereby be weakened; because, on the one hand, if the Hungarians should be successful, and their success should end in the entire separation of Hungary from Austria, it will be impossible not to see that this will be such a dismemberment of the Austrian empire as will prevent Austria from continuing to occupy the great position she has hitherto held among European nations. If, on the other hand, the war being fought out to the uttermost, Hungary should, by superior forces, be utterly crushed, Austria in that battle will have crushed her own right arm.

* * * * It is, therefore, much to be desired—not simply on the principle of general humanity, but on the principle of sound European policy, and from the most friendly regard to the Austrian empire itself—it is, I say, devoutly to be wished that this great contest may be brought to a termination by some amicable treaty between the contending parties, which shall, on the one hand, satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians, and, on the other hand, not leave to Austria another and a larger Poland within her empire. Her majesty's government have not, in the present state of the matter, thought that any opportunity has as yet presented itself that could enable them, with any prospect of advantage, to make any official communication of the opinions which they entertain on this subject. I say official, as contradistinguished from opinions expressed in a more private and

confidential manner. But, undoubtedly, if any occasion were to occur that should lead them to think the expression of such opinions would tend to a favourable result, it would be the duty of government not to let such an opportunity pass by. * * * * Sir, I do not think that the preservation of peace is in any way endangered by the expression of opinion with regard to the transactions in Hungary or other countries. I agree with those who think—I know there are many in this country who entertain the opinion—that there are two objects which England ought particularly to aim at: one is, to maintain peace; the other is, to count for something in the transactions of the world; that it is not fitting that a country occupying such a proud position as England—that a country having such various and extensive interests, should lock herself up in a simple regard to her own external affairs, and should be a passive and modest spectator of everything that goes on around. It is quite true that it may be said—‘Your opinions are but opinions, and you express them against our opinions, who have at our command large armies to back them: what are opinions against armies?’ Sir, my answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will, in the end, prevail against the bayonets of infantry, the fire of artillery, and the charge of cavalry. Therefore, I say, that, armed by opinion, if that opinion is pronounced with truth and justice, we are indeed strong, and, in the end, likely to make our opinions prevail; and I think that what is happening on the whole surface of the continent of Europe is a proof that this exposition of mine is a truth. Why, for a great many years, the governments of Europe imagined they could keep down opinion by force of arms; and that, by obstructing progressive improvement, they could prevent that extremity of revolution which was the object of their constant dread. We gave an opinion to the contrary effect, and we have been blamed for it. We have been accused of meddling with matters that did not concern us, and of aggravating nations and governments by giving our opinion as to what was likely to happen; but the result has proved that, if our opinions had been acted on, great calamities would have been avoided. These very governments, that used to say, ‘The man we hate, the man we have to fear, is the moderate reformer; we care not for your violent radical, who proposes such violent extremes that nobody is likely to join him; the enemy we are most afraid of is the moderate reformer, because he is such a plausible man that it is difficult to persuade people that his counsels would lead to extreme consequences; therefore, let us keep off, of all men, the moderate reformer, and let us prevent the first step of improvement, because that improvement might lead to extremities and innovations;’—those governments, those powers of Europe, have, at last, learned the truth of the opinions expressed by Mr. Canning—‘That those who have checked improvement because it is innovation, will one day or other be compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement.’ I say, then, that it is our duty not to remain passive spectators of events that, in their immediate consequences, affect other countries; but which, in their remote and certain consequences, are sure to come back with disastrous effect upon us: that, so far as the courtesies of international intercourse may permit us to do, it is our duty, especially when our opinion was asked (as it has been on many occasions on which we have been blamed for giving it), to state our opinions founded on the experience of this country—an experience that might have been, and ought to have been, an example to less fortunate countries. At the same time, I am quite ready to admit that interference ought not to be carried to the extent of endangering our relations with other countries. There are cases, like that which is now the subject of our discussion, of one power having, in the exercise of its own sovereign rights, invited the assistance of another power; and, however we may lament that circumstance—however we may be apprehensive that therefrom consequences of great danger and evil may flow—still we are not entitled, under the circumstances, to interfere in any manner that will commit this country to embark in these hostilities. All we can justly do is, to take advantage of any opportunities that

may present themselves in which the counsels of friendship and peace may be offered to the contending parties. We have, on several occasions that have happened of late in Europe, been invited to 'intermeddle,' as it is called, in the affairs of other countries; although it has been said of this country, that it stands so low in public opinion in Europe that we are treated with contempt both by governments and by nations. Certainly the way in which that want of respect has been shown is singular, when, from the north to the south, in cases of difficulty, not only between nations, but, internally, between governments and their own subjects, we have been asked and invited to interpose our friendly intermediation in their affairs. We have, on these occasions, done our best to accomplish the object which we were called upon to fulfil; and in one case, at least, we have nearly succeeded. We have heard a great deal, in the course of the session, of 'sham mediators' in the contest between Denmark and Germany; but that sham mediation has ended in a real preliminary treaty; and I hope that preliminary treaty will soon be followed by a permanent pacification. Sir, to suppose that any government of England can wish to excite revolutionary movements in any part of the world—to suppose that any government of England can have any other wish or desire than to confirm and maintain peace between nations, and tranquillity and harmony between subjects and governments, shows really a degree of ignorance and folly which I never supposed any public man could have been guilty of; which may do very well for a newspaper article; but which, it astonishes me to find, is made the subject of a speech in parliament."

ITALIAN POLICY.—1850.

"With regard to our policy with respect to Italy, I utterly deny the charges which have been brought against us, of having been the advocates, supporters, and encouragers of revolution. It has always been the fate of the advocates of temperate reform, and of constitutional improvement, to be run at as the fomenters of revolution. It is the easiest mode of putting them down—it is the received *formula*. It is the established practice of those who are the advocates of arbitrary governments, to say—"Never mind real revolutionists, we know how to deal with them; your dangerous man is the moderate reformer; he is such a plausible man: the only way of getting rid of him, is by setting the world at him, and calling him a revolutionist." Now, there are revolutionists of two kinds in this world. In the first place, there are those violent, hot-headed, and unthinking men, who fly to arms, who overthrow established governments, and who recklessly, and without regard to consequences, and without measuring difficulties, and comparing strength, deluge their country with blood, and draw down the greatest calamities on their fellow-countrymen. These are revolutionists of one class. But there are revolutionists of another kind—blind-minded men, who, animated by antiquated prejudice, and daunted by ignorant apprehensions, dam up the current of human improvement, until the irresistible pressure of accumulated discontent breaks down the opposing banners, and overthrows and levels to the earth those very institutions which a timely application of renovating means would have rendered strong and lasting. * * * I am justified in denying that the policy which we pursued in Italy was that of exciting revolutions, and then abandoning the victims we had deluded. On the contrary, I maintain that we gave advice calculated to prevent revolutions, by reconciling opposite parties, and conflicting views. Ours was a policy of improvement and of peace, and therefore the government deserves not condemnation, but praise."

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF ROME.—1851.

"The occupation of Rome by the French troops was a measure undertaken by France upon her own discretion, and upon her own judgment. The British government was no party to the measure, France having exercised her own independent rights with regard to it, and it not being at all necessary that the previous

concurrence of the British government should be obtained. The British government, therefore, was no party to that measure, and, consequently, it is not correct to say that we concurred in it. We might have had our opinions upon the subject; but it was a matter in which we had no right to interfere one way or another. My honourable friend asks me if it is my opinion that the result of that occupation has been to establish good government in Rome? I am concerned to say that I cannot answer that question in the affirmative, because it is well known that the state of Rome, and the internal condition of that city, and of the Roman States, is such as must be painful to every well-wisher to the people of that country. With regard to the prolongation of that occupation, there undoubtedly have been friendly communications between her majesty's government and that of France. Her majesty's government cannot be blind to the consideration, that the French having once occupied Rome, the withdrawal of the French garrison would probably lead to the occupation of the city by other parties; and it does not follow that that would be a change advantageous to the people of Rome, or to those general interests which the British government must necessarily have at heart, as connected with Italian and European interests. The French government plead now as they pleaded then, that they had no intention of a permanent occupation; and they must be left to judge for themselves as to the period at which this occupation may cease, consistently with the objects in view—objects which are disinterested ones as far as France is concerned, for she never professed to have in view any territorial acquisition. By that occupation the French government have assured us, that as far as any influence goes which they may be at liberty to exercise in Rome, and with the Roman government by reason of that occupation, that influence has been exerted for those objects which the French government, as well as the English government, necessarily think most desirable to be attained."

ALDERNEY AND CHERBOURG.—1851.

"I think the zeal of my honourable friend (Mr. Cobden), who is in the habit of wishing to under-value the necessity of defensive precautions, has carried him somewhat too far when he talks of Cherbourg simply as a port of refuge, and of the works of Alderney as an insult and a menace towards France. Why, as to Alderney, the whole island would hold about 1,000 people; and the harbour, if completed, would afford accommodation for a few steamers. When you talk of the works at Alderney as aggressive against France, you might as well talk of the aggression of a sentry-box against a fortified town."

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—1851.

"I again say, I accept with pleasure the speech, and the proposal of the right honourable member, provided it is not imposed upon government in a way which I think would very much defeat the intentions he has in view. I accept it with pleasure, as the right hand of fellowship tendered by this country to our neighbours. I agree with him in thinking that, perhaps, there could not have been a more appropriate time than the present for a demonstration of this nature, because we have now converted this country, I may say, into the temple of peace of the whole world; we have invited the natives of every civilised country on the face of the earth to come here, not to the rivalry of physical strength or brute force, or the arts of human destruction; but to come here to compare the progress which each nation has made in those arts which constitute the happiness and ornament of the human race. It is certainly a proud year for this country; and it is no less a source of satisfaction to us, to see the confidence which is reposed in this nation by those who come themselves, and bring their goods to this great and mighty exhibition. It is also a source of honest pride to us to know that nothing has more struck the foreigners who have done us the honour of visiting us on this occasion, than that spirit of order which they have observed pervading every rank of society in this country. They have expressed their wonder

at the respect for the laws which is the spontaneous feeling of all, from the highest to the lowest in the land, and which arises partly from the excellence of those laws. I do not mean to say that they are perfect, any more than any other human institution can be but the comparative excellence of those laws, which secure to every man, from the highest to the lowest, the full enjoyment of the honest fruit of his industry, and which protect him against oppression from above, and against insult from below."

EDUCATION OF OFFICERS.—1851.

"Upon the general necessity—I will not lower it so far as to call it the expediency—of securing a good education to the officers in the army, I think everybody who has thought for a moment on the subject must be only of one opinion. There is this, however, to be considered—that any examination into merely intellectual attainments, can afford you but an imperfect standard as to the qualifications of an individual for military employment. There is, first of all, general intelligence, and that ordinary education which a gentleman is supposed to have attained; next, there is proficiency in the military and professional knowledge—in those matters which are thoroughly military, and do not belong to a general literary education; and, above all, in the third place, there are those constitutional qualities which are eminently, and beyond all others, important in the composition of an officer. Undoubtedly, my right honourable friend, the member for South Wilts, has observed how few great generals the history of his country has recorded. He might have generalised that observation, and extended it to the whole civilised world; for that combination of constitutional qualities, of military attainments, and of general knowledge, which, united, make a great military leader, is, perhaps, one of the rarest things you can find in the whole range of human nature; and, accordingly, there are fewer men recorded in history who have been great generals, than those who have excelled in any other department of human pursuits. The first examination of a young man who is to enter the army, ought to be a standard test to show that he has received the liberal education of a gentleman, and that he is possessed of mental and natural qualities which indicate that he is a young man of capacity and industry, and likely to excel in advancing himself in the knowledge of his profession. I think it most essential and wise to propose that the first examination shall not apply to purely military attainments. A young man, at the age at which candidates are examined for entrance into the army, will have employed his time to sufficient purpose if he have attained a requisite knowledge of those general branches of education with which young men ought to be acquainted. When he has received his commission, and after he has been a certain time in his regiment, his commanding officer has an opportunity of seeing whether he possesses those other constitutional qualities which fit him to rise, and to distinguish himself in his profession. The competitive examination for the staff seems to meet the general approval of this House. With regard to the strictness of the examination I quite agree with the right honourable gentleman, the member for Wiltshire; there is always, in a standard examination, some danger that it will fall too low. I think, however, the arrangements intended to be made, by which it is proposed that the examinations shall be conducted by examiners periodically changed, not belonging to any official establishment, and partly civilians and partly military men, will sufficiently secure that the examination shall not fall below the point to which it ought to be reduced. There is, in a system of competitive examination, on the other hand, the danger of going too high; and I must submit that, in many examinations, not excluding the universities and other systems, the examiners, from the natural feeling that what every man does should be done as well as possible, place a little too high the standard to which they adapt the competition of candidates. More especially, I should say, with regard to mathematics, there are limits beyond which no practical advantage is gained in straining the mind in acquiring abstract knowledge, for which, in after-life, there

is no immediate or practical use. Therefore a great deal of discretion is required in persons who examine, to see that the examination turns upon matters which will be useful in the line which the young man who is examined is intended to follow; and that he is not taxed beyond the useful amount which he may be expected to attain. The result of examinations are not carried too far. The danger is, if you do, that you are apt to get a young man who is endowed with a very retentive memory, and sometimes to lose a young man whose large intellectual resources, and whose promptitude and readiness in action, would have been the more useful in the military service. You get a man whose mind is an accomplished dictionary, instead of a man whose mind is created for energy and action; but it is practical men who are required in the army."

EUPHRATES RAILWAY.—1857.

"There can be no doubt that if the railway communication were established along the route which he has indicated—that is to say, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates—then a further communication, either by railway or by water, along that river to the Persian Gulf, and even to India, a considerably increased facility in the conduct of our commercial and political intercourse with that empire must be the result. We should also have the advantage of an alternative route in competition with the line of railway from Alexandria to Cairo, thence to Suez, and down by the Red Sea. I am not, however, by any means sure that the line in which the honourable gentleman seems to take so great an interest, is that which, if we were about to enter upon any project of the kind, the government would most desire to be adopted; because if railway communication should be established, as I have no doubt it will be at no distant period, with Constantinople, and if a line should be constructed from the other side of the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf, it is perfectly plain a much shorter and better means of communication with India will be secured than that which the honourable gentleman proposes, and which would embrace a sea passage, either from Marseilles, Toulon, or Trieste, to the further end of the Mediterranean. All these projects, however, are, in my opinion, schemes in reference to which her majesty's government ought to be deliberate spectators. I entirely concur with my right honourable friend, the member for the University of Oxford, in the sentiments to which he gave expression in that portion of his speech in which he so well and so ably pointed out the inexpediency of the government of this country meddling directly in enterprises such as that to which our attention has been this evening drawn, and which are to be carried into execution in a foreign state. My right honourable friend dwelt so forcibly on the political consequences which would be likely to result from a direct connection with such schemes, that it is unnecessary for me to say more upon that head, except that, upon the grounds to which he has adverted, her majesty's ministers would be indisposed to mix themselves up with projects of the nature of that which is now under discussion. To pursue a different policy would be, indeed, to take a course at variance with that which has, in similar cases, been adopted. Applications were made, for instance, to the English government, upon the part of our West Indian colonies, of Demerara, and of our North American provinces, for procuring assistance; and with those applications the government deemed it to be their duty to refuse to comply."

THE SUEZ CANAL.—1857.

"My right honourable friend has introduced the much-debated question of the projected canal at Suez. I have no doubt that a great deal of that persuasive eloquence, by which M. de Lesseps is now endeavouring, in all our large cities, to enlist people in favour of the scheme he now recommends, has been brought to bear upon my honourable friend. I was asked, some time ago, what was the opinion of the government with regard to that scheme. I stated, as I deemed it my duty to do, speaking as an unprofessional layman, that I considered

the scheme physically chimerical; that I thought it would not be remunerative commercially; and that I also regarded it as open to strong chimerical objections. These objections have, indeed, been constantly urged at Constantinople within the last fifteen years. The main objection upon which our opposition to that scheme was founded was, that it was, as we considered, the first step towards the separation of Egypt from Turkey, and that it would thus tend to the disintegration of that Turkish monarchy for the maintenance of which Europe took up arms three years ago. My right honourable friend thinks it was very unbecoming of the English government to oppose a scheme which was approved by other countries, simply because it was considered injurious to British interests. Now I must really beg to dissent from that principle. It seems to me that if the British government is of opinion that any scheme is injurious to British interests, it is their duty to oppose it, however much their opposition to such scheme may thwart the political and commercial interests of any other country. The first duty of a government is to look to the interests of the country; and if those interests are in conflict with any scheme which is proposed, they would be neglecting their duty if they sacrificed the interests of England for the purpose of accommodating themselves to the wishes or fancies of any other power. The strong ground, and the only ground upon which we have represented to the government of Turkey the expediency of concurring in the plan, is not the urging upon England, but of Turkey, the danger with which it would be attended to the integrity of the Turkish empire."

DIVORCE COURT.—1857.

"There are two or three points in the bill now before the House that have been particularly adverted to. The principal one regards the exemption given to clergymen who may object to celebrate the re-marriage of persons whose marriage has been dissolved by reason of their own offence. The noble lord opposite (Lord John Manners) argues that that exemption is not sufficient; and I understand the hon. baronet, the member for the University of Oxford (Sir William Heathcoate), to say that we did not go far enough, because we have not admitted the objection founded on the indissolubility of marriage. It was impossible for the government to admit that plea. I deny that there is anything in the teaching of the church of England to justify the opinion that marriage was indissoluble. If we look to the 25th Article of the church, which every clergyman is bound to subscribe, we find that the contrary is distinctly affirmed. It is there affirmed that matrimony is a state of life allowed in the Scriptures, but having nothing in common with the nature of a sacrament, 'for that they have not any visible sign of a ceremony ordained of God.' It is therefore impossible that any man who subscribes to this article can maintain that marriage is, on religious grounds, a tie that cannot be dissolved. It was simply, then, on the ground of their conscientious objection to many persons who had been guilty of a great moral offence, that I consented to the concession on behalf of the clergy. I concur in every argument which my hon. and learned friend the Attorney-general used against the principle on which their objection is founded. I trust the clergy will understand the views and feelings that have induced her majesty's government to agree to that concession, and that they will not look upon it as an admission of a principle which, if carried into practice, would, I fear, be highly detrimental to the interests of the church of England. The church of England has stood hitherto on ground very different, in some respects, from that of other churches in other countries. It has never assumed to itself the right of being an ecclesiastical inquisition. The clergymen of that church have contented themselves with being the guides, the instructors, and the friends of the laity. They have set an example of purity of life, which has recommended to the laity the precepts that have come from their lips; but if they should think that this concession entitles them to assume to themselves that authoritative interference in the affairs of private life, which is too frequently assumed by the clergymen of other countries, I am afraid they will do the greatest possible injury to the

church, by creating, in the minds of the laity, feelings towards the church very different from those which have hitherto prevailed. A few years ago, I was talking to a very distinguished person belonging to one of the central states of Italy; and I was urging upon him the absurdity and wrongfulness of government to prevent converts from the Catholic to the Protestant faith; when his reply was, that if they did not make it a punishable offence the whole people would be Protestants. 'What,' I said, 'do you mean to say that their religious opinions hang so loosely about them, and that their minds are so predisposed to Protestantism, that they would immediately, if let alone, alter their religion?' 'Oh,' said he, 'you misunderstand me; it is not from religious conviction that they would become Protestants, but that they would become Protestants to withdraw themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the priest.' I say, then, that if the clergy of England were to depart from that course they have hitherto pursued, they would inspire in the minds of the laity very different feelings from those which happily now prevail."

INTERNATIONAL LAW.—1862.

"It is generally admitted that nothing can be more inconvenient than the proposal to the adoption by the House of an abstract resolution; and I think the resolution of the honourable member (Mr. Horsfall), and the debate which has followed, amply illustrate the truth of that position. The honourable member has proposed a resolution, excessively vague in words, which points to no specific object; the meaning of which can only be collected from the speeches of those who have supported it in the course of the debate. If such a resolution were adopted, and the government of the day were called to act upon it, they could only guess as to what course they would have to pursue; and that upon looking at the arguments of the gentlemen who have taken part in the debate. That would, in general, be a difficult matter; but I confess that, in the present case, it would puzzle the most sagacious government to know what course to pursue, because one-half of those who have supported the resolution, and the hon. gentleman who moved it, have for their object to exempt private property at sea from capture; but the other half concurring have a different object—to reverse the declarations of Paris. Those are two objects totally different—indeed, diametrically opposite—and between which, the government, if called upon to act, as they would be by the concluding passages of the resolution, would be utterly at a loss as to which of the two courses the House of Commons wished them to adopt. I think that is of itself a sufficient reason why this resolution should not be affirmed by the House. If the House has decided upon the line of policy which it wishes to impose upon the government, it ought to embody that line of policy in a resolution, with clear, precise, pointed, definite results, and leaving the government rulers no embarrassment as to the course which the House wishes them to pursue. Then the government could choose whether it thought fit to adopt the resolution or not; and then, if the government thought it against the interests of the country, the course any government would have to follow is so plain, that it needs not any explanation. I will deal first with the declarations of Paris. It has been fully explained, that the only new point, as far as we are concerned, in that declaration, was that which declared that an enemy's property should be free from capture in a neutral bottom: the other points in the declaration were old-established practice. The declaration as to blockades was only recapitulating acts well known, and taken as facts. My hon. friend, the member for Birmingham, has very ably and very fully shown that it was a wise and politic measure, on the part of government, to adopt the principle that a neutral flag should cover the enemy's goods. He has shown that it was the doctrine of every other maritime power; and that if we had persisted in maintaining the opposite doctrine, and we had gone to war with any great maritime state, we should indubitably have run the risk of adding to that war a dispute with the other maritime powers, which would

have led to another armed neutrality. There is a principle upon which it appears to me this doctrine must stand. We have lately maintained, at the risk of war, that a merchant ship at sea is part of our territory; that that territory cannot be violated with impunity; that therefore individuals cannot be taken out of a merchantman belonging to a neutral country. The same principle may be said to apply to goods as well as to men; and if it be granted, as we do grant, that a belligerent has no right to take out of a merchant ship persons who are enemies, so, also, it follows that the neutral must always be respected, and, in the case even of an enemy's property on board, ought not to be violated. But the ground upon which the government assented to that declaration was, as has been well stated by the hon. member for Birmingham, that in the altered state of things, and in the present relative position of the great maritime powers of the world, they felt that, persisting to maintain a doctrine which no other nation maintained, would incur the risk of involving this country in hostilities with more than one power, if we came in contact with any power. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Walpole) who has just sat down, said, that if we were involved in a war with the United States, the declarations of Paris would place us in an embarrassing difficulty, because the United States did not happen to agree to them. One of the conditions of the declarations of Paris was, that they should apply only to the States which became parties to them; and therefore, in so far as the United States would not be parties to the treaty of Paris, they would not apply to any parties engaged in war with the United States. But with regard to the second article, which said the flag should cover the goods, that has always been the principle which the United States maintained, and therefore no difficulty arises between England and the United States upon that article. * * * Then we come to the other subject—namely, the proposition which is made by the hon. member for Liverpool, that we should agree that private property by sea shall be exempt from capture. It is said that it is a logical deduction from the treaty of Paris. I deny that proposition. The declarations of Paris related entirely to the relations between belligerents and neutrals. The proposition of the hon. member relates to the relations of belligerents to each other. It is a matter totally distinct, resting on totally different grounds, and I cannot see any logical connection between them. * * * The passage quoted as having been part of what I said at Liverpool, related to two matters. First of all, to the exemption of private property at sea from capture; and secondly, to the assimilation at sea of the principles of war to the practice of war on land. I am perfectly ready to admit that I have altered my opinion on the first point. Further reflection and deeper thinking have convinced me, that what at first sight is plausible—and I admit that it is plausible on the surface—is a most dangerous doctrine; and I hope that the hon. member (Mr. Bright) will be kind enough to give weight to my thoughts, and also to come round to those second thoughts which are proverbially the best. With regard to the assimilation of war by sea to the practice of war by land, I think that, as far as it was in the power of the government by arrangements with other powers, we have accomplished it. For what is the main difference between the practice of war by sea and by land? It is said that the practice of war by land is to respect private property. Every one who holds that doctrine must forget everything that has passed within his memory, and everything which he has read. It is well known that when armies are in an enemy's country, they take everything which they want, and very often destroy what they do not want, for the mere purpose of destruction. Not only do they destroy what they do not want, and take what they demand; but they go further, and levy heavy contributions upon the place which they occupy. I will relate two instances, at different periods of time, which show the continuity of the practice. In 1807, when the French army besieged Dantzic, then a Prussian town (France being at war with Prussia), after a long siege Dantzic surrendered. The French, in the first place, destroyed all the suburbs. They took a great many things which they wanted for their own

purposes—requisites of clothing, and so forth; and then they levied on the town a contribution of 30,000,000 francs. Was that respecting private property? Who was to pay these 30,000,000 francs except the inhabitants?—and how were they to pay it, except out of their own private property? That is one example of many, showing that it is not the practice in war by land to respect private property. Take another instance, at a much more recent period. In the year 1850 or 1851, there was a contest, in the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, between different German powers. I will, if the House permit me, read extracts from letters addressed to me by a diplomatic officer, who went to look at the country at the period, and after the contest—a contest which did not last long, and between German armies not actuated by hereditary animosity or difference of race, but acting simply in the ordinary operations of war, upon the theatre of hostilities. This is what he stated on the 17th of November, 1850.

“It is deplorable to consider the inevitable consequences of this immense concentration of foreign troops in Hesse-Cassel, of which your lordship, no doubt, is already informed; but the sufferings of the poor inhabitants are likely to exceed anything which can be imagined; their provisions for the winter, setting in, have been consumed by the troops quartered on them. Sickness and disease are beginning to disappear; and, I believe, though the report is endeavoured to be put down, that the cholera has appeared in several cases.”

“That was the condition in November. The following March, he says—

“The country continues in a deplorable condition. There is no commerce of any kind; and, consequently, no money. I am assured that, in that part of it occupied by the Federal and Prussian troops, everything is destroyed; and that there are some thousands of persons in a state of complete destitution. Not only were their cattle and stores all consumed, but their horses even taken; so that the ground cannot be tilled; and, in the interior of the houses and cottages, the furniture of all sorts was used for firewood.”

“That is a just specimen of the result of war by land; and these gentlemen run away with the notion that, in war by land, private property is respected. * * * By sea, it is said, private property is taken; but it is taken in a different manner, and with more order and regularity. Private property at sea is not made prize until it is adjudicated, by a competent tribunal, as a legal and proper capture. I was about to say that we have assimilated, or endeavoured, at least, to assimilate, the practice of war by sea to the practice of war by land. What was the main difference of the two? Not that private property was not taken by land as well as by sea, but that, by sea, it was taken by a different set of people from those who were authorised to take it by land. By land, no individual was allowed to make war unless he belonged to a regular organised army, and was in the service of a state. If people made war on their own account on land, they were taken and shot as banditti. Nothing was more common, in Spain, than for the French to take the peasants and shoot them without the slightest hesitation, if they were not embodied as military. It is a well-known fact, that, to carry on war by land, the people must be in the service of a constituted authority, and not so by sea. Private war on the ocean was a permitted and acknowledged practice. We agreed, at last, to the proposal that privateering by sea should no longer be a legitimate mode of carrying on war; and that future wars should be carried on only by regularly organised forces, acting under the authority and command of a responsible government. That part of the arrangement has been so far carried out; the privateering, as regards those parties who acceded to the declaration, has been, and will be, discontinued. But these declarations do not apply to the states who did not accede to them. The United States of America have not acceded to the abolition of privateering; and, undoubtedly, if we had the misfortune, as was not unlikely a short time ago, to be engaged in a war with the United States, we should not be bound to abstain from privateering, unless the United States also should enter into a similar and corresponding arrangement.

* * * * An island like this, with an army which is not large enough to be sent to a distance across the sea for any great operation of war, must mainly rest for redress upon its naval power being exerted in destroying the commerce and commercial ships of its antagonists, and in taking their crews prisoners. Gentlemen have argued this question as if it were simply a matter of ships and goods; but they forget that, when you take an enemy's merchant ship, you take not only the vessel and the cargo, but also the sailors on board; who, if they are allowed to return safely to their own ports, are an additional source of strength to your enemy. Suppose—what I hope may be far distant—that we were at war with France. That country sends annually some 15,000 or 20,000 sailors to the different fisheries as nurseries for her war navy. Suppose we were blockading Brest, Toulon, Cherbourg, or L'Orient: if the principle of the hon. member for Liverpool were adopted, we should have to allow the fleet of 20,000 sailors to pass with impunity through our blockading squadron, to man the enemy's ships lying in the port before us. My opinion, therefore, distinctly is, that, if you give up the power which you possess, and which all maritime states possess and have exercised—of taking the ships, the property, and the crews of the nation with whom you may happen to be at war—you would be crippling the right arm of our strength; you would be inflicting a blow upon our naval power; and you would be guilty of an act of political suicide."

THE IONIAN ISLANDS.—1863.

"The hon. member for Devizes asks me, whether it is competent, according to the constitution, for the crown, by its prerogative, to alienate, without the consent of parliament, possessions that belong to the crown; and he contended that the Ionian Islands are, to all intents and purposes, a possession of the British crown. He says we make a vague and imaginary distinction between those islands and a colony; because a colony has a governor, and the Ionian Islands have also a British governor; while there are British garrisons in both. This rather reminds one of the observation that there was an identity between Monmouth and Macedon: there was a river in Macedon, and a river in Monmouth; and there were salmon in both. I do not think that the hon. member has established the identity on which his argument is founded. There is a broad and substantial distinction between the two, and one not merely of form. The Ionian Islands have not been ceded by any treaty to England as a possession of the British crown. They were, by the treaty of 1815, erected, or rather reconstituted, a separate and independent state—the Republic of the Seven Islands; and that separate and independent state was placed under the protectorate of the British crown, and not given as a possession to the British crown. The distinction is manifest and radical; therefore I contend, that, if the hon. member were able to establish that it is not competent for the crown, by an act of its prerogative, to alienate any British possession—any possession acquired by conquest, or ceded to the crown by treaty—that argument would not apply to the Ionian Islands, which are in a separate and entirely different category. But with regard to cases of territory acquired by conquest during war, and not ceded by treaty (and which are not, therefore, British freehold), and all possessions that have been ceded by treaty, and held as possessions of the British crown, there is no question that the crown, by its prerogative, may make a treaty alienating such possessions without the consent of the House of Commons. The history of this country furnishes numerous instances in which cessions of the kind have been made. To mention some of the most recent and strongest cases—I do not now speak of possessions occupied during war, and never fully and finally given to the British crown, but possessions that have been legally vested in the crown, and afterwards ceded to some foreign power—there were Senegal, Minorca, Florida, and the islands of Banca—all of them, for a greater or less period of time, possessions of the British crown; and they were all ceded by treaty to some foreign power. Therefore there cannot be a question as

to the competency of the crown to make such cessions. I can, however, relieve the hon. member's mind with regard to Malta and Gibraltar, by assuring him that there is not the slightest intention, on the part of the crown, of making a present of either of these possessions to any foreign power. There has been a great deal of misapprehension in the public mind with regard to this question of the Ionian Islands; and people in general imagine that we have, by a stroke of the pen, made a present of them to Greece. But no such thing has been done. What we said was, that if they chose a sovereign in whom the British government could place confidence—that he would govern the country internally upon liberal principles, and that, externally, he would abstain from aggression on his neighbours—then we would take those steps which were necessary for the purpose of ceding the islands to Greece. But it does not depend on the will of the British crown singly to do so. These islands were placed under British protection by a treaty signed by the great powers of Europe—by the powers who were parties to the treaty of Vienna, and whose consent to the cession must be obtained. But there, again, we are not going, even with the consent of those powers, to transfer the population of the islands even to another power, if that population be not willing. There are, therefore, required for the cession—the consent of the powers who were parties to the treaties of 1815, and the acknowledged and official consent of those who are the organs of the national will of the Ionians. But none of these steps have been taken, because the case has not arisen. No sovereign has been chosen for Greece as yet, still less any sovereign answering the condition upon which further steps were to be taken. Undoubtedly, it would be right, if those islands were to be annexed to Greece, that Greece should undertake, by treaty, not to alienate them; because it is quite clear that there might be arrangements by which the islands might come into the possession of some other foreign power than Greece, to the detriment of neighbouring states. But we have not come to the point at which these details should be gone into. I wish the hon. member (Mr. D. Griffith) and the House to understand, that it is my opinion, founded on historical evidence, that the power to alienate even the possessions of the crown, does exist in the crown; but those islands are not possessions of the British crown, and the transaction requires the consent of all the parties to the treaties of 1815."

DENMARK AND PRUSSIA.—1864.

"My honourable friend (Mr. Bernal Osborne) has his opinions, but I do not think they are partaken by the country at large. Although my honourable friend is very abundant in his criticisms, I am really quite at a loss to understand what he would have done if he had had the management of affairs. [Mr. Bernal Osborne—"Let it alone."] My honourable friend, therefore, would have been a party to a treaty [Mr. Bernal Osborne—"I would not have made it"] by which this country was bound to acknowledge a certain sovereign as king of the duchies under the sway of the Danish Court, and to respect the integrity of the Danish monarchy; and, in spite of the general opinion that this country was bound by honour and by interest to endeavour to maintain that treaty, he would have done nothing, but have sat still with his hands in his pockets, as he is doing now. I think that such a course would have been no credit to the government, nor to the satisfaction of the country at large. We may be wrong, and we may be right; but such, at least, is our opinion on the matter. We endeavoured to persuade other countries to fall into our views; and we trust we have accomplished, or are about to accomplish, a considerable step in establishing a conference, with the object of restoring peace. My honourable friend, who opened the question, referred to a transaction at Sonderburg, which, I am afraid, really did take place. We have no official or authentic information; but we have every reason to believe, without knowing the extent to which lives were sacrificed, that a bombardment of Sonderburg did take place, and that some of the citizens were killed. The invasion of Danish territory was, in our opinion, unjust and unjustifiable; and I am sorry

to say that circumstances have occurred, in connection with the conduct of the German troops during the invasion which are not in keeping with the practice of civilised nations in modern times. We have made an inquiry at Berlin, but we have not yet got an answer—an inquiry, first, as to whether the thing did really take place; and next, by what authority and under what orders the bombardment was carried out. I do not think that the British government can presume to dictate to the Prussian army the manner in which they should conduct their operations; but there are opinions which men may express, as to conduct pursued in violation of the ordinary rules of humanity, though I hope we shall be allowed to determine what we shall say when we get an answer from Berlin.”

THE YEOMANRY.—1864.

Lord Palmerston explained that no slight was meant to the yeomanry, but the contrary, in supposing that they could dispense for this year with their annual training. The unfortunate war in New Zealand had entailed very large expenses incidental to the year, “and which we hope will not occur in any future year. Looking over the various heads of charges connected with our military arrangements, we have thought the reduction proposed might fairly be made without any diminution of the efficiency of this valuable part of our domestic force. I hope, therefore, that the House will not agree to the motion of the hon. member, and diminish, by the amount of £46,000, that saving which we think the House may be fairly called on to effect with regard to this force.”

THE FRENCH EMPEROR.—1864.

“I am convinced that my honourable friend (Mr. Stansfeld) attaches the same value to the welfare and personal safety of the sovereign who reigns over the empire of France as any man in this House can attach; that he is as sensible as we are that that great sovereign has, on many grave and important occasions, proved himself to be a true friend and faithful ally of this country; and we all feel that his personal security and dynastic welfare are not only of the utmost value to the loyal and attached people he governs, but are equally essential to the general interests of Europe.”

THE DUTIES OF AN OPPOSITION.—1864.

“Admitting that we have done wrong, the blame rests as much with the opposition as the government. But, at the same time, although I admit that, unintentionally the right honourable gentleman, and those who sit near him, must share with us in the blame. Because, what is the natural occupation of an opposition? What are they there for, if not to find out when a mistake has been made? Their business is to watch with keen eye the conduct of the government they oppose; to trip them up even before they fall—at all events, if they stumble, to call upon them to set things right again. That is the peculiar function of the opposition, if anything be wrong or blamable, or liable to criticism in the conduct of the government. I must say, therefore, we have a right to complain of the right honourable gentleman, and those who sit by him, that they have not previously announced that, since April last year, we have gone on in a wrong course, which they might have known was wrong in point of law. They have laid a trap for us: that, I maintain, is not fair in the course of a parliamentary opposition.”

DIPLOMACY AT ROME.—1864.

“With regard to Mr. Odo Russell—by law, as it formerly stood, we were precluded from having any diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome. Some years ago, the House thought it desirable that the crown should have some diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome; and an act of parliament was passed, authorising the crown to have those diplomatic relations. In the course of that

bill through parliament a clause was introduced, providing that no ecclesiastics should be received in this country as diplomatic representatives of the pope. The court of Rome took offence at that clause, and said, if they were not allowed to be represented here by an ecclesiastic they would not be represented at all. We were obliged to submit to that decision; and, therefore, as they would not be represented here, so they said, also, they would not receive at Rome any accredited minister from the crown of England. Well, it appeared to the government that it was almost childish that diplomatic intercourse with the sovereign of Rome should be prevented by that etiquette, and, accordingly, the secretary of legation at Florence was stationed at Rome, with the consent of Rome, to be the official organ of the government at the Court of Rome. I forget the name of the person who was originally in that position; but, of late years, Mr. Odo Russell has been acting in that capacity. He is, unofficially I may say, diplomatic agent of the crown of England at Rome. He is, as has been stated by the honourable baronet opposite, most cordially received by the pope, to whom he has free access, and with whom he is on the best possible personal terms. Mr. Odo Russell is at Rome for these general purposes, and it is quite a mistake to say that he is there for any political intrigues. He is there to give us that general information which diplomatic agents do give at the Courts where they are stationed; and to carry on those communications which, from time to time, it is expedient to carry on with the Roman government. But these functions are totally distinct from those performed by a consul: the consul could not perform the functions of Mr. Odo Russell, and Mr. Odo Russell could not perform the functions of a consul."

THE AMERICAN WAR.—1864.

"He could assure his honourable friend (Mr. Lindsay) that her majesty's government deeply lamented both the sacrifice of life and property in America, and the distress which the war had occasioned in the country. But they had not thought that, in the present state of things, there was any advantage to be gained by entering into concert with any other power for the purpose of offering our mediation, or in any other way endeavouring, by communication with the government of the United States, to bring that unfortunate contest to a termination."

EDUCATION INSPECTORS' REPORTS.—1864.

Lord Palmerston, in rising pursuant to notice to move a resolution on the subject, said—"I rise to ask this House to do an act of generosity and justice. This House is one of the highest authorities in the realm. There is, technically speaking, no appeal from its decision; but if, by circumstances, it should have been led to do that which is not founded on justice, there is an appeal which I am sure is always successful when made. We know that the approval of the House of Commons is one of the highest objects of ambition to any man engaged in the service of his country; and we also know that its censure is most deeply felt by any man on whom it may happen to fall. I have said that, technically speaking, there is no appeal from the decision of this House; but there is, nevertheless, an authority to which in reality such an appeal can be made, and that authority is one which is always ready to hear everything that can be alleged in favour of the person wronged, and is always open to listen to the truth when stated, though the truth may be in opposition to its original belief and conviction. The authority to which I allude is the House itself; and if it can be shown to the House that the decision at which it may have arrived, whether affecting an individual or a department, has been arrived at hastily, or without full consideration, or upon inadequate grounds, an appeal to its sense of justice can never be made in vain, and that it will always be ready to set right that which it may have done wrongly. On the 12th of April last there was a debate in this House, and a resolution was proposed inculcating a right honourable member, as well as a department of the government. The right

honourable member is my right honourable friend the member for Calne, and the department of the government is the committee of council of education. The noble lord, the member for Stamford, moved a resolution affirming that the reports of the inspectors of schools had been mutilated as produced to this House; that the mutilation had deprived the reports of their proper value, and that the practice was at variance with the understanding on which those inspectors were originally appointed. My right honourable friend, feeling that, in the course of the debate, a question had arisen which, in his opinion, involved an imputation on his veracity, with a nice sense of personal honour, and at variance, I am bound to say, with the advice of his friends, tendered the resignation of his office, and took upon himself the censure which the resolution implied. That being so, we thought the matter could not be allowed to rest there; and the decision of the House having been founded on a misconception, and a want of sufficient explanation, we deemed it right that a committee should be appointed to investigate the subject, and to ascertain on what grounds the resolution had been proposed. I am not at all seeking to impugn the conduct of the noble lord who moved the resolution, or of those members who voted for and carried it. They acted on their honest and sincere conviction, though I think I can show that that conviction was founded on error. It was determined, at all events, that a committee should be appointed, and our first motion was that the members of that committee should be named in the usual way. We thought it essential that my right honourable friend should serve on it; but he declined to do so, and we were unable to get him to retract his decision. The committee was eventually nominated by the general committee of elections. That committee met, and made the report which is in the hands of the House. Now, the resolution of the 12th of April was, in my opinion, entirely negated by the report; and that being so, I propose to the House to rescind a resolution at variance with the deliberate report of a committee so appointed. The resolution passed by the House was to the effect that the reports of the inspectors of schools were mutilated, and, therefore, were deprived of their value; but the committee reported, as honourable members are well aware, that, in point of fact, it was not correct to state, as stated in that resolution, that from these reports was excluded everything that was unfavourable to the views of the committee on education, and that those things only were inserted which were in their favour. The committee found that passages were admitted, some of them favourable to them, and some of them unfavourable; that there was no partiality in that respect, and that a fair representation was given of the opinions of inspectors of schools. Then the committee say that disquisitions on matters not belonging to the cognizance of the inspectors had been omitted, and that they think such omission was right and proper. They also say that such a supervision was essential to the working of the committee of council as now constituted; and, therefore, the report of that committee appears to me entirely to exculpate my honourable friend, and the department to which he belonged, from the charges which were implied by the resolution of the 12th of April. I therefore propose to the House that the resolution of the 12th of April ought to be rescinded, and is hereby rescinded." Which resolution, after a short debate, was carried.

THE MEXICAN EMPIRE.—1864.

"The course which her majesty's government intends to pursue in this case does not differ in principle from the course which her government has invariably pursued in other cases. Without going into minute questions as to the origin of the government, whether it be a republic or a monarchy—when we find a government established, we enter into friendly relations with that government. My honourable friend says, with regard to Mexico, that we proceeded prematurely to acknowledge the empire before it was practically and regularly established. I don't think our engagements were to that extent. We were applied to by the archduke to acknowledge his future empire when he was in Europe. We were

not inclined to do that, and we said it would be entirely at variance with our principles and practice; but that if, on his arrival in Mexico, he was received by the people, and his government regularly established by the people, our wish was that Mexico should have a stable government. The great cause of the dissatisfaction which we had for a long time, in respect to that country, was, that Mexico had been governed successively by a number of military chiefs, who, one after another, obtained power, and, one after another, availed themselves of that power to plunder and murder English subjects; for they treated them no better than the people of any other country, but rather worse. It was, therefore, a great object with us to see established in Mexico a government with which relations could be maintained, and from which we might expect justice for British subjects resident in or engaged in commerce with Mexico. My honourable friend (Mr. Kinglake) says, that the portion of Mexico occupied by French troops is limited. It may be so; but it does not follow that, in other parts of the country, not occupied by the French troops, the people may not be inclined to support the government of the emperor. And we have information—we may be misled—but our information is to the effect, that the Indian population, who form a large portion of the total number of the people, are well disposed towards the emperor. All I can say is, that our course will depend on what we hear as to the manner in which the authority of the emperor is established. If we find there is a prospect of a permanent government being established, we shall be very glad to acknowledge it. Such a government will be for the advantage of Mexico and of Europe. If, on the other hand, we find matters still uncertain, and a war still going on, which may result one way or the other, we shall say the government is not of a kind that would justify us in acknowledging the archduke as emperor of Mexico."

But we must conclude these extracts, which we give as illustrating the opinions of Lord Palmerston on many important questions, especially when, as in the course of our narrative, we have only briefly glanced at his lordship's speeches. To those to which we have already referred, it is unnecessary to remark that we make no reference here.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WAS LORD PALMERSTON A TRAITOR?

IT is time now that we notice some of the charges made against Viscount Palmerston by the anti-Russian party, of which Mr. David Urquhart is the head.

"Russia," we are told in a work printed, but not published, in 1842, entitled *The Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, Administered by the Right Honourable John, Viscount Palmerston*—"Russia has used the blindness of England and France to work out her objects. Gradually, every event which she predicted has come to pass; and they have come to pass in the face of, and often at the moment of, the bitterest demonstration and exposure of the means of action employed to bring them about. The words peace, civilisation, liberty, increasing commerce, interests of nations, and hosts of general propositions embodied in other similar abstract terms, have constantly intervened to carry away men's minds from the examination of any tangible thing connected with their country's safety or interest."

The writer first refers to the Syrian question as certain to lead to a war between France and England. He tells us—"The treaty attempted to take away from the Pasha of Egypt his authority in Syria, and guaranteed him the sovereignty of Egypt. In the note of the 8th of October, the French minister agreed to leave

the pasha's possession of Syria to the good-will of the four powers; and insisted only on the sovereignty of Egypt remaining to the pasha." The language of M. Thiers was as follows:—"The question with respect to the limits which ought to be established in Syria, in order to divide the possessions of the sultan from those of the Viceroy of Egypt, might with safety be left to the chances of war now actually in progress; but France cannot prevail upon herself to abandon to such a chance the existence of Mehemet Ali as prince-vassal of the empire. Whatever territorial limits may ultimately separate the two vassals by the future of war, their continued double existence is necessary to Europe; and France cannot admit the suppression of either the one or the other. Disposed as she is to enter upon, and take part in, any acceptable arrangement which shall have for its basis the double guarantee of the existence of the sultan, and that of the Viceroy of Egypt, she confines herself, at present, to the declaration on her part that she cannot consent to the act of deposition pronounced at Constantinople." France accepted the treaty; the funds rose, and peace was preserved. Lord Palmerston, we are told, had "all that he had reiterated—his anxious wish for peace with France." Our author implies that his lordship had a different design. All we can say is, that he does not make good his charge; and that peace between France and England was maintained.

The second count in the indictment is, that Lord Palmerston was all along an ally of Russia; and was working with that power for the destruction of his country. The writer tells us that, "for any minister at any sovereign court to entertain a suspicion of the collusion of Lord Palmerston with Russia against his country, would be to believe in the insanity of the whole British legislature and of the British people." Yet, it is evident he entertains such an idea, and wishes his readers to believe it. For this faith he gives the following quotation, professing to be a letter from a statesman in Paris, October 6th, 1844:—

"The object of Russia and Lord Palmerston is hostility between England and France.

"Lord Palmerston is gradually enlisting, in favour of the treaty, the sympathy and passions of the British nation, by arousing them against France whilst lulling them into security. In proportion as Lord Palmerston secures the sympathies of the British nation, will he proceed to outrages against France.

"Until the French government comes to the decision, and forms the plan of restoring the alliance of France and England, every thought which it entertains, every word which it utters, every act which it performs, every moment that it loses, is so much contributed to bringing about the war, which is the end proposed by the treaty.

"Lord Palmerston's course is very simple: he assures England that there is no danger of war, and he opens to the French government the hope of escape; and thus leads the English nation, step by step, into a position of hostility, and prevents the French government from taking any decision, or doing anything that can prevent that war which they seek to avert, and which can only be prevented by their obtaining the support of the British nation against Lord Palmerston.

"It is my firm conviction, that nothing can avert war except the declaration of the French government against the treaty—except the announcement of the English nation of its resolution to compel the annulment of that treaty. It is my firm conviction, from the very moment that the French government has taken the decision, and formed the plan for annulling the treaty, that it can effect it with ease and certainty; but every hour that is lost diminishes the chance of success.

"Lord Palmerston and Russia seek to give time; and France, by allowing them to give time, loses all. France becomes every day more weak, because more despised; and the frightful augmentation of dangers that menace her from without, brings increase of the element of disorder that will soon convulse her from within. France, wavering between propagandism and rights, wavering between armaments

and submission, can be believed by no one, trusted by no friend, feared by no foe, and exhibits to the world an hourly-increasing spectacle of humiliation for her friends, and triumph for her foes."

The next charge is as to the design of Russia. In a despatch of Prince Lieven, dated January 4th, 1829, we find the following:—"As to our war in the East, whatever may be the prejudices of the public in general, it does not lack defenders amongst the distinguished members of both houses of parliament." Again, writing to Count Nesselrode, the same statesman says—"The speech of Lord Palmerston, whose name is henceforth associated with those of the first orators in parliament, has insisted on the preservation of the general peace, and proved that an Austro-Turkish policy would only serve to disturb it." A still more important illustration of the friendliness of Lord Palmerston to Russia, and of the reluctance of the leaders of the Conservative party to support it, may be found in the following extract from the diplomatic correspondence of the same date. "It will not escape your excellency," writes Prince Lieven, "that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen have put everything in motion to wrest from us *confidences* as to the conditions of our future peace with the Turks. It appeared to us useless to repeat the assurances which, on this point, all the declarations of the emperor contained, or even to add any development of them. We shall confine ourselves to these generalities; for any circumstantial communication on a subject so delicate, would have drawn down on us real dangers; and if once we were to discuss with our allies the articles of a treaty with the Porte, we should only content them when they would have believed that they had imposed upon us irreparable sacrifices. It is in the midst of our camp that peace must be signed; and it is when it shall have been concluded that Europe shall know its conditions. Remonstrances will then be too late; and then it will suffer what it can no longer prevent." Of the cunning of this policy, there can be no doubt. Its success, also, is as clear. The objects of Russia, as laid down by Peter the Great, are—1. The acquisition of Turkey, and seizure of Constantinople. 2. The dominion of Persia and of Central Asia. 3. The possession of the Black Sea, Caspian, and extension of influence to the Levant and Mediterranean. 4. The possession of India.

The Court historian of the Russian empire, in his *History*, gives a faithful picture of Russian policy. "Nothing changes in the character and views of our foreign policy. We seek to be at peace everywhere, and to make acquisitions without war. Always keeping ourselves on the defensive, we place no faith in the friendship of those whose interests do not accord with our own; and we lose no opportunity of injuring them without ostensibly violating treaties."

The charge thus made of playing into the hands of Russia, is substantiated by a reference to some of the prominent points in Lord Palmerston's policy.

And, first, the writer points to Poland. Russia was bound to extinguish the existence of Poland as a separate kingdom. As much in a commercial as in a political point of view was this object required; without it, Russia could not move one step in her march to Eastern conquest, or make a single advance towards the control or the possession of Eastern commerce. Situated between the Baltic Sea and Turkey, Poland stretched across Europe, flanking the territory of Muscovy, and forming a barrier as well to the march of Russian aggression as to the progress of Russian commercial monopoly. Commerce was the main object to which Peter the Great turned his attention—it was the groundwork of the education of that powerful diplomatic body which he may be almost said to have created and rendered permanent. The Czar of Muscovy wished to make his kingdom rich and great, by drawing to it the chief part of the commerce of Europe and Asia; but Poland was alone sufficient to prevent this. The march of Russian progression is as follows:—1. Commercial interference. 2. Political protection. 3. Conquest and absorption. At the congress of Vienna the plenipotentiaries of Russia moved heaven and earth to effect the annihilation of Polish nationality; and they would have succeeded had it not been for the firmness of Lord Castlereagh. It was

agreed, therefore, that the grand duchy of Warsaw should be erected into an independent kingdom, bound to Russia by its constitution. What ensued?

"The heir to the crown of Russia was Constantine. This prince was of a disposition at once so tyrannical, so imbecile, so ignorant, and so ferocious, that it had been found necessary to exclude him from the succession or any governing authority. This madman was sent to carry out the constitution of Poland. Not only was there no outrage that he did not perpetrate, but there was not a single article of the Polish constitution that he did not systematically violate. By that constitution a representative system was given to Poland, and the Diet was to be convoked every two years. Five years were allowed to elapse, and no Diet was assembled.

"The constitution provided, that the right of granting supplies was vested in the people; that no taxes should be imposed except with the consent of the representatives; and that a budget should be submitted to the Diet every fourth year. Taxes were imposed without the consent of the representatives, and no budget was submitted to, or voted by them for fifteen years.

"The constitution provided, in the most perfect manner, for the liberty of the person; for if any man was arrested, he was, within three days, to know the accusation against him, to be brought before the proper authority, and, if the charges were not substantiated, he was to be discharged within that time. For the most trivial offences, or supposed offences, numbers of Poles were constantly imprisoned by Constantine without any form whatever, and kept in prison months without being examined. An insurrection at St. Petersburg was made the pretext for filling the prisons at Warsaw with individuals, who were treated with a degree of barbarity that caused many to commit suicide—many to sink under their torments. The survivors were brought to trial eighteen months after their committal, and were acquitted in a mass, no suspicion of offence appearing against them; yet many of the acquitted men were transported to Russian mines.

"The constitution provided for the liberty of the press, and that the proceedings of the Diet were to be made public. Instead of this, when any spoke or wrote what might not please Constantine, he was seized and imprisoned during the governor's pleasure; and the publication of the debates was suppressed by an ordinance of the emperor.

"The constitution provided that no Russian should fill office in Poland, and that no Russian troops should be quartered in Poland: 10,000 of them were quartered permanently at Warsaw, chiefly at the expense of the inhabitants."

The result of this was—what it is to be presumed Russia anticipated—the Polish revolution. With that natural outbreak the lovers of freedom all over Europe sympathised. Louis Philippe, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, said—"The nationality of Poland shall not perish:" and the speech was loudly and unanimously echoed by the Chamber. In England, the sympathy with Poland was equally as ardent and strong. Austria was ready to march to the relief of the Poles. There was Sweden on the eve of marching to attack Russia. In the East, there was actually the Shah of Persia ready to march to the assault; and all the mountain tribes of the Caucasus panting to revenge themselves on Russia. Had Palmerston said a word Poland might have been saved. Russia was in no position to withstand the combination that could have been, and would have been, led against her. No one can palliate Lord Palmerston's conduct in this matter. It is a stain on his fame which can never be washed away. The friends of Polish nationality exulted on the accession of Lord Palmerston to power; and the Grey cabinet received no small share of support, in consequence of the moral certainty which prevailed that it would not waver like the Wellington cabinet, but that it would be right on the Polish question. War with Russia was out of the question. All Europe was against her. We repeat that Lord Palmerston's conduct on this occasion detracts from his reputation. Mr. Urquhart and his friends tell us he was bribed by Russia: we cannot bring ourselves to believe that.

Russia having thus succeeded in her attempt on Poland, she next proceeded to the statute of incorporation, of 26th February, 1832, which annihilated the right of commerce possessed by England. The question was brought before an English parliament by a Conservative member, Mr. Arthur Ferguson. Many of the leading Liberals supported him—such as Mr. Labouchere, Colonel Fox, Mr. Shiel, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Hume, and others. How did Lord Palmerston evade the difficulty? Why, by absenting himself from the debate. His colleague, Lord Althorp, alleged to the House, as a reason for not saying or doing anything on the subject brought before them, “the absence of his noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was unavoidably kept away by very important business:” and thus the debate dropped without any results. Again, in the course of the same year, the subject was brought forward. This time Lord Palmerston was present, and spoke as follows:—

“Viscount Palmerston said, that if it were his intention to object to the present motion, he should feel it his duty to enter into the subject somewhat in detail, and to discuss the question at full length; but that would be unnecessary, as he was prepared to accede to the production of the papers. And as his honourable and learned friend had had the good taste and judgment to say, that neither by his arguments, nor by the motion with which he intended to conclude, did he mean to drive his majesty’s government into any defence or explanation of the conduct which they had pursued with reference to the affairs of Poland, he should avail himself of what had fallen from his honourable and learned friend, and beg the House to excuse him from entering into any discussion or explanation of the conduct pursued by government in those transactions. He was sure that there was no person who must not see that, with reference to all the interests concerned, and on every account, he should best discharge his duty by not entering into any statement of that nature. At the same time, he was bound in justice to add, that the government of this country was not blind to the rights conferred upon them by the treaty of Vienna. No man could entertain a doubt that Great Britain possessed a full right to express a decided opinion upon the performance or non-performance of the stipulations contained in that treaty. Nevertheless, it could not be deemed that, individually, England lay under particular obligation, independently of the other contracting parties, to adopt measures of interference by force. For the reasons, then, which he had already stated, he took for granted that the House would not expect him to explain at length the communications which had taken place between his majesty’s government and their agents at foreign Courts upon the subject of Poland. The honourable and learned gentleman, in the course of his speech, had adverted to the severities practised by the Russian government towards the Poles, and expressed his apprehension that other and still more objectionable severities were likely to take place. He should not, at that moment, enter into details; but he thought every man who heard him must feel that it was the interest of Russia to take a very different course, and to attach the people of Poland to her government, not more by the justice of her policy than by the concession of those institutions which were known to be the most agreeable to their feelings.” And thus, with a few more vague generalities, the question was disposed of; the papers were granted; and the sanction of England was given to the seizure of Poland by Russia.

Nor was this all: the powers who signed the treaty of Vienna, were not content with constituting the duchy of Warsaw into a kingdom; they also judged it necessary to fix upon another spot of ancient Poland, in which to preserve the remains of Polish nationality; and they raised the territory of Cracow into an independent state. They, by a solemn treaty, gave a constitution to Cracow, which could not be violated without a declaration of hostility against them. By that constitution, the right of choosing a president was vested in a representative assembly. It provided that there should be twelve senators. It provided also for the establishment of a university, in which, among a number of professorships, one

was directed to the teaching of Polish literature and law. In direct violation of this treaty, a Russian force, in 1831, entered the state of Cracow, and refused to pay the expense of the occupation, alleging that it was a just punishment for disaffection; while there was no disaffection that could be proved. The agents of Russia laboured unceasingly in Cracow to excite tumult, to foment conspiracies, and to exasperate the inhabitants against their government. Russian agents distributed seditious books among the students, and endeavoured to inflame their passions. The cabinet of St. Petersburg then denounced, to Austria and Prussia, Cracow as a hotbed of disaffection; as a *dépôt* for revolutionary principles; as a place of refuge for intriguing characters. In 1832, the troops of Russia, Austria, and Prussia poured into Cracow, abolished the constitution, and established a new one. They vested the appointment of president in themselves. They reduced the number of senators from twelve to eight. They abolished nine professorships in the university, among which was that of Polish literature, for the purpose of annihilating every vestige of Polish nationality. In 1836, Sir Stratford Canning called the attention of the House to the violation of the constitution guaranteed to Cracow by the treaty of Vienna. Lord Palmerston stated, in reply, that his majesty's government had not received any official account of the entrance of the troops of the three powers into Cracow; that it was probable the Austrian troops might have entered the place; that it might be a violation of the treaty of Vienna; but that he was not prepared to give an opinion upon it. His lordship promised that it was a matter to which the government would direct its attention; but that the House would not expect him to state what steps the government might deem it expedient to take. The subject then dropped. It was, however, again brought forward; and the reader will find Lord Palmerston's reply in a preceding chapter. His lordship was followed by members of each party in the House, with Lord Sandon, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, and Lord Dudley Stuart, who all agreed in everything that fell from Sir Stratford Canning.

Mr. Patrick Stewart, in March, inquired of the Foreign Secretary, whether he had communicated with the authorities at Cracow, and if an answer had been received? He furthermore asked whether the noble lord was aware that the Polish refugees, having been induced to pass out of the district in which they were, instead of being forwarded to their place of destination, had been delivered up by the three powers into the hands of Russia, and had been marched to Siberia or Tobolsk? Lord Palmerston replied that he had received answers from most of the ministers to whom he had written for information respecting the affairs of Cracow; but that he had not had any communications with the authorities themselves. It was the intention of the government, when first they heard of the state of Cracow, and of the disposition to expel certain refugees from the country, to send the British consul at Warsaw to Cracow, to obtain full information; but, before the government could give effect to their information, they heard of the actual occupation of the town by the three contracting powers; and it did not appear to them that that was a fitting occasion for the consul at Warsaw to present himself in the town of Cracow.

Not satisfied with this answer, in April following, Mr. Patrick Stewart again brought the subject before the House; and concluded by moving, "that an address be presented to his majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to order a diplomatic agent to be forthwith sent to Cracow; and that his majesty will be graciously pleased to take such steps as to his majesty may seem best adapted to protect and extend the commercial interests of Great Britain in Turkey and the Euxine." If the motion had been pressed to a division, it might have been unpleasant for the government. In reply, accordingly, Lord Palmerston stated that the government did intend to send a consular agent to Cracow. The motion was accordingly withdrawn; and the pledge was unfulfilled. This breach of faith was not forgotten by Lord Dudley Stuart, who, in 1837, called the attention of the House to it. Lord Palmerston was absent, and the House was counted out.

In 1840, a last effort was made—this time by Sir Stratford Canning. In reply his lordship said—"As for the occupation of Cracow, he [Lord Palmerston] was not going to unsay anything he had formerly said, nor did he seek to retract any of those opinions he had advanced in those passages of speeches read by the hon. baronet, as between the three powers and the state of Cracow, or the three powers and the other powers who had signed the treaty of Vienna. But it was one thing to state an opinion, and another thing to compel three powers to undo acts which they had done; while, from geographical circumstances, there were no means to enforce the opinion of England unless by an appeal to arms, which would involve us in a war with those powers; for Cracow was a place in which no English action could take place directly." The reply was a humiliating one.

Greece is the next question in which, it is urged, Lord Palmerston acted so as to favour the designs of Russia. When, in the year 1822, the national assembly met, which promulgated the declaration of Greek independence, the alarm of the cabinet of St. Petersburg knew no bounds; and the utmost exertions of Russia were turned to exciting the fears of the legitimate conservative sovereigns and factions of Europe against the spread of anarchy and revolution in Greece. At length, in May, 1824, Count Nesselrode drew up his famous memoir, calling on the Courts of Europe to aid Russia in crushing this "anarchy and revolution," which, he said, would make subversive doctrine triumph there: and it ended with the following sentence:—"They [the revolutionists] might even succeed in misleading the world by accusing the alliance of only seeking to replace Greece under an anarchical and barbarous power, and of ranging on the same line Mahometanism and the Christian religion." In time came the treaties for the pacification of the Levant; the sudden and unconscious hostility of England and France to the sultan; the destruction, by them, of his fleet at Navarino; and the Russian master-stroke in establishing Capo d'Istrias as President of Greece. The writer to whom we have referred, maintains, that after Otho had been appointed King of Greece, "Lord Palmerston split the regency into factions, by supporting the minority against the majority, and ordering the expulsion of the other members, on the plea that they were Russian. On the 31st of July, 1834, M. Von Mauren and M. d'Abel were expelled from the regency by foreign interference; and thus the independence of Greece was annihilated, and transferred once more to the grasp of Russia. Thus, then, is committed by Lord Palmerston a violation of the constitution of Greece; a violation of the quadruple convention; a violation of the law of nations; a destruction of the interests of England; a transference of the control of Greece to Russia on the pretext of opposition to Russia." This is strong language; but, unfortunately for it, we have nothing more than the word of an anonymous writer. He adds—"Not only was the true state of the matter urged on him by individuals of the highest claim to consideration, but the upright and able secretary of the British legation in Greece, horror-stricken at the march of Russian demoralisation in that country, and conceiving that the inexplicable acts of the resident proceeded from collusion on his part with Russia, communicated the whole truth to his lordship. The secretary was recalled; his charges never met; his conduct never condemned; his official functions suspended, and the whole circumstance hushed up. M. Von Mauren has appealed to public documents and private despatches for the truth of his allegations; has offered to produce them; and his statements have never been disproved, but have been buried in oblivion." The writer then argues that, in 1832, Lord Palmerston raised money for Greece—apparently in opposition to the views of Russia—for the purpose of enabling the latter power to separate herself from the other powers in the affairs of Greece, and enabling her to act as she liked for the future. "The end of this second loan was, that Russia bound over the national dominions and revenue of Greece to herself, in security for her proportion of the debt; and has now not only an influence over that country which makes it a mere Russian province, but holds a lien over her body, which she can never, under the ruinous state of affairs consequent on

Russian demoralisation, overcome; and, therefore, presents to Russia an enduring opportunity for interfering in the prosecution of her claims when the time has arrived." All that can be said to this charge is, that Russia had become mixed up in the affairs of Greece long before Lord Palmerston was foreign minister; and that the writer prefers strong language to convincing arguments. Guizot tells us of his interference in Greek affairs. It was with Palmerston, not with Russia, that he had to contend for the mastery.

We are next taken to Circassia. The chain of mountains inhabited by the Circassians is most stupendous, and has formed a barrier between the regions of the south and the plundering hordes of Russia for thousands of years. To it belongs 300 miles of the finest coast of the Black Sea, studded with the best harbours for shipping: it appears, moreover, that the country behind is fertile—cultivated to an extent unknown in any part either of Russia or Turkey, and produces every article of commerce required by Russia for the purpose of developing her resources. To gain this tract of territory Russia had been aiming for a hundred years; yet, on the accession of Lord Palmerston to office, in 1830, he found Circassia free. He found the right of trading between Great Britain and that coast not only free, but not even pointed at by a single edict. At that period, too, the access of England to the commerce of Circassia was of more importance than at any previous epoch; for Russia had just concluded the treaty of Adrianople, by which she destroyed the freedom of commerce in every other part of the Black Sea; so that it was the freedom of Circassia alone that prevented a monopoly to Russia of the whole trade of the Euxine, and a consequent dependence of England on Russia for the raw articles necessary for her manufactures. How did Lord Palmerston act? Our author continues—

"He not only did not interfere in defence of Circassia; he not only did not uphold British commercial rights in Circassia; but he did actually himself overthrow British rights in that country, and transfer them to Russia. The seizure of the *Vixen* is too familiar to require anything but an allusion. The examination of the papers presented to parliament shows that the owner of that vessel sent her to Circassia by the sanction of Lord Palmerston; and on the faith of the official *Gazette*, to which they were referred, as showing that there was no Russian blockade, they (the papers) prove that she was seized by a Russian cruiser, on the pretext of a blockade, and that she was confiscated on the pretext, not that she had broken the blockade, but on the plea of a violation of the custom-house regulations imposed by Russia, on a coast of which she was not in possession, and of which an intention to be in possession was to violate a treaty with England. The seizure of the *Vixen*, even supposing every form of international law to have been complied with, was virtually a declaration of war by Russia against England; but, independently of the violation of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, every principle of international law was outraged by the seizure. In the first place there was no blockade; in the next there were no custom-house regulations; for not only were there no official documents of Russia to show that such regulations ever had been imposed by Russia, but she was not in possession, nor had she ever been in possession of the port in question to carry them into practice. To the truth of these two points of fact there were no less than thirteen British subjects to testify on oath if required—the sailors of the *Vixen*, who had no interest in making a statement at variance with the truth; and the owner of the cargo, who was in the vessel, and had landed along with the sailors in the port where she was captured by the Russian cruiser which entered seaward." In 1837 the question was discussed in the House of Commons. Mr. Roebuck took the lead in denominating the seizure as an act of piracy; other members were of a similar opinion. But the matter was evaded by Lord Palmerston, who objected to the production of papers, on the plea that it would be inconsistent with his public duty to enter on a discussion of the particular case of the *Vixen*. He assured the House that his majesty's government felt quite as strongly as the honourable and learned member for Bath,

or any other gentleman could, the great importance of the question itself, as well as the consequences that might arise from it. He assured the House that the question occupied the serious attention of the government; and he trusted that those who felt any degree of confidence in the government would act consistently with the usual practice of parliament, and permit the government to deal with the question in the manner which it deemed most in accordance with the right, interest, and honour of the country. Ultimately Lord Palmerston defended the capture of the *Vixen*, on the plea that Russia had established custom-house regulations in *Sondjok Kale*, the port where the capture took place; and, secondly, that *Sondjok Kale* was in possession of Russia. His lordship forgot that the denial of the claims of Russia to the possession of Circassia at all, put an end to the whole question.

The next charge made against Lord Palmerston is founded on his transactions with regard to Persia, Cabul, and Lahore. The designs of Russia on India have led the British government to connect itself by diplomatic relations with Persia, which, from its intermediate position, has the power of rendering an assault on India impossible, so long as it has strength sufficient to resist Russia. Lord Palmerston sent Mr. McNeil instructions to co-operate with Russia. On the death of the shah, Mahommed Meezza, the Russian candidate is proclaimed instantaneously by the British ambassador. British money is distributed to his partisans; British officers commanded the force which placed him on the throne; Lord Palmerston places the troops and the money of England at the disposal of Russia, for the overthrow of British influence, and the establishment of Russian influence in Persia. Then came the war against Dost Mahommed, and further Russian intrigues. Lord Palmerston demands an explanation of the Russian cabinet of the open hostility of her ambassadors in Persia, and his agent in Cabul. He writes a letter to St. Petersburg, to say they have acted contrary to their instructions. The Russian cabinet agrees in this view. "I will finish this chapter," says our author, "by reminding statesmen and politicians of one other circumstance connected with this matter. The papers presented to parliament by Lord Palmerston are one mass of falsification: transpositions, mutilations, misplacing of dates, and divisions of connected documents, render comprehension of the subject a matter of impossibility without months of time passed in unravelment."

Again, the writer tells us Lord Palmerston came into power pledged to a policy of non-interference: and this was carried out when it suited the designs of Russia, as in Poland; but there was active interference, as in Greece, Persia, &c., when it suited Russia that his lordship should interfere. He interfered with the Belgians and Dutch. "At the same period the sultan claimed the protection of England against his vassal, who was supported at St. Petersburg; and Lord Palmerston refused his assistance on the plea that the naval forces of England were engaged in interference on the coasts of Holland and Portugal; Russia forced her traitor protection on the sultan; encamped on the Bosphorus, and gained the triumphs of Unkiar Skelessi."

Another charge is made. Lord Palmerston, it is said, was on two occasions the means of the downfall of Thiers, a minister who was friendly to England; first, by insisting on the fulfilment of his quadruple treaty by the armed co-operation of France with Spain, when Russia had arranged before with the French Court, which was devoted to her, that there should be no armed intervention. Again, in 1840, Thiers is in power: Lord Palmerston was perfectly well aware of the sentiments of M. Thiers, and of the feelings of the people of France respecting Egypt and Syria. The object of Russia was the disagreement of England and France; the question of the pasha the pretext. Proposals by France were made, which it was known she would not accept; and the treaty of July was signed as an act of hostility to France.

One more extract will suffice. "I have mentioned, at the beginning of this

work, the extreme difficulty there must be for foreign Courts to detect the crime of treason in a minister of Great Britain; and, consequently, the danger that must accrue, as well to themselves as to England, from an undetected concord of two powerful nations, under the disguise of systematic opposition. Any one acquainted with the routine of diplomatic life will at once see this difficulty. Sir Frederick Lamb was one of the ablest and most upright men in the diplomatic service of Great Britain. He represented this country at the Court of Vienna. At that Court the concert of Lord Palmerston with Russia was a matter of notoriety—the hostility of Sir F. Lamb to Russia active and decided. The Austrian minister offered peculiar advantages to England in exchange for her alliance against the aggressive projects of Russia, and the ambassador pressed them on the British minister. The commercial treaty with Austria, of 1838, was lauded as one of the most important pieces of statesmanship at the time: it was annihilated by Lord Palmerston; clauses introduced, which rendered it an instrument for transferring the commerce of the Austro-Turkish provinces to Russia; the efforts of Sir F. Lamb were frustrated and reversed, and he was rewarded with a peerage.

“Mr. Macgregor exhibited great ability and honesty in the negotiations connected with the Austrian treaty; was then sent out to Naples on a most important mission—succeeded in a manner beyond expectation: his efforts, in both instances, were reversed by Lord Palmerston, and turned into disaster and loss to England; himself disgraced by the disavowal of his acts, on a plea which was false in law, facts, and policy; and the overthrown negotiator was rewarded by the secretaryship of the Board of Trade.

“The envoy to Lahore and Cabul, Lieutenant Burnes, who played so admirable a part for Russia in Central Asia, and one so disastrous for England, was speedily found designated by the title of Sir Alexander Burnes.

“Mr. McNeil, who had devoted so many years of his life to the exposure of danger to England from the intrigues of Russia in the East, was sent to Persia to counteract them. The failure of his efforts was signal, entire, avowed; he was recalled, and has since been silent under the weight of honours heaped upon him by his complacent chief.

“What is the other side of the picture?

“Sir Stratford Canning exhibited an intelligence and an honesty which could not be overcome; he was one of the few Englishmen who comprehended the game of Russia in Turkey and Greece; he was not to be silenced. Lord Palmerston sent him as ambassador to St. Petersburg, where he was rejected by the emperor—an event new in the annals of the world, that an emperor of Russia shall choose the minister to be sent by England. Lord Palmerston ratifies the outrage, and Sir Stratford Canning is sacrificed, without a voice being raised up in England, without one Englishman exhibiting a consciousness of the outrage.” It appears to have escaped our acute author, that to have persisted in sending to a foreign Court an ambassador personally obnoxious, would be an act of stupidity, to say the least; of which, certainly, Lord Palmerston would never have been guilty. Nor was Sir Stratford Canning sacrificed long. His nomination to Constantinople, and his lengthened residence there while Lord Palmerston was minister, certainly was in favour of the latter being guiltless of the charge brought against him by the writer of complicity with Russia, since he confesses that Sir Stratford was one of the few Englishmen who comprehended the game of Russia in Turkey and Greece. But we continue our extract:—

“Mr. Urquhart is sent to Constantinople. Mr. Urquhart was a man who had thrown more obstacles in the way of the designs of Russia against England than all the statesmen put together for half a century. He had proved himself incorrupt, incorruptible; and had devoted himself, without reference to personal consequences, whatever they might be, to the service of his country: he had resolved to sacrifice riches, position, and life in her cause. His exertions were overthrown; his character maligned; spies set upon his conduct; and hired libellers

engaged to do him injury. He is recalled from his post, on a plea which is false; he brings his accusers to answer for their conduct before a public tribunal, and they (the ministers of the British crown) fly from a court of justice which they evade by a subterfuge.

"We have seen that the secretary of legation of the British embassy in Greece, and two members of the Greek regency, horror-struck at the game played by the British residents against England and in favour of Russia, proclaimed the truth to Lord Palmerston; that they have been forcibly expelled, degraded, condemned without being heard—their proofs not noticed.

"With examples such as these (and they are only a few of the many similar) before their eyes, how can we expect that any of the Courts of Europe are to resist the joint action of the Russian cabinet and the British minister?"

Such is the language of the author of *Foreign Affairs of Great Britain Administered Under Lord Palmerston*. He was, we have reason to believe, an official in the diplomatic line; and, as we are told, was subsequently bought over by Lord Palmerston—by which the reader must understand, that, after writing bitterly against his lordship, he was prevailed upon to accept an appointment from him. The preface of the book was written by Mr. Urquhart, and the responsibility of it was undertaken by the same individual. We have been informed that there was a talk of law proceedings being instituted, in consequence of the printing of this volume. Mr. Follet was appealed to undertake the defence. His reply was—"Mr. Urquhart, this is a serious matter; give me a week for reflection, and then I will give you my answer." He took the time, and then determined to defend the book; and there the matter dropped. Such is the story told the writer of this history by Mr. Urquhart's oldest friends. The quarrel between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Urquhart appears to have dated from the affair of the *Vixen*. In his speech on the subject in the House of Commons (1838), Lord Palmerston thus criticised Mr. Urquhart's conduct:—

"But we now come to another part of these transactions, being that in respect to which the right honourable gentleman means to impute to me personally some considerable blame. I mean as to the matters which form the subject of a letter written by Mr. Urquhart, and published in the *Times* this morning. I beg, in the first place, to say that, during the little leisure which indisposition sometimes gives me, I wrote a letter to Mr. Urquhart, in answer to one I had received from him the day before. * * * * It would ill become me to criticise the course that gentleman has thought proper to pursue; but my objection is not what it is supposed to be by the noble lord the member for North Lancashire, that his letter was a betrayal of official confidence. My objection is exactly the reverse—namely, that it contained a great number of private and official communications between Mr. Urquhart and other people, which I did not think fit or proper to be published. I shall not, having read Mr. Urquhart's letter attentively, go into any portions of it on the present occasion, except those which relate to official matters; but I contend that there is nothing in it which goes to prove, in the slightest degree, any sanction on my part to the expedition of Mr. Bell. Mr. Urquhart does not even pretend to say that Mr. Bell received from me any sanction or approval of that expedition. He says that he heard I intended to do this from one quarter, and that he understood I meant to do that from another. He says he heard it stated that I had suggested an improvement in the map of Russia from communications supplied by him; but that I had so corrected these as to make the map identical with that of Russia—rectifying the interior countries of the Caucasus. He also states that I corresponded with a map-publisher under the hydrographical department, and procured a copy of the report on the Caucasus made in 1826. He says that there have been many important reports made on the Caucasus; that that subject had been discussed in a publication which he states was connected with the Foreign Office, but with which I beg to affirm that I have no connection and no control over whatever; and, coupling all this with the

circumstance of the independence of Circassia being disregarded—from these and other notes and circumstances, Mr. Urquhart is pleased to draw his own conclusions, and to presume that I must have entertained certain opinions with respect to the *Vixen* expedition. I am quite sure that the right honourable baronet (Sir James Graham), whom I see reading the papers and studying the letter, will not find Mr. Urquhart's assertion proves that anything which has taken place justifies him in saying that I had expressly sanctioned or encouraged the expedition of the *Vixen*. That expedition took place; the *Vixen* was seized in November, 1836; and, shortly afterwards, Mr. Urquhart sent a private letter, from Constantinople, to Mr. Strangways, which Mr. Strangways transmits to me in a box with certain papers connected with the affair of the *Vixen*; and that shows me what Mr. Urquhart had to do in that matter. My first impression, without reading the letter, was to caution Mr. Strangways to take care what he might say, or on what terms he wrote back; because I thought it possible for Mr. Urquhart to be mixed up in the expedition. But then the right honourable baronet (Sir S. Canning) has said that I kept back my opinion on this case, waiting to see the result of the affair of the *Vixen*. I beg to say that such was not the case. I shortly afterwards read Mr. Urquhart's letter; and I at once saw the share that gentleman had had in persuading Mr. Bell to proceed on the expedition after the design had been abandoned. At that time I was about to send him out on a leave of absence, for which he had applied; and so I took the opportunity, in forwarding that leave of absence, to tell him that I thought his conduct so unaccountable, so incompatible with his public duty—that it had so strongly excited my disapprobation, that I thought it but fair to tell Mr. Urquhart I could not allow him to return to Constantinople. Such, then, was the approbation, according to the peculiar views of the right honourable gentleman, that I gave to this expedition. I have—I suppose it is notorious—a very great deal of business to get through in my department; and sometimes, when letters do not appear to me immediately pressing, I put them by for the time. But the noble lord (Lord Stanley) has said, that the letter of Mr. Urquhart announced, or had relation to, great events which were about to take place. No; but which had already taken place; for it was the fact, that the event to which he alludes had taken place at that time. The letter, therefore, could be supposed to bear only on the personal conduct of Mr. Urquhart himself. The same observation applies to Mr. Urquhart as to Mr. Bell. They were both, it should seem, impressed with a notion that they were promoting an enterprise which her majesty's government liked, but did not desire openly or explicitly to avow. I believe that. But I think one case suggests itself, which shows in how awkward a position these parties were placing themselves. Supposing I had said to Mr. Urquhart, just what Mr. Bell was asking me to say, 'Let the *Vixen* go,' what course then would the proceeding have taken—what would have been the consequence? Why, Mr. Urquhart would have been placed in this position—he would have been disgraced and reprimanded. He would, at least, have been considered highly reprehensible for what he had done in a position of so much responsibility; but it would have been rather an extraordinary thing if he had been asked privately to do that which, afterwards, he was censured for doing. * * * I added a postscript to my letter, in which I informed that gentleman that I had not stated my reasons publicly for his recall; that I had not even communicated this to Lord Ponsonby; that I wished it to be understood he was coming home on leave of absence; but that, if what had been done had been done with his concurrence, it would not be possible that he should be allowed to return, although I desired to take no public notice of the circumstance. Now, what would have been the answer of Mr. Urquhart if he had received such a letter as that to which allusion has been made, if I had really sanctioned Mr. Bell's expedition? Would he not naturally have said to me—'Your communication astonishes me, because I only did that which you yourself urged me to do, but which you now assign as the ground for my dismissal?'

"I must say, a person, under such circumstances, who could not make that reply, would be less able to defend himself than Mr. Urquhart, or the right honourable gentleman (Sir S. Canning) who has taken up the cudgels for him. There is another extenuating circumstance. Mr. Urquhart, in his letter, relates to a very extraordinary circumstance. He there refers to a conversation which he had with me on his return, early in the month of August, or late in July; and so says, quoting an expression that I used in that conversation, of my utter disapprobation of the part he had taken in the expedition of the *Vixen*. He states that, up to that moment, he really was not aware that I did not take a great interest in that expedition, or was displeased with what he had done about it. Why, this very individual had actually received, at Constantinople, a letter from me, some months before, in which I clearly expressed my displeasure, and stated that it was on account of his interference in the *Vixen*, and on that account alone, that he was recalled. He remained there up to July or August, and yet says that he thought, up to the moment of this conversation, I took a great interest in, and expected great national advantages from the expedition. I cannot reconcile discrepancies of this sort; but I confess I cannot understand how any such misapprehension can have been seriously entertained. This I will broadly say, that the letter I wrote to Mr. Urquhart in March, and the statement I made to him when I saw him, ought to have precluded that gentleman from saying that I ever in any way approved, or sanctioned, or gave any encouragement, even of the smallest nature, to an expedition which it was impossible not to foresee, must, in the end, and so far as this country was concerned, be attended with very serious embarrassment and difficulties."

Clearly, in the case of the *Vixen*, and Mr. Bell, and Mr. Urquhart, Lord Palmerston was guiltless. They had pursued him with invective; they had insisted that he had been bought over by Russia; they talked of having him impeached, confined to the Tower, and ultimately hung. Newspapers and quarterly reviews were established, and pamphlets published, by Mr. Urquhart and his disciples, all reiterating these very serious charges—charges which Lord Palmerston denied and refuted, over and over again, in the House of Commons; and to believe which, as the writer of the work already referred to confesses, implies the insanity of the people, and parliament of England as well. These are charges so monstrous that you feel it to be absurd and impossible to argue against them. It is precisely thus with the charges made against Lord Palmerston by Mr. Urquhart. We can believe that he committed many blunders; we can believe that he was outwitted by diplomatists more able and more cunning than himself; we can believe that his non-interference policy was singularly erratic and inconsistent; that sometimes he was silent and supine when his activity might have been attended with the most beneficial results; that oftentimes he was injudiciously and mischievously active; but that is not the charge of the politicians of the Urquhart class. They tell you that Lord Palmerston was a needy man—as undoubtedly he was in early life, or, at any rate, till the death of Lord Melbourne; that the Princess Lieven, a Russian agent, made his lordship a present of £10,000; and that for this sum, Lord Palmerston, the English Foreign Minister, lent himself to be the tool and ally of Russia, to work her ends, to promote her aims; that is the view of the trade and wealth, and honour and greatness of his native land. This is the charge; and this charge we indignantly put on one side, and treat as unworthy of a moment's consideration. We are not bound to defend his lordship when he was in the wrong; but the absurdity of his being sold to Russia is so great as scarcely to deserve serious consideration: and if he was so, the parliament and the people of this country are equally to blame, as they always supported, in season and out, the Palmerston policy.

Another writer, the late Mr. Washington Wilkes, author of a pamphlet entitled *Palmerston in Three Epochs*, thus sums up against Lord Palmerston:—"Disdainfully negligent of the rights, and sceptical of the morality of nations, his lordship

appears equally destitute of that magnanimous spirit which deems the help of the wronged more obligatory when it involves resistance to the strong. Poland, Cracow, Rome, and Hungary, though each confessedly a good cause, are left to succumb, because remonstrance would be vain, and war would be inconvenient to English interests. Liberty and civilisation may have the benefit of English aid in Belgium, Portugal, and Spain; because the Belgians have the sympathy of insurgent Europe, and the despots, Miguel and Carlos, are feeble. In short, the only principles that can be gleaned from a careful review of Palmerstonian utterances and doings are, an irregular indefinite sympathy with constitutional governments; anxiety to maintain the balance of power in Europe; and a determination to make both subservient to the glory and interests of England." This is meant for censure. Is it not, in reality, the highest praise? What other interests has a minister to consult but those of his native land? Mr. Wilkes remarks further—"It is with almost painful reluctance that the writer has brought himself to this conclusion. Having finished his task, he may confess that he commenced it with a prepossession of Lord Palmerston's political career, as well as the admiration so commonly felt for his talents and energy. A careful collation of the materials for this review has considerably modified his former feeling. On many a similar effect has been produced by the avowal of his lordship's approval of Louis Napoleon's usurpation. He now stands (1852), as he told Sir Robert Peel two-and-twenty years ago, 'one of the representatives of the people of England and of my own opinions.' He may, peradventure, once more occupy the proud position of helmsman of the British barque through the troublous waters of foreign politics. Would he in that, or in his more private capacity, expiate his late offence against his own fame and the cause of political morality in condoning with Napoleon's treason, he may do so by resuscitating within his heart the spirit of his illustrious friend and master, George Canning; by calling in once more the New World to redress the balance of the Old; and by uniting England and America in an array of their power of opinion against the power of despotic swords, at once preserve the peace and establish the liberties of Europe, crowning his own grey hairs with a wreath of imperishable renown."

Such is the language of Mr. Wilkes, one of the disciples of a political school at one time very popular, but now altogether obsolete. It is a fine idea, that of fighting for the liberties of Europe; it was the idea which made Lord Palmerston not a little popular: but the older he grew, the more clearly he perceived the hopelessness of the task, and the more strongly was forced upon him the necessity of attending to the interests and promoting the welfare of the English people. But there was something stronger than his lordship; and that was, the situation in which he was placed. When the reform ministry came into power, it was as much as they could do to hold their ground; the king was not too fond of them; the House of Lords was dead against them; and the opposition in the House of Commons was of the fiercest character. It was all ministers could do to carry reform. Any reader of the correspondence that passed between Earl Grey and William IV., must be convinced that Palmerston had no chance of giving effectual aid to Poland. It is not very clear that he had the wish. It is more clear that he had not the power.

But we should have gone to war with Russia about the *Vixen*. If we had we should dearly have rued it. Some years afterwards we did go to war with Russia. In that war we were aided by France and Italy: and what was the result? We suffered more than Russia by that war. The charge made by the Urquhartites against Lord Palmerston was, that his aim was war with France, and peace with Russia. What did actually happen was war with Russia, and peace with France.

Lord Palmerston saved Kossuth, but he could not save Hungary. What could England have done against Austria and Russia? We believe, such was his lordship's love of activity and interference, that he would have gladly made an effort on behalf of Hungary, did not all see that the attempt was hopeless in the extreme.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF LORD PALMERSTON.

TOWARDS the end of the parliamentary session of 1865, it was evident to many observers that the health and strength of Lord Palmerston were not what they were. Age, and repeated attacks of gout, had seriously exhausted the noble viscount's wonderful vitality. He dozed more in the midst of parliamentary discussion; he was oftener absent from his post; in his carriage he was less erect; it was evident that the end was near. In spite of the fact that the parliament just about to die had been held together mainly by Lord Palmerston—that the chief dependence of the Whigs had been placed in him—that in him the Tories trusted as the barrier between them and the rising of the democratic deluge, long predicted and deeply feared—it was believed, in many quarters, that Lord Palmerston would never meet his new parliament as Premier; that, before the time for assembling had arrived, he would have relinquished the reins of office, and retired from place and power.

Such expectations were realised, but in an unexpected manner.

His lordship had gone to pass the autumn at Brockett Hall, Herts, formerly the residence of Viscount Melbourne, and which had passed, by his death, into Lady Palmerston's hands. In Brockett Park may be seen some of the finest specimens of English oaks in the kingdom: one in particular is shown, as the bound of liberty allowed to the Princess Elizabeth by her sister, Queen Mary, during the imprisonment of the former at Hatfield House; and it is said that Queen Elizabeth received the tidings of her sister's death while under this tree. Brockett Hall is in the pleasantest part of Hertfordshire, and surrounded by memories of the statesmen of the past. Near by is Burleigh House, the ancient residence of the Cecils: not far is Panshanger, where the Cowpers live: Gorhambury House, the seat of the great Lord Bacon, is not many miles distant; nor Luton-Hoo, where, in elegant retirement, died the once feared and always suspected favourite of a Court, Lord Bute. Brockett Hall was a pleasant change from Romsey or Piccadilly; and it was hoped that its salubrious air would restore strength to the aged Premier, and that there he would find the rest denied to him in the pressure of official life in the metropolis. He had also with him his physician, Dr. Protheroe Smith; and it was expected that, with his aid, the noble viscount might make, considering his years, a complete recovery. Alas! it was otherwise decreed.

In the middle of October, it became known to the public that his lordship was dangerously ill, and the public anxiety was at once aroused.

From the time of his going to Brockett, as we have said, till the day of his death, Dr. Protheroe Smith, who was passing his vacation, was enabled to give his unremitting attention and time to his distinguished patient, in conjunction with the family physician, Dr. Drage, of Hatfield; and the case appeared so hopeful, and so much strength was gained, that till within the last week of his life, no danger, much less immediate alarm, was felt. The week previously, however, Dr. Smith being called away to a distance, professionally, on an urgent errand, was absent from Brockett until the morning of Thursday, two days longer than the former periods; and, on his return, he found that meanwhile Lord Palmerston had caught a severe chill whilst out of doors during the sudden change in the temperature of the weather. The result was an alarming relapse from the ground gained, and very dangerous symptoms occurred during the night of Thursday preceding his decease, yielding only to the persevering efforts of the physician, and to the wonderful elasticity and vital energy of the noble lord. So

much did he rally that it was not till Saturday evening that it was thought advisable to state, by telegraph to the queen at Balmoral, the anxiety that was felt by his relatives. In the meantime he was visited by Mr. Paget and Dr. Burrows, in consultation with Dr. Protheroe Smith and Dr. Watson, who had been telegraphed for to Penzance, and who arrived early on Monday morning. Up to Tuesday afternoon the marked improvement continued, and Lord Palmerston evinced that cheerful pluck and equanimity which won for him, in his political career, the affection as well as the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. But, alas! it was to be of short duration. Drs. Watson and Protheroe Smith, who were constantly watching by his lordship's couch, about half-past three on Tuesday afternoon, saw a return of the collapse which had given so much alarm on the Saturday; and from that time till his death he never rallied, but gradually sank, expiring at a quarter before eleven on Wednesday, October 18th, in the presence of Lady Palmerston, Lord and Lady Shaftesbury, Mr. and Mrs. William Cowper, Lady Jocelyn, and Mr. Evelyn Ashley. He retained his consciousness till the end. His manner was calm and resigned, and his death was apparently unattended by suffering.

The cause of death was, we believe, gout, combined with disease of the bladder. A writer in the *Pall-Mall Gazette* stated it was caused by riding in an open carriage without a great coat. He adds—"Lord Palmerston was to have been present, a few weeks ago, at the opening of the Bristol Industrial Exhibition; but a sudden attack of the gout, and disease of the bladder, prevented him. From that attack, however, he so far recovered that he could ride out, till once more disease attacked him."

On Wednesday evening, intelligence of the decease of Viscount Palmerston reached the royal borough, telegraphic messages having been despatched to the Windsor terminus, Kingston-upon-Thames, Twickenham, and all the stations and termini of the London and South-Western Railway system. In the course of the evening a government messenger was despatched to Earl Russell, who was residing at Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park.

Nothing was talked of in Liverpool, on Wednesday, but the telegrams with reference to Lord Palmerston. Nothing definite was known until mid-day, when it was announced that he was "sinking fast." Earlier than this, it was rumoured that some members of the Stock Exchange had received telegrams announcing the death of his lordship as a fact. These, unhappily, proved to be but too true; for, at four o'clock, the secretary of the news-room received the brief announcement—"Lord Palmerston is dead." He read it from the bar of the Exchange rooms, amidst profound silence; and the universal expression of feeling afterwards was mingled with regret for the noble lord, and perplexity as to the political results of his unexpected decease. Flags were promptly raised half-mast at the town-hall, on the 'Change buildings, and other public places.

The excitement in Oxford University on Monday and Tuesday was intense, consequent upon the various telegraphic messages received respecting the serious indisposition of Lord Palmerston. A newspaper correspondent wrote—"From the time at which the first intelligence of the recurrence of the malady, under the influence of which the noble Premier has so frequently suffered, was received, the interest here increased in intensity, and each successive telegram was received with an anxiety equalled only upon the occasion of the late Prince Consort's death. Upon the receipt of telegrams confirming the fatal termination of his lordship's attack, instructions were given, by both corporate bodies, to give due solemnity to the event by the tolling of 'minute bells' from St. Mary's and St. Martin's churches. Politically speaking, his lordship was in no way personally identified with this university, if we except the honorary degree of D.C.L., conferred upon him at the commemoration of 1862; but the mention of his lordship's name at the Encænia has invariably been the signal for plaudits, loud and prolonged, in an assembly certainly not distinguished for partisanship in the strictest sense of the term. As

evidence of the importance attaching to the event, it may be stated that university, county, and city, as well as district meetings, were forthwith held, for the purpose of conveying votes of condolence to the widow."

The news of the death of Lord Palmerston caused much regret at Dublin. All the papers had complimentary notices of the deceased.

A meeting of the Common Council of the City of London was held on the following Thursday, and, as it was anticipated that something would be said in reference to the loss the nation had sustained by the death of Lord Palmerston, there was a full attendance of members of the court.

After the usual formal business had been gone through,

Mr. F. Maynard, the chief commissioner, rose, and, amid profound silence, said that the court was no doubt aware of the melancholy fact of the death of her majesty's Prime Minister, Lord Viscount Palmerston; and, after the long statements that appeared in the morning papers, it was unnecessary for him to enter at any length into the particulars of the public service that had been rendered by the noble viscount. This much he might say, that this corporation most sincerely regretted the loss they, and the nation generally, had sustained; and he was sure that everyone would agree with him that, whether in a subordinate capacity or as the head of the government, Lord Palmerston had ever conducted himself in a manner that reflected the highest honour upon himself, and was most satisfactory to the nation at large. It would be idle for him to endeavour to exalt the character of so great a man by any observations he might make, and he should therefore content himself with merely proposing a resolution of regret at the loss the nation had sustained, and express their condolence with Lady Palmerston at her bereavement. The hon. member then moved the following resolution:—"That this court has heard, with the deepest feelings of sorrow and regret, the mournful intelligence of the death of the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, her majesty's Prime Minister. They regard the event as a loss to the nation and to the community at large; and desire, at the same time, to express their high admiration of the manly bearing and the great administrative capacity of the noble viscount, and to express to Lady Palmerston their deep feeling of condolence at the loss she has sustained."

After a few remarks from Alderman Salomons, M.P., the resolution was unanimously carried, and the necessary arrangements were made for its presentation to Lady Palmerston.

In Romsey had been buried Lord Palmerston's ancestors, and his lordship's own wish was to be buried there as well. Indeed, he had gone so far as to have prepared his last resting-place in the new cemetery of the town with which he had been connected so long. Immediately after his death, however, a general feeling was entertained, on the part of the public, that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey. There we had been wont to inter our greatest men; and it was but right and proper that the ashes of Lord Palmerston should repose side by side with them. Her majesty the queen, whose sympathy was most cordially and kindly shown to Lady Palmerston, both before and after her bereavement, set the matter at rest by expressing her wish that Lord Palmerston should be buried in Westminster Abbey, near the scene of his many years' endurance, and triumph, and toil.

The body was removed from Brockett Hall to Cambridge House, Piccadilly, on Monday, October 23rd; and remained there until the day of burial, on the following Friday.

The remains of Lord Palmerston were buried in Westminster Abbey, with a public ceremonial befitting the occasion, attended through the whole course of the funeral procession by a vast concourse of citizens. The Royal Exchange, the Stock Exchange, and the Guildhall were entirely closed. At the London and Westminster, and other large banking establishments, it was found impracticable to close entirely; but business was very much restricted. A great many of the principal

tradesmen in Cornhill and Cheapside, and the other great thoroughfares, either partially or entirely closed their shops, and there was a marked absence of that noise and confusion exhibited during the ordinary traffic on other occasions.

The arrival of the mourners at Cambridge House commenced about half-past eleven. Amongst the first who arrived were Sir Charles Wood, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Cowper, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Cardwell, and Lord Russell. Not the least interesting incident was the arrival of the servants and farm-labourers of the late Premier, from Broadlands, accompanied by the Romsey volunteers. There were thirty-two farm-labourers and servants. The number of tenants was twenty-one, and that of the volunteers from Romsey sixty, each of whom bore a mark of mourning.

The procession started from Cambridge House almost exactly at noon, and was of immense length. It was headed by 200 of the London Irish volunteers. The representatives of some twenty corporations, other naval reserves, the Trinity Board, and the London Corporation followed, succeeded by the hearse, drawn by six horses. The pall-bearers were Earl Russell, Sir C. Wood, Sir G. Grey, the Duke of Somerset, Earl de Grey and Ripon, the Lord Chancellor, Earl Granville, the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Clarendon, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The following were the other principal mourners:—Right Hon. William Cowper, Rev. Henry Sullivan (chief mourner), Right Hon. Laurence Sullivan, Admiral Sir William Bowles, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Henry Hippisley, Esq., Rev. J. Baker, Mr. L. Hippisley, Mr. William Hippisley, Hon. Spencer Cowper, Earl Cowper, Hon. Henry Cowper, Hon. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Ashley, Hons. Lionel and Cecil Ashley, Lord Jocelyn, Hon. Frederick Jocelyn, Lord Sudeley, Sir George Shee, Mr. Charles Barrington, Duke of Cambridge, Viscount Bury, Lord Chamberlain, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Speaker, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Right Hon. E. Cardwell, Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, Right Hon. Milner Gibson, Hon. Henry Brand. It is expressly mentioned that Viscount Bury, Treasurer of her Majesty's Household, was specially commanded by the queen to attend the funeral in her majesty's name. In the procession to the abbey, he was placed alone in the fifth mourning coach, immediately after the relatives of the deceased. Then followed more than a hundred private carriages, including the state carriage of the queen, the carriages of the foreign ambassadors, cabinet ministers, judges, peers, and M.P.'s. The streets were crowded along the entire route. Every window was filled, and in Piccadilly and Pall Mall the balconies fronting the houses were occupied by a number of persons, principally ladies, in most cases habited in deep mourning. With the exception of one or two houses, and some of the smaller clubs, including White's and Brooke's, where the balconies were hung with sombre cloth, there was little of the outward show of public grief. The only instance of any special decoration was at the Reform Club, where the balcony was draped with black cloth, bordered at the top with black and white cord, and at the lower end with a broad white stripe. The doors were curtained with cloth varied in the same manner, and bearing the letter P, under a viscount's coronet, and with three rings of yellow *immortelles* linked together below. The iron pillars on either side of the door were also covered with cloth, decorated spirally with black and white cord, and carrying a coronet. Trafalgar Square was crowded with people, and almost every man raised his hat or cap during the passing of the hearse. On approaching Westminster Bridge, the tolling of the bells of the abbey and St. Margaret's church was heard, and here again an unusual scene was witnessed. The entire churchyard presented a mass of human beings; raised platforms, tables, chairs, and barrels having been fixed in all directions. The abbey was perfectly surrounded, and it was a difficulty almost to move in the Broad Sanctuary.

There was a large number of peers, commoners, and officials assembled in the abbey when the *cortège* arrived. The 150 mourners, headed by the Rev. Henry Sullivan, who was closely followed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the other near connections of the late Premier, filed off into the choristers' seats; and when all

were seated, in the midst of profound silence the 90th Psalm was sung, and the Rev. Lord John Thynne read the lesson from the 15th chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, his voice being heard in all parts of the building. This ended, such of the choristers as had remained in the nave proceeded through the sacarium to their platform, opposite the open grave. They wore a black band across their white surplices; and, standing in their place, they waited the coming of the coffin, which again, preceded by the bearer of the noble viscount's coronet, was carried as before, with the pall-bearers on either side, and placed by the side of the grave. Here the scene was imposing. The more distant figures were the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, wearing the ribbon of the Garter partly covered by their mourning coats. Their royal highnesses stood prominently on a raised platform. To the left was the dean in his stall; and then came the bearer of the coronet, standing at the head of the open grave. Between the princes and the grave stood the pall-bearers, and at the grave's foot were the chief mourners; while all around were grouped the many mourners who had hitherto remained in the choir. While thus standing, the sentences, "Man that is born of a woman," "In the midst of life," "Yet, O Lord God" (Croft), and "Thou knowest, Lord" (Purcell), were sung. Then came the sublime composition, "His body is buried in peace." The scene and the occasion were touching in the extreme. Of the illustrious party assembled, none could ever expect to see such a political career again. Under the leadership of him they had met to bury, what battles had they not fought—what victories had they not won? Other and younger men had fallen by his side. Time spared him to ripen and reign, as no English statesman had ever ripened and reigned before.

At this moment (near two o'clock) a most extraordinary incident took place. The gathering clouds without cast a deep shadow within the walls of the abbey, so that the whole of the mourners round the grave were enveloped in complete gloom, and were scarcely to be distinguished one from another by those removed from them. There was something terrible in the effect produced. It was in this strange darkness that the choir sang the last anthem, and the organ awoke the solemn echoes of the abbey by the first strains of the "Dead March in Saul." At the close of this piece, their royal highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, accompanied by the very rev. the dean, advanced to the edge of the grave, and taking a last look at the coffin containing the remains of the departed statesman, the mourners followed their example, and the 2,500 persons who had witnessed more or less of the ceremony, slowly and sorrowfully retired.

All traffic on the line the procession took was suspended from 11.45 A.M., and nothing but the carriages in the procession was permitted to pass until the whole of the ceremony was over. A very large body of police lined the entire route.

By dint of great and continuous exertions, the interior of the abbey was completed for the solemn and impressive proceedings. The south transept, or "cross," as it is called, and which commanded a view of the whole of the sacarium and of the grave, was fitted with tiers of seats; and here, and in the choir, were seated the members of both houses of parliament, and those gentlemen who had been invited to assemble in the Jerusalem Chamber. No ladies were admitted to the choir under any circumstances. The accommodation made for the public who had tickets was as ample as the nave would permit; the only space reserved being a passage down the centre from the west door for the procession. All bearers of tickets were in mourning.

The grave was built from designs by Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, and has been faced with Minton's plain and encaustic tiles, arranged in bands, so as to keep out all moisture. The seats of the northern transept were removed, and a platform erected, on which the choir assembled, to chant a portion of the service over the grave, on the body being "committed to the dust."

The only person admitted at Cambridge House to take a last look at the remains of the deceased Premier, was the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, who was accom-

panied by his lordship's nephew, the Rev. H. Sullivan. The very rev. the dean read the service, and Lord John Thynne, the sub-dean, read the lessons. An augmented choir chanted the portion of the service which was sung.

The complete list of the corporations and deputations who obtained leave to fall in, is given in the following order:—

The corporations of Bolton, Salford, and Dunstable; the Dover Harbour Board; the corporations of Stirling, Oxford, Sunderland, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Bradford, Macclesfield, Liverpool, Portsmouth, Southampton, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Tiverton; the London Irish volunteers, the Romsey volunteers; the corporations of Romsey, Sandwich, and Hastings; the Metropolitan Board of Works; forty seamen of the Trinity House; officers of the naval reserve; the Trinity House corporation; commoners of the corporation of London; the Sheriffs and the Lord Mayor of London, with sword and mace-bearers.

Among the private carriages, were those of Viscount Palmerston, her majesty the Queen, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, her royal highness the Duchess of Cambridge, the Duchess of Inverness, the French ambassador, the Russian ambassador, the American ambassador, the Prussian ambassador, the Belgian ambassador, the Austrian ambassador, the Italian ambassador, the Bavarian ambassador, the Turkish ambassador, the Danish ambassador, the Spanish ambassador, the Portuguese ambassador, the Greek *chargé d'affaires*, the Hanoverian minister, the minister of the Netherlands, the Persian ambassador, the Swedish minister, the Saxony minister, the Hanseatic minister, the Right Hon. the Speaker, Earl Russell, the Lord Chancellor, Earl Granville, the Duke of Argyll, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Sir G. Grey, Sir C. Wood, Earl Clarendon, Earl de Grey and Ripon, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Right Hon. E. Cardwell, Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, Right Hon. Milner Gibson, Viscount Sydney, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, Sir R. Kindersley, Sir J. Stuart, Sir W. P. Wood, Sir J. Lewis Knight-Bruce, Sir G. J. Turner, Sir W. Weightman, Sir C. Blackburn, Sir J. Mellor, Sir W. Erle, Sir C. E. Williams, Sir J. B. Byles, Sir H. Keating, Sir F. Pollock, Sir J. Martin, Sir J. W. Bramwell, Sir W. F. Channell, Sir G. Pigott, Sir W. Shee, Right Hon. Laurence Sullivan, Duchess of Wellington, Countess of Jersey, Earl Roseberry, Earl of Arran, Countess-Dowager of Lichfield, Miss Burdett Coutts, Admiral Sir G. Bowles, Sir G. Shee, Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Rothschild, Lady Dinorben, Earl Spencer, Hon. H. Elliott, Lady Middleton, Bishop of London, Countess of Fife, Countess of Lichfield, Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Lyveden, Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, Sir H. Holland, Lord Wenlock, Sir R. Murchison, and Major-General Malcolm.

It may be stated that, under the impression that the funeral of the late viscount was to be at Romsey, the usual funeral anthem was sung at the abbey on the Sunday previous, and a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Canon Nepean.

Lord Palmerston's grave lies on the right hand as the visitor enters the abbey by the north entrance, and is nine feet deep. It is made at right angles, and immediately in front of the monument erected in memory of Captain Bayne, Captain Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, who served under Sir G. Brydges Rodney. It is surrounded by the graves of Earl Chatham on its right, with those of Fox, Canning (the late Lord Canning), and Pitt; and Castlereagh nearer the choir.

Respecting the demeanour of Lord Palmerston's colleague, and subsequent successor in office, a newspaper writer says—"With bent head, never once raised from the coffin, Lord Russell was literally bowed down over the grave of his colleague. Great, indeed, must have been the emotion of those trying moments, which could so heavily press and weigh upon the man bearing them the great lesson to which even prime ministers must bow. A sadder face never looked into a grave than was Earl Russell's."

On the following Sunday there was an immense congregation at Westminster Abbey, all the arrangements made for the funeral having been allowed to remain. There was a full choral service. The sermon was preached by the Very Rev. Dr.

Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, from the 5th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, the 16th and 17th verses—"Redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is." In the course of his sermon the dean bore eloquent testimony to the character of the departed statesman.

Lord Palmerston's death is the fifth occasion in a century in which a Prime Minister died in office. Lord Rockingham died while Premier in 1782; Pitt in 1806; Perceval's career was cut short by the hand of an assassin; and Canning died while in possession of the same office in 1827.

Scarcely an English statesman existed that did not, more or less, dwell upon the loss of England's Premier. At Glasgow, on the occasion of his visit to that city, Mr. Gladstone, after referring to the number of statesmen who had died within the last five years, continued—"As to the last of these men, the distinguished man whose loss at this moment the whole community, in every class and every corner of the land, deeply and sincerely deplores, we have this consolation, that it had pleased the Almighty to afford him strength and courage which carried him to a ripe old age in the active service of his country." In Warwickshire, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Gladstone's, perhaps, most consistent opponent, said—"I honour the memory of a man who was the embodiment of a policy sustained with prestige; and who, by sustaining it, maintained the peace of England, and of all the world, through a longer series of years than any minister who ever held the seals of the Foreign Office. Well, he is gone; but he lived long enough to prove himself actuated by a principle superior to all personal and all party considerations. He has left a great legacy to the nation. He has taught us this—that party, when it becomes faction, is dangerous to the state; and that we must ever seek to combine party in such measure that it shall not obliterate the sense of primary duty; which is this—that, for party objects, we shall do nothing inconsistent with the interests of the state."

Lady Palmerston was made by the queen, on the death of her husband, a peeress in her own right. His lordship's chief executor was the Hon. Mr. W. Cowper, M.P.

The Paris *Moniteur* said—"Her majesty the empress has addressed, in a private letter, expressions of condolence to Viscountess Palmerston."

On receiving the official notification of Lord Palmerston's death, the King of Prussia requested the English ambassador to convey his sympathies to Queen Victoria, at the loss her majesty had sustained by the death of her Prime Minister. Her majesty, in reply, instructed the English ambassador at Berlin to express her thanks to the King of Prussia for this mark of his sympathy.

The Emperor Napoleon, a few days after Lord Palmerston's death, addressed the following despatch to Baron Baule, *chargé d'affaires* of France in London. It was drawn up by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and was as follows:—

"Monsieur, the emperor and his government could not, without a profound sentiment of regret, witness the disappearance from the political scene of the eminent statesman whose loss England at this moment deplores. His death has deeply moved public opinion in the country which he has served for so many years with such distinction. For ourselves, monsieur, we have had, in many important circumstances, occasion to appreciate the high qualities with which Lord Palmerston was endowed; and we shall always love to remember how much he contributed to the establishment of the relations of confidence and friendship which, from the beginning of the second empire, have existed between France and England.

"Lord Palmerston was the first, in the month of December, 1851, to recognise the character of the courageous resolutions which the situation of France inspired in his majesty. He loyally accepted the consequences, placing himself above the resentments of the past with a freedom of judgment so much the more honourable that, at the opening of his career, he had been mixed up in the ancient strifes.

He used his influence to bring to the comprehension of his fellow-citizens the services rendered to the cause of order in Europe by the events which had been accomplished in France. A few years afterwards we found in Lord Palmerston the most decided and certain concurrence, when the complications occurred in the East, and called both nations to unite their efforts, leading them to contract that alliance not less remarkable by the intimate and loyal agreement of the cabinets, than by the noble emulation of the armies. Nor are we able to forget the part which belongs to Lord Palmerston in the negotiation of the treaty of commerce, concluded five years ago. As first minister of the queen, he had emphatically approved the idea of consolidating the relations of England with us, by giving them for base a stricter solidarity of material interests. He seconded with all his power the inauguration of that liberal system henceforth consecrated by experience, and now adopted by the majority of the states on the continent.

"These acts belong to the history of the two countries. The name of Lord Palmerston will remain attached to it; and we shall not cease to recollect the rôle which he played in conjunctures of so great an interest for the relations of France and England. We make it a duty to unite the testimony of our sympathies to the honours which the British nation so justly renders to his memory. I beg of you to be the interpreter to Lord Russell of the sentiments of the emperor and the government of his majesty. You will be good enough, at the same time, to transmit to the principal Secretary of State of the queen a copy of this despatch."

In the columns of that organ of national thought and feeling, *Punch*, the following verses appeared, on the death of Lord Palmerston:—

- "He is down, and for ever! The good fight is ended.
In deep-tinted harness our Champion has died;
But tears should be few in a sunset so splendid,
And Grief hush her wail at the bidding of Pride.
- "He falls, but unvanquished. He falls in his glory,
A noble old King on the last of his fields:
And with death-song we come, like the Northmen of story,
And haughtily bear him away on our shields.
- "Nor yet are we mourners. Let proud words be spoken
By those who stand, pale, on the marge of his grave,
As we lay in the rest never more to be broken,
The noble, the gentle, the wise, and the brave.
- "His courage undaunted, his purpose unaltered,
His long patient labour, his exquisite skill,
The tones of command from the tongue that ne'er faltered
When bidding the Nations to list to our will:
- "Let these be remembered; but higher and better
The tribute that tells how he dealt with his trust.
In curbing the tyrant, in breaking the fetter,
Lay the pleasure of him we commit to the dust.
- "But his heart was his England's, his idol her honour.
Her friend was his friend, and his foe was her foe.
Were her mandate despised, or a scowl cast upon her,
How stern his rebuke, or how vengeful his blow!
- "Her armies were sad, and her banners were tattered,
And lethargy wrought on her strength like a spell;
He came to the front, the enchantment was scattered—
The rest let a reconciled enemy tell.
- "As true to our welfare, he did his own mission
When Progress approached him with Wisdom for guide;
He cleared her a space, and, with equal derision,
Bade quack and fanatic alike stand aside.

- "The choice of his country, low faction despising,
He marched as a leader all true men could claim :
They came to their fellows, and held it, sufficing
To give, as a creed, the great Minister's name.
- "So heir to traditions of him, long departed,
'Who called the New World up, to balance the Old,'
We lay thee in earth—gallant natured, true-hearted !
Break, herald, thy wand ; for his honours are told.
- "No, let Pride say her story and cease, for Affection
Stands near with a wealth of wild tears in her eyes,
And claims to be heard with more soft recollection
Of one who was ever as kindly as wise.
- "We trusted his wisdom, but love drew us nearer
Than homage we owed to his statesmanly art,
For never was statesman to Englishmen dearer
Than he who had faith in the great English heart.
- "The frank, merry laugh, and the honest eye filling
With mirth, and the jests that so rapidly fell,
Told out the State secret that made us right willing
To follow his leading—he loved us all well.
- "Our brave English Chief !—lay him down for the sleeping
That nought may disturb till the trumpet of doom :
Honour claims the proud vigil—but Love will come weeping,
And hang many garlands on Palmerston's tomb !"

In his cartoon on the occasion, for once, *Fun* beat his aged rival. On a rough sea, and beneath a cloudy sky, a barque slowly drifts along. It bears the figure, sad and sorrowful, of Britannia, mourning for her loss. Beneath, the simple phrase, "Gone from the helm," explains all. The same number also contained the following :—

- "A chieftain dead ! Let discord cease ;
Awhile suspend your quarrels,
And lay the olive-branch of praise
Among our hero's laurels.
- "Our leader, who so gaily marched before us,
Is gone from us—is gone !
He who still kept the great flag flying o'er us,
Who such example of high courage bore us,
From whom our strength was drawn ;
For him the death-bell booms in tones sonorous
This dull October dawn.
- "Yet we will chant no melancholy dirges—
We will not wail for him.
On welcome shores of rest he now emerges,
Who had so long, amid life's cruel surges,
To battle and to swim.
Peace now ! To-morrow's care no longer urges
Tired brain and weary limb.
- "He is dead ; who stood so boldly by the helm
Of the realm.
In the fulness of his time, the close of day,
Past away,
When the dim October lights, in mist and rain,
Slowly wane.
How friends lov'd him—and none hated ; not even those
Who were his foes ;
For the arrows of his wit, if they were keen,
Yet were clean
Of the venom of a sneer begot in spleen.

" Kind and courteous in the hall, and in the fray,
 Bold and gay,
 Dealing blows and taking blows with open smile,
 All the while.
 And the downcast of the nations knew the fame
 Of his name,
 Sighing, look'd to him for liberty. And he
 Set them free,
 When he knew that he could strike the one great blow ;
 Free them so ;
 Not rivet more the fetters of their woe."

Here the poet rhymes without regard to reason. The downcast nations of Europe were the Poles, the Italians, the Christians in Turkey, and latterly the Danes. It is difficult to see how Lord Palmerston's interference, at one great blow, freed from the fetters of their woes. But to proceed—

" Fade failing year, in fog and gloom,
 And leave this record on the page—
 'The foremost statesman of the age
 This year was given to the tomb.'

" And we had thought he could not die—
 This veteran, with his eighty years,
 Who was as one among his peers ;
 No Nestor of an age gone by.

" He never struck an unfair blow,
 Or failed a helping hand to lend ;
 So true, through good or ill, to friend ;
 So prompt in mercy to a foe.

" He listened to the nation's voice ;
 But when an angry rabble cried,
 He did not turn or swerve aside,
 But held the justice of his choice.

" Close up the ranks. Aye, look your fill
 Upon our Ancient Captain, dead.
 Then onward—by the way he led—
 And keep the old flag spotless still !

" Let those who future histories pen,
 His noble qualities review ;
 Kind, cheerful, honest, fearless, true—
 The Englishman of Englishmen.

" Go, search the world from end to end,
 A braver heart had no man ;
 So faithful, aye, to fallen friend ;
 So generous to foeman.
 We must not weep ! A death like this,
 So peaceful and so painless !
 No tears ! This shield we bear of his,
 He has bequeathed us stainless."

Such was the feeling of the public when Lord Palmerston died. Everywhere the shop windows were filled with his photograph, or with the various portraits of his lordship which had been engraved at some time or other; and memoirs, of more or less merit, were suddenly improvised, and seemed to secure an extensive sale. When Peel died, he was still viewed as a traitor in certain circles. The suspicion with which Canning was regarded by the pure Whigs on the one hand, and the extreme Tories on the other, followed him even to his grave. When Pitt died, in spite of the eulogies of the little men he had sustained in office, and elevated to rank, there were those, of no mean reputation,

who censured deeply his war and financial policy; and could say, as did Sir Samuel Romilly, in the House of Commons, "That he was not among the worshippers of Mr. Pitt's memory; that he was, undoubtedly, a man of most extraordinary and splendid talents; but that, with all the talents he possessed, and the great influence he had enjoyed, he (Sir Samuel) looked in vain for any acts of his administration by which he had increased the happiness or improved the condition of any portion of his fellow-subjects." Perceval, as we know, fell suddenly, and in a manner calculated to create unusual feeling and sympathy. The murderer was not actuated by political feelings. His only motive for his mortal deed was personal. Yet, writes Sir Samuel Romilly, in his diary for 1812—"Among the multitudes, however, whom the news of so strange and sudden a catastrophe had soon collected in the street and about the avenues of the house, the most savage expressions of joy and exultation were heard, accompanied with regret that others, and particularly the attorney-general, had not shared the same fate." The public had forgotten Lord Sidmouth, and his spy system, when he dropped off the stage; and when he died, made no sign. Mr. Charles Wynn, who attended Castlereagh's funeral, writes to the Duke of Buckingham—"From being in the first coach I could see little of the behaviour of the mob at the funeral; but all that I saw or heard was perfectly proper till the removal of the *coffin* from the hearse to enter the abbey, when a radical yell was set up from St. Margaret's churchyard." It must be remembered that Lord Castlereagh had been long Secretary at War, and then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Palmerston had served with him from his entrance on official life. In some respects they had much in common in their firmness, in their personal honour, in their opposition to democracy, in their resolute endeavours to uphold the honour and dignity of their common country. Lord Liverpool had been First Lord of the Treasury from 1812 to 1827. He had not retired from official life much more than a year when he died. He possessed, say his admirers, great administrative intelligence, and exhibited unremitting attention to public business, yet no one sorrowed at his decease. Huskisson was followed by a multitude to the grave, partly on account of the premature shortening of his days just before, and partly for his expulsion from office, for his support of a very mild attempt at parliamentary reform, by the Iron Duke, just then not very popular. When Earl Ripon died no one remembered that he had ever been Premier at all. Since the beginning of this century, we find no statesman who died so honoured and lamented all over the land as Viscount Palmerston, K.G., K.C.B., D.C.L., First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

CHAPTER XL.

IN MEMORIAM.

It is said that no man is missed in the battle of modern politics; that no sooner is the place vacant than it is filled up; that immediately one leader is lost there is another ready to head the advance. This is true; but it is not all the truth. Society is not quite so ungrateful as those who make such an assertion imply. A lost leader still lives in the memory of his followers. The country is not unmindful of those who deserve well of it. We cherish their ashes; we decorate their graves. To them we consecrate the marble column, or the monumental brass. In this respect Lord Palmerston's case is no exception.

On the 28th of the May following his decease, several members of both Houses, and belonging to both parties, having met together at the Duke of Cleveland's house, proposed the erection of a statue in the open space near the House of

Commons, "to express the general respect for the character of Lord Palmerston; the sense of his public services, and sorrow for his recent loss." In order to include the largest possible number of the subscribers, no subscriptions were received above £5; and it was intended, when the list was completed, to hold a meeting, and to appoint a committee to carry out the object. Among the original promoters of this scheme were Lord Stanhope, General Peel, and Mr. Walpole; as well as the Duke of Cleveland, Mr. Denman, and Mr. C. Buxton. The initiation here was taken, not as in Canning's case, by noblemen and gentlemen not connected with Lord Palmerston by any political or personal ties, but who were, nevertheless, willing to charge themselves with the labour of collecting funds, and making all the preliminary arrangements on public grounds alone. It was felt that even if the monument in Westminster Abbey, already voted by parliament, be finished in a lifetime, it would not adequately represent a popular testimonial of respect. Those who visit Westminster Abbey are few compared with those who pass through Palace Yard; and open-air statues, even when soiled by a London atmosphere, are more effective demonstrations of national gratitude than a memorial such as partial relations may award to any deceased persons, however obscure or unworthy.

Of course, when parliament met in February, the House testified its sense of their loss by a vote for a national monument. It was on the 23rd that, having gone for that purpose into committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—"Mr. Dodson, I rise for the purpose of placing in your hands a resolution conformable to the terms of which I have given notice—namely, 'That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of Viscount Palmerston, with an inscription expressive of the public admiration, attachment, and of the heavy loss which the country has sustained by his death, and to assure her majesty that this House will make good the expense attendant on the same.' Sir, I need hardly say that I anticipate an unanimous assent and approval of the House. It is, indeed, true, and, more than that, it is rather a marked feature in our habits, that the occasions on which parliament has been asked to present addresses, or to take other measures contemplating the erection of monuments at the public charge for the civil servants of the state, have been very rare. The general rule of England is to leave it to friends, or to the impartial estimate of public opinion to determine upon, and to select those memorials which may be due to the fame, the virtues, and the performances of the dead. But, in certain cases, parliament has thought fit, upon strong grounds—narrow and well defined—to depart from its usual reserve, and to make the nation, through the medium of its vote, the organ of expressing its opinion as to those who have passed from among us. So far as I know, there have been, in the last hundred years, but three of these monuments voted to the civil servants of the state. In the case of the Earl of Chatham and that of Mr. Pitt, votes of this kind were made in regard of men whose historic figures tower above all their contemporaries. It was done in the case of Mr. Perceval, who, like Lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt, was Prime Minister of the country, and who lost his life in the actual discharge of his duties, and in a manner to signalise the occasion, and naturally to draw from parliament some marked and striking expression of its sentiments. In the case of Mr. Canning, there was no public monument; but another method was adopted to testify the sentiment which the nation entertained. And now we come to the case of Lord Palmerston. I think there can be little doubt—I think there can be no doubt—in the minds of those who hear me, that the government have judged wisely, and have but answered the general anticipation in the proposal which they now make. Lord Palmerston was, like the three men I have named, Prime Minister of this country; and although he did not attain to that high dignity until what is for most men the decline of life—the age of threescore and ten—yet, long before he had attained to it, he had been one of the most eminent and one of the most famous of all the servants of the state; and, after he had

attained it, it was his lot to hold it for a period of nearly ten years—a period longer than that which it had been held by any minister, except two, during a century and more. But it was not only the time during which it was held—though that, of itself, constituted a remarkable distinction in the case of Lord Palmerston—it was the general position which he held in the view of parliament and the country—the place which he had established for himself in the feelings and recollections of the country, that led to our making this proposal. Now, sir, it would be an entire departure from usage—and a usage founded upon precedents—if I were to attempt, by any single word I can say, to make this tribute the tribute of a ministry, or the tribute of a party, instead of being, as it really is, and as it should be, the tribute of a parliament and of a nation. And I will refer but to two points which I think were truly national in the career of Lord Palmerston. It was his happy lot, as Foreign Minister and as Prime Minister of this country, to be closely associated in that remarkable extension of constitutional freedom in Europe, which has been among the happy characteristics of the present age. I need not speak of Belgium; I need not speak of the Peninsula; but, as regards Italy, I will venture to say that Lord Palmerston was one of the first and the most prophetic of those who, in England, discerned the growing and the gathering destinies of that country. And I believe it will not be extravagant to say, that in Italy itself, his name will claim a place by the side of, and on a level with, the most distinguished native statesmen. It was the lot of Lord Palmerston to be the minister who brought to an honourable conclusion a war which taxed severely the energies of the country, undertaken for no narrow or selfish purpose, but aiming solely at preventing a breach of principles that are necessary for the safety and well-being of all Europe. And although it happened, and fortunately it happened, that the war was arrested at an early stage—at a stage when the resolution of the country was, as it were, but stirred from its depths, and the resources of the country were perfectly unbroken—yet the English people were contented to stop in their career, and to receive, with entire satisfaction, the conclusion of a peace, wise, moderate, and considerate in its character. And I believe it is a correct opinion, that the people were led, in no small degree, to that favourable view of the negotiations and to the conclusion of the war by the confidence which they reposed in the nobleman who was at the head of the state. But there was another topic of life-long interest to Lord Palmerston, most thoroughly national in its character, and most vitally associated with English history, which it would be unpardonable not to mention upon this occasion. I mean the deep and unflinching interest which, at all times, and in every position, Lord Palmerston took and exhibited—not by words merely, but by acts—in the fate of that unhappy race, the African, whose history is, for the most part, written in blood and tears. It is needless to go into details. There is nothing more truly brilliant—there is nothing more conspicuous or better known in his career, than that, in every step of these negotiations, the mind, the heart, and the voice of Lord Palmerston, were ever enlisted on behalf of that down-trodden, but, at length, rising race. Well, sir, I think the House will agree with me in desiring to avoid all doubtful points. I presume to say that Lord Palmerston had the reward of his untiring zeal, of his immense energy, and of his long-continued labour (to use the terms of the address), in an amount of public admiration and attachment—I might even substitute for attachment a warmer term—I might certainly add, the admiration, and attachment, and public trust—such as, when we consider its extension throughout the country, and its duration for so many years, surpasses that which has fallen to the lot of any other statesman who has borne office in our time. It would be an entire mistake to suppose that that attachment was limited to any class, to any party, or to any portion of her majesty's subjects. It prevailed in the upper classes, among the aristocracy, to which Lord Palmerston belonged by blood and character; it pervaded the powerful and intelligent middle classes; it descended into the ranks of the humble and earnest labourer. In all these ranks alike his character and

services were favourably and warmly appreciated—I believe in a higher degree, and for a longer period, than those of any other civil servant of the crown. Sir, in this place it is impossible not to cast back a thought upon the influence which he here exercised. All we who knew him knew his genial temper, and the courage with which he entered into debate; the incomparable tact and ingenuity; his command of fence; his delight—his old English delight—in a fair stand-up fight. And yet, notwithstanding these powers of debate, there was no man whose inclination and habits more led him to avoid whatever could tend to exasperate, and to prosecute whatever could calm down animosity. He had the power to stir up, but he chose rather to appease. Like the old sea-god in the *Æneid*,

“Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.”

The position of Lord Palmerston in this House was not due to any laboured or artificial rhetorical distinction. There are many of us who recollect the year 1850, and who know to what height and excellence the parliamentary oratory of Lord Palmerston rose. That was a great occasion, when we were all ranged on one side or the other. I myself occupied an honourable position in the ranks opposite to him on that particular question; but never can I forget the sentiment of admiration with which I, not distinguished from others, but showing what was felt by every other man, listened to him throughout that long summer's night—I was humbly opposed to him at the time—when, with unparalleled courage, and extraordinary cleverness and felicity of argument, he went, point by point, through the foreign policy of England (which is the policy of the world), and satisfied the House upon the points which had been raised against him. Sir, the character of Lord Palmerston as an orator, and his character as a man, are not to be determined by me. I can still, however, but give myself the pleasure of noticing what always appeared to me to be one of the most remarkable qualities of his oratory, though perhaps the words in which I shall express my idea may raise a smile, through their appearing so simple and so matter-of-course. The most remarkable characteristic, in my opinion, of Lord Palmerston's oratory, distinguishing it beyond that of all other men, was the degree in which he said precisely the thing he meant to say. I may be wrong, but I don't think I have ever seen that precision of measure and strict identity preserved between the process of the mind, which is always in advance during the address of a public speaker, and the terms and accents which the tongue supplies for the purpose of conveying that meaning to their intelligence. I have never known that so exactly exhibited as in Lord Palmerston. Sir, as I have said, it is not our manner to draw a portrait in this House. It is all too soon. That is the business of the public opinion of the country, and of those who shall hereafter record the history of the times in which Lord Palmerston had so distinguished and so conspicuous a part. But we have all seen, and I think we must all desire to record, now that we associate him, not only with our admiration, but with something of a tender feeling, the sense which we have of the extraordinary courage, and the almost unexampled force of will, by means of which Lord Palmerston was enabled to commence the office of Prime Minister and leader of this House at the age of seventy, and to hold it until he passed fourscore years. For my part, I think they are mistaken who consider that it was only the providential blessing of a good constitution which enabled Lord Palmerston, while out of doors, to discharge the labours and duties of his office; and, in doing that, set an example of indefatigable attention to the business of the country. I am convinced that it was the force of will, with the sense of duty and the determination not to give in, that enabled him to make himself a model for all of us who yet remain, and follow him with feeble and unequal steps in the discharge of our duty. It was that force of will that did not so much struggle against the infirmities of old age, but actually repelled and kept them at a distance. And one other quality there is that may be noticed, without the smallest risk of stirring in any breast a painful emotion—it is the most delightful

and the last which I have to mention : it is this—that Lord Palmerston had a nature incapable of enduring anger, or sentiment of wrath. There may be those who would lead us back to the old philosophical puzzle—which many of my right honourable friends will recollect—the question whether there can be virtue without self-restraint. There are those who hold there cannot be virtue without self-denial; and as in the perfectly good man there is no self-denial needed—if such be virtue, virtue dies at the moment it attains perfection. But, sir, the true answer to that puzzle is the case of Lord Palmerston, where this freedom from wrathful sentiment was not the result of a painful effort, but the spontaneous fruit of the mind; it was the noble gift of his original nature—a gift which, beyond all others, it is delightful to record, delightful to observe, and delightful to remember, of those who are now passed away, and with whom we have no longer to do, except in endeavouring to profit by their example, whenever it can lead us in the path of duty and right, and in bestowing upon them those tributes of admiration and affection which they deserve at our hands. With these words I venture to commend the resolution I have proposed to the friendly—I may almost say to the warm and enthusiastic—notice and approval of this House. The rest I leave to the historian, who has hereafter more fully to record the deeds of Lord Palmerston. I leave it, above all, to the admiring and affectionate recollection of the nation.”

Mr. Disraeli, after a pause, rose, and was received with cheers from the ministerial benches. He said—“I was in hopes that this motion might have been seconded by some one who had the honour of sharing the private friendship of Lord Palmerston, and who at least participated in his political career. But as no one has risen, I must say I cannot, without reluctance, permit a motion of this character to pass in absolute silence on this side of the House, as if we did not share in the address to the crown, and vote it with the utmost cordiality. Whatever differences of opinion there may be upon political questions, sixty years of public service—always distinguished, sometimes illustrious—cannot be permitted only to be cherished by the admiring, and even, perhaps, the grateful feeling of the country. It is most befitting and most proper, under these circumstances, that in the chief sanctuary of the realm there should be some outward and visible sign to preserve the memory of a statesman, of whom it may be said, that he combined in the highest degree two qualities that are seldom found united—energy and experience. I will not touch upon the personal qualities of Lord Palmerston; but this I will say, that they were most engaging. I trust that the time may never come when the love of fame may become the sovereign passion of our public men. But, sir, I still think that that statesman is to be peculiarly envied, who, when he leaves us, leaves not merely the memory of his great achievements, but also the tender tradition of personal affection and social charm.”

Mr. Beresford Hope did not rise to object to the proposal now before the House, but simply to put in a plea that the monument of the great man whose talents they desired to commemorate, should be worthy of the noble pile in which it was to stand. He expressed a strong hope that government, in fixing upon a design for the monument, would see that the sculptor was not allowed to follow his own will, and introduce allegories, cupids, tritons, and other monstrosities such as they found disfiguring so many of their public monuments.

Sir J. Pakington expressed a hope that no unseemly delay would occur in the erection of the monument. Many years ago a monument was voted to the Duke of Wellington, but it was not yet completed. He trusted so unreasonable a delay would not occur in this instance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that he had omitted to mention, in his remarks, that a precedent had also occurred in the case of Sir Robert Peel, when the House followed the course which he was now asking it to pursue.

The motion was then agreed to.

In the ancient town of Romsey—a town to which the name of Palmerston had given such celebrity—it was also felt that something should be done to per-

petuate his memory. The abbey church of that town is one of the most famous in the pleasant county of Hants. It was built in Norman times; it guards the ashes of the famed Sir W. Petty, the illustrious head of the Marquis of Lansdowne's family; it has been fortunate in the character of its clergy; and it was near Lord Palmerston's ancestral residence. When in the country it was rarely that he was absent from its service; and all loved to see the Premier of England, with his distinguished countess, taking part in the service of the sanctuary, and joining in the worship of Him, who, as Lord of all, views with equal eye the peasant and the peer. It is in such circumstances that we see country life in its best aspect. In our Protestant form of worship there is but little room for—

“The pomp that charms the eye,
Or rites adorned with gold.”

We need no elaborate and costly interior, no showy ritual, with its candles and incense, and gorgeous altar, and elaborate genuflexions. Him whom we worship is a spirit; and He has told us He must be worshipped in spirit and truth; and hence it is that no devotional mind complains of the bareness of our churches; of the simplicity of their service; of the rude responses of the clerk, and of the untrained accents of the provincial choir. Lord Palmerston might have avoided the service. He might have urged business as an excuse, or objected on grounds of taste, as fine gentlemen and ladies are often apt to do. He did nothing of the kind; and all the Romsey people were wont to see him constant in his attendance at their parish church, frequently accompanied by his noble and illustrious guests. No sooner, then, had his lordship died, than a meeting was held at Romsey, at which all the leading townspeople assembled; and where it was unanimously resolved that Romsey should have its memorial to his lordship; and that memorial should be connected with the abbey church, where he had worshipped so many years. The Honourable Mr. Cowper, Lord Palmerston's step-son, had, as was natural, taken a great interest in the undertaking; and under his superintendence, and in conformity with her ladyship's wishes, Romsey will ever be associated with the name of her most distinguished townsman.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

In England it is by the press that we express our sentiments. We quote some of the leading journals and reviews, for the purpose, then, of collecting the testimony of the nation. We commence with the *British Quarterly*:—

“Lord Palmerston, even in his later years, evinced a remarkable insight into the opinions and requirements of the day. The Radicals, indeed, tell us that he was merely a survivor of a former generation of politicians; yet we never heard from them any other evidence of their assertion than that he was an opponent of parliamentary reform. To judge from the experience of the past few years, it would certainly seem as though the majority of the public were not less antiquated in their opinions than himself. Not, indeed, that the public were averse to a certain amendment of the representation if it could be had; and Lord Palmerston appears to have been fully alive to the defects of the system in 1832. What, however, is undeniably unpopular is a Radical measure; and the Conservative power in this country is, apparently, too strong to admit of its being carried. Lord Palmerston had learnt by experience that, when a ministry took up the reform question, it was impossible for it to stop precisely where it would. He was, no doubt, indisposed to lessen the aristocratical influence in the House of Commons. What, however, divided him from the Radicals was, perhaps, a want of personal sympathy quite as much as a difference on definite measures, for he showed himself anxious to support all beneficial reforms except parliamentary reform. This absence of personal sympathy on both sides served latterly to widen

the contest between him and Mr. Gladstone. The Radicals have made the present Chancellor of the Exchequer their idol; Lord Palmerston was the idol of all parties but the Radicals. This comparative independence of the trammels of party—this elastic power of adaptation—this flexible turn of mind, which rendered him intellectually as well as physically young in old age, formed, no doubt, a large part in his continuous success. But there were other attributes which stood him in equal stead. He had a sternly defined sense of right; a generous and even chivalrous spirit, which imparted in turn a winning self-denial to his character; and a resolution in emergencies to do what he held to be his public duty, let the results be to himself what they might. No better instance on this head can be taken than in his conduct to Lord Aberdeen in 1855. * * * * Enjoying, in his later years, the immense personal authority of the Duke of Wellington, he had the love of the public as well as their admiration. He possessed a singular facility of attaching his friends. He never forgot or lost sight of them. With private friends and political friends it was the same. He was one of the kindest gentlemen among us. His manner was equally genial and sincere. His buoyant spirits, even at eighty years of age, seemed to refresh every one who came into contact with him. But those who had any public business to discuss with him noticed how surely the joke and the smile they had caught a moment before, were replaced by earnestness and gravity, as well as the apposite knowledge and close reflection he would bring to bear on the subject before him."

The *Westminster Review* says—"In conclusion, our summary of Lord Palmerston's career is, that he was not merely a great man, but a clever man; that, according to Coleridge's classification, he was not a man of genius, but a man of talent; that the sympathy he felt, through his happy temperament for all varieties of human mind, gave him a command of the House of Commons, and of the general public, that no man of splenetic mood could ever have compassed. He was genial, generous, manly, and, in many other respects, the representative of the best side of English character. But while he was neither so logical as the typical Frenchman, nor so profound as the typical German, he was eminently practical; and, for his day, the best exponent of English thought and feeling that could be found."

The *Edinburgh Review*, in an article from the pen of the Lord Advocate, Mr. Inglis, had by far the ablest sketch of the deceased statesman. It occurs in an article on the extension of the franchise. The writer says—

"If Lord Palmerston was a type of an Englishman, he was in many, both of its every-day and rarer aspects, a model of official life. Nature was lavish to him of many gifts; and it is the lot of few to bring to the public service that strong will, that iron constitution, and that charm of manner which stood him in such stead during more than fifty years of official life. But he had other qualities, homelier it is true, but not the less essential to the position which he attained—which, in degree at least, are within the reach of all. There could be no better school for statesmen than the attentive study of Lord Palmerston's rise to greatness.

"It has been said that Lord Palmerston's success was due not so much to any surpassing ability, as to a rare combination of ordinary qualities. But the remark, although in some respects true, is superficial. Probably his greatest peculiarity was the equipoise of his powers, which gave them an air of complete symmetry, and somewhat baffled the estimate of them in detail. He possessed, also, a union of qualities which seldom exist together in equal excellence. That a man should be really both grave and gay, both witty and earnest, devoted alike to the routine of office and the love of sport and of society—in short, that a statesman should be both merry and wise, shocks the pedantry of the public. And the public are so far in the right, that it requires unusual powers to effect the combination, and these Lord Palmerston possessed.

"This element has led, we think, to an imperfect and perhaps unjust apprecia-

tion of his real eminence. He had, it is true, two qualities, ordinary enough in their nature, but which lay at the foundation of much of his success—namely, industry and simplicity of character. The first sprang mainly from the last. There probably never was a man in his exalted position so free from conceit or self-assertion. He was essentially a modest man in his estimate of himself; and woke up, comparatively late in life, to a consciousness of what his powers could effect. The result of this temperament was to preserve him entirely from that snare of clever men, the notion that he knew anything by intuition. Whether the matter was great or small, he never supposed that he understood it till he had applied himself to master its details; nor did he ever imagine that he knew more of it than another, until he had ascertained that he did so. This habit of accurate investigation, pursued during half a century of official life, had not only stored a retentive memory with an immense amount of information, but had given his mind a power of close and rapid generalisation which he knew he could trust, because it always worked on secure materials. Therein lay one secret of his success; but when he had the materials within his grasp, his rapid power of sifting was of the rarest and most remarkable quality. His mind was supposed to be merely practical, because he only gave out his practical conclusions; but, in reality, he had great powers of subtle analysis; the main distinction between him and reasoners more apparently philosophical, being, that with him the process was entirely internal, and he thought the product only worthy of public elucidation.

“A remarkable instance of his characteristic assiduity, which was prominently open to public observation, was the resolution with which, in 1855, he set himself to master the forms of the House of Commons, and the details of its ordinary business. He had been until then chiefly a departmental minister; and when he had found himself at the head of the cabinet, and leader of the House, he discovered that even his long experience of that body had not rendered him familiar with many of its usages. Most men at the age of seventy would have been content with the general knowledge which they possessed, and to trust the rest to subordinates or chance. But his sense of duty, and his habits of thorough work, allowed of no such course. He set himself to learn the routine of his new position with the same patient investigation with which, more than forty years before, he had mastered the details of the War Office. Early and late was the Premier in his place; one of the first to come, and one of the last to leave. Day after day saw him before half-past four; night after night did the summer morning find him at his post. His first appearance, as leader of the House of Commons, was not entirely successful; but, by the end of the session of 1855, he had effectually grappled with and overcome the difficulty. He continued what he had thus commenced throughout the whole of his premiership; nor was it until a very few months before the close of his last session that failing health compelled him to relax it.

“Those who doubt or question his power of acute analysis would do well to study—for some of them are stored with comprehensive views as well as valuable information—his speeches on the international questions which, from time to time, have been discussed in the House of Commons since the close of the Crimean war. He evinced in these discussions a grasp of general principle, a perspicacity of reasoning which the greatest lawyers in the House might have envied, and which, in point of power and cogency, gave his views a value far beyond those of any other lay member of that body. If these speeches are ever collected they will be found to constitute a repertory of public law, cleared of all technicality of language or thought, but replete with maturity of reflection, and applied with simplicity and force to the actual cases which arise.

“Another popular impression in regard to Lord Palmerston is, that he was inclined to treat matters of grave import with levity. This was especially the keynote of those who desired to disparage him during the last year of the Crimean war. The public, however, very soon discovered that no accusation could be more

unjust. * * * * In Palmerston's views of the service he owed to the queen and the country there was not a tinge of levity.

"Two other traits of his inner political character we may mention—elements very necessary to a great leader of men. He was entirely fearless, and he never deserted a subordinate. He came to his convictions deliberately. His well-balanced mind and temperament had little in it of the impulsive. He thought without excitement and without passion; but the conviction once attained, the resolution once taken, he never looked back. He might be swayed by the public once—before his determination was made, but never afterwards. And having himself a strong sense of the responsibility of office, he had sympathy for all under him; and his counsel in difficulty, and his support under imputation, were never failing—the only sure way to obtain hearty and zealous service."

Nor must we omit here the opinions of the leading journal. The *Times*, of October 19th, 1865, wrote as follows:—

"One of the most popular statesmen, one of the kindest gentlemen, and one of the truest Englishmen that ever filled the office of Premier, is to-day lost to the country. The news of Lord Palmerston's death will be received in every home throughout these islands, from the palace to the cottage, with a feeling like that of personal bereavement. There is not a province in our vast colonial empire, and there are few civilised nations in the world, which will hear, without an emotion of regret, that Lord Palmerston no longer guides the policy of England. Never again will that familiar voice be heard in the councils of Europe, or in the British senate, of which he almost seemed a part; never again will that native gaiety of spirits enliven the social circle in which he loved to move. The death of no other subject could have left such a void in the hearts of his countrymen, for no other has been identified so long or so closely with our national life. Born in the first year of Pitt's first administration, and some years before the downfall of the old French monarchy, he had witnessed the whole drama of European politics in the nineteenth century, and in the most important scenes of it had taken a leading part. So extended and so various an experience in state affairs is almost without a parallel in history; and the vigour of mind and body which enabled him to lead the House of Commons when he had passed the age of eighty, has certainly been given to very few in ancient or modern times.

"He who could win and keep a commanding position in this free country for more than half a century of foreign wars and domestic changes, against formidable opponents, but without making a personal enemy, who could increase in *prestige* and parliamentary address with advancing years, and who died Prime Minister, enjoying to the last the full confidence of the sovereign and the people, must have possessed one of those rare combinations of qualities which men call greatness. His almost unique success raises Lord Palmerston above the ordinary level of his contemporaries, and places him in competition with the most eminent of his predecessors. Judged by this standard, he must be allowed to have fallen short of that heroic type of character which we associate with a few—very few—historical names. He had not the splendid oratorical genius and daring spirit of Chatham, the lofty magnanimity of Pitt, or the constructive ability of Peel. His name will not be remembered in connection with the triumph of a grand cause, nor was his life devoted to the development of any single idea; and yet he was a great man, unless that title be confined by an arbitrary limitation to a prescribed class of moral and intellectual virtues. In everything but rhetorical accomplishments—classical graces of diction—he was more than the equal of Canning, his early friend and leader. In political knowledge and practical acquaintance with all the departments of state, he was greatly superior, not only to Canning, but to all Canning's successors, if we except Sir R. Peel. In familiarity with the labyrinthine complications of modern European diplomacy, he excelled all living politicians at home or abroad. In the art of distinguishing the prevailing current of public opinion, in

readiness of tact, in versatility of mind and humour, in the masterly ease with which he handled the reins of government, and in the general felicity of his political temperament, he had no rival in his own generation. To these gifts, however, he added an unwearied application to duty, which would itself have earned him a high position in the state. The secret and source of his great popularity was his boundless sympathy with all classes of his countrymen. He was a truly large-hearted man, and moved among men and women of every rank as one of themselves. His unfailing good-humour and inexhaustible animal spirits, if they obscured to some extent his more solid endowments, not only carried him through anxieties under which many a younger man has sunk, but endeared him to all who came within their influence. Nor was this kindness and affability merely superficial. It may not be generally known, that when an attempt was made on his life by a crazy officer at the War Office, his first act was to draw a check for the expenses of his assailant's defence. That act was characteristic of the man; and Englishmen were proud of him, not so much because he bearded foreign despots in his prime, or exhibited marvellous physical activity in his old age, as because they believed him to be a stout-hearted and benevolent statesman of the good old English stock. They did him no more than justice. Lord Palmerston was, perhaps, too little of an optimist, and too little of an ideologist; but he had our interests and the interests of humanity at heart; he had an utter hatred of oppression and wrong in every shape, and a genuine desire to redress every practical grievance.

"He has left none like him—none who can rally round him so many followers of various opinions—none who can give us so happy a respite from the violence of party warfare—none who can bring to the work of statesmanship so precious a store of recollections. It is impossible not to feel that Lord Palmerston's death marks an epoch in English politics. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.' Other ministers may carry into successful effect organic reforms from which he shrunk; others may introduce a new spirit into our foreign relations, and abandon the system of secret diplomacy, which he never failed to support; others may advise her majesty with equal sagacity, and sway the House of Commons with equal or greater eloquence; but his place in the hearts of the people will not be filled so easily. The name of Lord Palmerston, once the terror of the continent, will long be connected in the minds of Englishmen with an epoch of unbroken peace and unparalleled prosperity, and cherished, together with the memories of the reign of Queen Victoria."

We extract a criticism, of a less genial character, from the *Fortnightly Review*, October, 1866.

"Just this time last year Lord Palmerston died. After sixty years of official life, passed first in one then in the other camp of political warfare, he was supposed to know all the secrets on both sides, and to have such an accumulated stock of practical wisdom, that his decision in political matters was sure to be correct. His fiat was accepted by nearly the whole English nation; that is to say, all that part of the English nation which is educated and thinking, and possessed of political power. He endorsed Lord Russell's axiom, to rest and be thankful; and the nation did rest during the whole period of his premiership. It may be a question whether we are not now paying severely for this long holiday. During Lord Palmerston's life, we had an opportunity of settling, in a peculiarly advantageous manner, the difficult questions which now surround us. He possessed a weight and authority with both political parties, such as no longer exists. Had he really earnestly pressed any measures on the House of Commons, they would almost instantly have been carried; but his nature was light and *insouciant*; he hated to look forward to the future, and the nation was only too happy to shirk its duties, and lay on him the responsibility * * * * Lord Palmerston was too indulgent a leader. His followers were allowed a perpetual '*delices de capoue*.' In his time the House of Commons was—as it had been before the Reform Bill—a most

agreeable club. No hard work could possibly be done; the minister was omnipotent; serious questions were laughed aside; experienced old Whig ministers knew exactly how little they could do without losing their places; the public money was voted lavishly; and members started off, after unfruitful sessions, to their various amusements. * * * * When Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone, last year, succeeded Lord Palmerston in the direction of affairs, they found the whole political system relaxed, and too many professing Liberals considered that matters could not continue as they were. They had a nominal majority of seventy, and they thought it was to be wielded at will. They imagined they strengthened themselves by taking into their confidence some gentlemen of the ultra-Liberal party, whereas they really frightened and disgusted the mass of their supporters. They had earnestness and energy without tact; whereas Lord Palmerston had tact without earnestness or energy."

From abroad came criticisms on his lordship in abundance. We first quote the *Journal des Débats*:—"Entering public life at a very early age, at the beginning of the century, he has never since ceased to take an active part in the affairs of his country. We shall subsequently consider, in a special article, this long political career, sometimes so brilliant, often contradictory as to the principles and means employed, but immutable in its inspiration, which was to serve the interests of England at any price. It is this, without speaking of the remarkable talents of Lord Palmerston, which explains the popularity he enjoyed up to the last moment among his countrymen; and certainly, if anything in the world ever was sincere, it is the unanimous regret expressed this morning by the English press—upon this point a very faithful echo of public opinion. We at least are not singular in considering the policy of Lord Palmerston as having nearly served its time, and as no longer responding to the ideas and wants of the present day; but, in addition to his other merits, the celebrated minister possessed that of being pre-eminently English. He was English from his heart, by instinct and by intelligence. He loved England passionately; and we ought to add, to the praise of our neighbours, that similar temperaments are not rare among them."

Another French paper, the *Constitutionnel*, observed—"For a statesman, old age, when physical only, is a source of strength, and a *prestige*. Then, the more the years accumulate, the more youthful remains the popularity. Such was the case with Lord Palmerston. He has grown older and greater, and he has not been driven from his post of Prime Minister by fatigue or want of confidence, but by death. No one thought of reminding him of the song of old Simeon; his eighty-first year was surrounded with respect and reliance, and thus were recognised the services he had rendered, and those he might yet perform. In presence of his tomb we will only remember the readiness with which the noble lord, in 1851, recognised the new order founded in France under the great name of Napoleon. We will only call to mind the policy which gave birth to the treaty of commerce, and to which is due the brotherhood of the soldiers of France and England on the fields of battle of the Crimea and in the extreme East. The popularity which Lord Palmerston enjoyed for sixty years, and the regret with which his death inspires his countrymen, are naturally explained by the consideration that his principal virtue was always love for his country. Whether his ideas happened to be just or not, whether he was timid or adventurous, whether he was right or wrong in his judgment of the allies, adversaries, or rivals of England, he was always guided by his British patriotism. Let us not reproach him for that; but let us rather admire, and at the same time try to imitate him—let us be French, as Lord Palmerston was English."

According to *La France*—"The esteem felt in France for the character of the illustrious minister has caused his contradictions to be frequently passed over; and the imperial government more than once preferred to modify its original views rather than compromise the elevated object which the cordial understanding of the two great western nations is pursuing. But apart from the hesitation which

was attributable more to early prejudices than to strong convictions, how many fine qualities, how many potent ideas, how much energy and address were there not in Lord Palmerston! He was a political genius of the completest and widest scope. He was a statesman, a legislator, and a great debater; he held in his hand all the strings of European diplomacy, and never allowed one of them to escape into the domain of chance. But, above all, what a subtle and delicate intellect! What humour! What a genial and ever youthful delivery, notwithstanding his eighty-one years! The loss England has sustained in him is immense. With him disappears the last representative of the politicians who were contemporaries of the republic and of the first empire. Is it a system which descends with him into the tomb? The future will teach us."

The *Opinion Nationale* wrote—"During the sixty years that he has entered into political life, he has never ceased to occupy, either in power or in opposition, an important place. A rare mixture of prudence and decision, of suppleness and vigour, has kept him for more than half a century in the foremost rank of British statesmen: he combined, in the highest degree, the qualities and the defects of his country, which loved to recognise in him one of the most finished examples of the English character. Latterly, every rumour, every discussion ceased around him; it seemed that Great Britain had grown old with her First Minister. His death will probably be the signal for a new classification of parties; and if the foreign policy of England is not likely to be changed, internal questions, and especially electoral reform, are likely to demand a large share of attention. France does not lose a friend in Lord Palmerston. Still we cannot announce his death without paying a last tribute of respect to the eminent statesman, who, sometimes our ally, sometimes our adversary, will be known in history as one of the accomplished types of an English gentleman and statesman."

One more extract will suffice. Lord Palmerston had done much for Belgium; nor was his death unnoticed there. The *Independence Belge*, in an article after his decease, said—"His loss will be considered as a public calamity. The promptitude, the pliability, and the infinite resources of his mind—his courage in meeting face to face, sometimes with jaunty raillery, more apparent than real, difficulties and dangers before which other statesmen recoiled—a valuable aptitude in presaging the fluctuations of public opinion, and in following them when the interests of England or those of his own ambition advised;—these were the qualities which, during a most active political career (he was in parliament at the age of twenty-three), had made Lord Palmerston the most popular man in his country, and, finally, the keystone of the arch which maintained the balance of parties in that period of transformation through which England, and Europe with her, are at present passing."

Thus did the newspapers write when it was announced that Lord Palmerston was dead—an event which, in the language of the *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, did "leave an immense void in the counsels of the queen, and did produce, in the three kingdoms, one of those profound sensations which leave a mark of emotion in the history of nations."

CHAPTER XLI.

CONCLUSION.

OUR laborious task is at length completed. We have followed Lord Palmerston from the cradle to the grave. "Few and evil have been the days of my life," said the patriarch. The triumphant statesman would have made no such reply.

In 1835, Frederick Von Raumer, professor of history at the university of Berlin, visited this country. It was at a time of great political excitement, when the angry passions created by the struggle for reform had not passed away. Sir Robert Peel had endeavoured to carry on the government, but in vain; and the Whigs returned to power. The professor, who visited all parties of the nobility, in recording Lord Melbourne's premiership, observes—"Why all the several posts are filled as they are, and no otherwise, can only be satisfactorily answered by the initiated; but Lord Palmerston's appointment by preference to the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, proves that his popularity (which was not great before, even in England) has increased, precisely because he is disliked by the great northern powers. On this ground he has, perhaps, a better chance at this election than at the former; most assuredly, all insinuations from abroad will be thrown away upon English electors." At that time, then, we may infer that not only was Lord Palmerston not the slave of Russia, but that he was regarded by her with no friendly eye; and it was on this unfriendliness that he founded any little claim to popularity which he then possessed. The instincts of the nation, and of the northern powers, were right. Lord Palmerston was no friend to the latter, nor to the system on which they ruled. He believed in parliamentary government—in the nation ruling itself by means of its ablest or most influential men; in short, in public opinion. They, on the contrary, defied public opinion; regarded it as the monster evil of the age, and sought to rule alone by force.

Another merit of Lord Palmerston was his nationality. Though the wearer of an Irish peerage, he was English to the back-bone. On the banks of the Liffey, in the immediate vicinity of Dublin, is the small irregularly built village of Palmerston. At the present time, pleasant villas and mansions are around: one of them, Palmerston House, overlooking a rich and extensive landscape, is now the residence of the Earl of Donoughmore; but it was with England, and more especially with Broadlands, Romsey, that his lordship was more intimately connected. The district is now essentially an agricultural one: before then, there had been, in the good old times, a great abbey there, which, after being nearly destroyed by the Danes, was gradually rebuilt for the reception of nuns, and gained distinction. One of the chief personages connected with it, was the wife of our Henry I.—"the good Queen Maud." Another was the unfortunate Princess Mary, daughter of King Stephen, who was, for a time, lady superior; who then renounced her vows to marry the Count of Boulogne, but was compelled by that proud priest, Thomas à Becket, to leave husband and child, and die sad and sorrowful at Montreuil. The sisterhood has long been gone; not a vestige of cloisters or conventional buildings now remains; but the old abbey church yet stands, and there the townspeople worship as of yore. Lord Palmerston was a liberal benefactor at the time of its renovation. The structure is essentially Norman in outline and appearance, of the style preceding the middle of the twelfth century. It embraces a nave and choir, with aisles, an eastern ambulatory, a transept, with chapels, and a central tower, from which there rang out a merry peal in the autumn of the year 1784, on the occasion of the birth of the future Premier of England. To that church he was wont to repair when at Broadlands. There his father and mother were buried; and there, about eleven years ago, the ashes of his only brother, Sir W. Temple, were interred; and then the family vault, in the interior, was closed, and the last and greatest of the Temples chose for himself a resting-place still amongst his neighbours, in their new cemetery; and there he would have lain had not the nation willed, for her leading statesman, a more fitting and more honourable resting-place.

Respecting Broadlands itself, a few particulars are not out of place here. Soon after the dissolution of the religious houses, the estate passed into the hands of the St. Barlie family, in whose possession it remained upwards of two centuries. From them it was purchased by the second Viscount Palmerston, who erected the present plain but elegant mansion, on an eminence rising up gently from the

banks of the Test. The second viscount, though holding office in the political world, made no figure in the state; but he mixed, as we have said already, with men of letters and artists, and collected a fair gallery of old masters at his country seat. A few months after his death, we find Sir Harry Englefield writing to Miss Berry—"I hear that Lady Palmerston is in very good health; and when she sees her friends, which is but seldom, very tolerably cheerful. Lord Minto saw her the other day at Broadlands, which, by-the-bye, has had a narrow escape from fire. The furniture of one bed-chamber was quite burnt." As, at this time, the youthful lord was nearly ten years old, we may presume that he was thankful for the preservation of the mansion, to which he was to lend such a lustre. Of the joys of home, in consequence of the early removal, by death, of father and mother, he could have known but little. Nevertheless, he remained faithful to Broadlands to the last.

As a neighbour, a Romsey townsman, Mr. Lordan, has thus spoken of him—"While regretted by parliament, the nation, and all liberal governments, by none is his loss more sensibly felt, and by none will his memory be so affectionately cherished, as by the humble men and women around his birth-place, whose only personal knowledge of him was as he appeared in private life—the model of a landlord, master, and neighbour. Familiar as he was with the policy of every cabinet, and with the secrets of every Court in Europe, he well understood the wants and feelings of the sons and daughters of toil in his own service, and connected with the homesteads around him. While managing, also, the affairs of the realm, he could find opportunity to meet them; occasionally distributing, in person, the prizes awarded by the Romsey Labourers Encouragement Association, to male and female servants for skilled industry, long servitude, or general good conduct. He was the president; and discharged the duty with singular urbanity, kindly and wisely counselling the successful candidates respecting the instruction of their children, and the comfort of their homes. Many a Joe and Harry, Sue and Sally, has he sent away the happier for a prize, because of the friendly words and manner of the distributor. In estimating the character and merits of Lord Palmerston, it must never be forgotten that, with despatches from ambassadors, and, sometimes, letters from sovereigns in his pocket, with an influence at his command co-extensive with the empire, and reaching far beyond its limits, he acted out the sentiment expressed in the opening line of the old song—

" ' Be gentle to the lowly born.' "

It was this neighbourly, friendly feeling, this readiness to oblige and assist every one—high or low, rich or poor—that made Lord Palmerston immensely popular. No one ever went to him in vain. Men who believed his lordship to be all that was bad—who denounced his foreign policy, or who had no faith in him as regards home questions—were always pleased when they came into contact with him. They found him so ready to meet their views, and to do, if possible, all that was required.—We have referred to his exertions on behalf of Kossuth. It was the same in the case of Garibaldi. When the latter was wounded at Aspromonte, application was made to Lord Palmerston, who exerted himself in every possible way, and placed the resources of government, so far as it was requisite, at the service of the friends of the hero. No one could live long in the metropolis without hearing of some little act of courtesy and kindness on the part of Lord Palmerston. Hence it was that he had such friends; that to support him was a passport to popularity and political power; that speculative tradesmen and enterprising builders were glad to make use of his name—a name familiar to every quarter of the globe. We have seen it stated that there is a Cape Palmerston on the eastern seaboard of Australia, and that the waters of the South Pacific wash the shores of a Palmerston Island. Oerveg, the German, called the vessel he launched on the African lake Tchad, the *Lord Palmerston*—the only barque ever afloat upon its surface.

The Bible denounces a woe to those of whom all men speak well. It is to be hoped and believed that from this calamity Lord Palmerston was free. His career was altogether an exceptional one. A steady friend of progress and constitutional liberty, he was never a man of extreme opinions; and, in later years, so great had been his geniality, so fortunate his rule, so universal his popularity, that, while the Liberals rallied round him as their chief, the Conservatives, many of them—such as Mr. Newdegate, for instance—preferred him to their own party leaders. Worldly people liked him for his gaiety, and evangelicals adored him on account of what they deemed the excellence of his episcopal appointments. Writing the day after his decease, the *Standard*, the organ of the English Tories, said—"We did not all agree with him; we could not all approve his policy or support his administration: but we all loved him; we were all proud of him; and we shall all mourn him. In that House which was wont to greet his appearance with a universal cheer, which ever listened with respect to his clear manly tones, and admired the vigorous frame and resolute spirit which work could not fatigue and age could not bend, every heart will be heavy at the thought that the gallant old man will appear among them no more. Those who knew him only by sight or reputation as a statesman in whose hands all felt that the honour of England was secure, and in whom men of all parties reposed a personal confidence rarely accorded to an individual minister—who honoured him only as Englishmen honour a man who has done England good service during a long and well-spent life—will feel as if they had lost a friend. Men who cared little or nothing for politics, and men who most differed from his politics, will yet be moved as by a personal sorrow when they know Lord Palmerston is gone. Seldom, if ever, has there been a party leader whose death was so universally and so deeply regretted. * * * * Lord Palmerston, though the chief of a great political party just emerged from the heat and passion of a general election, is not less regretted by his opponents than his followers: around his grave there will be no distinction of Liberal or Conservative." Certainly the phenomenon here recorded does appear strange. We are told no man can serve two masters; nevertheless, friend and foe, Conservatives and Whigs, trusted in Lord Palmerston as their common head. Yet his lordship was neither a traitor nor a humbug. The real truth was, he was never very much in earnest; and that lack of earnestness, that desire of his to keep things comfortable and pleasant to the last, just suited the age in which he lived. His easy temperament, as a writer in the *Examiner* remarked, so charming in private life, made him tolerant of many things which fretted less accommodating spirits; and the same gaiety of heart, that if adversity had been his lot, would have made light of his own misfortunes, manifested in public affairs, was often construed to betoken unbecoming levity or unfeeling concern.

"Life is a jest, and all things show it;
I thought so once, and now I know it,"

seemed, in the opinion of many, a fitting epitaph for the noble viscount when he was gathered to his fathers; but the inscription would have been more fitting for the first than the second premiership. Nevertheless, to the last he displayed that tone of levity, that lack of earnestness, that readiness to accept the conditions of the case, or the circumstances of the time—qualities which, while they produce no lofty heroism, are often very useful in enabling a man to overcome all difficulties, and to make things pleasant to all parties. Such was the man. He never could have been a Chatham—gloomy, imperious, dazzling, and erratic—

"Resolved to ruin or to rule the state."

But he never would have sunk so low as a Bute or a North. Lord Palmerston made the best of everything. He took nothing seriously to heart. He obeyed the poetical injunction, to look always on the sunny side. It was not in his nature to see, in a gloomy light, what was susceptible of a less displeasing view. He had

the sunshine of the breast that coloured all around. By temperament he was a Tory, and was contented to let things be, and to make no effort for improvement or reform. Policy and principle made him a disciple of progress. His mind was curiously balanced for the great success of his career. If he had been more or less conservative on the one hand, or more or less liberal on the other, he would have lacked the hold he had on opposite parties, and the support he derived from it. It was thus the Liberals marched under him to victory, and that the Tories preferred him to their more legitimate chiefs. They never forgot that, though termed by Sir Robert Peel a pure old Whig, Lord Palmerston had begun life as a Tory, and as a Tory of the worst school. His father was the friend and supporter of Lord North in all the folly and frenzy of that unfortunate statesman's career. Mrs. Delany writes, as far back as 1772—"Lord Temple (that is, the second Viscount Palmerston), they say, told Lord North he believed him so honest and able a minister, that he should give him no more trouble." The son outgrew this; but for thoroughgoing opinions, one way or the other, he had no fitness: he would probably have failed either as an extreme Liberal, or as a thoroughgoing Tory. "Every one, by nature," writes genial Walter Mapes, "has a mould that he was cast in;" and the mould in which Lord Palmerston had been cast was not certainly that of an advocate of extreme opinions, one way or the other. In one thing he resembled Lord North: he had his good temper, and forbearance, and perseverance; and thus he rose. It was not till Palmerston had been thirty years in office that he took any rank at all. No one gave him credit for what he was. It was the same with Lord North. "See," said Charles Townshend, when Chancellor of the Exchequer; "see that great, heavy-looking, seeming changeling; you may believe me when I assure you as a fact, that if anything should happen to me, he will succeed to my place, and, very shortly after, come to be First Commissioner of the Treasury." The person here alluded to was Frederick, Lord North, and the prediction was exactly fulfilled immediately on poor Charles's death. Nor was Townshend the only person who foretold his rise. George Grenville, walking with another gentleman in the park, met the future minister, apparently rehearsing a speech. "There comes blubbery North," said the latter to Grenville; "I wonder what he is getting by heart, for I am sure it can be nothing of his own." "You are mistaken," replied Grenville; "North is a man of great promise, and high qualifications; and if he does not relax in his political pursuits, he is very likely to be Prime Minister." Like the great Whig Duke of Newcastle, Lord Palmerston had a longer official career than any of his contemporaries; but then the duke's parliamentary patronage was great; and, in Lord Palmerston's time, the House of Commons had been reformed, and there were difficulties in consequence in carrying on the government, with which the duke had not to deal. Ministers who had unlimited supplies of secret service money at their disposal, or who had all the pocket boroughs in the kingdom under their thumb, had a way of carrying their measures, of which we, in this age, can scarce form an idea. The peace negotiated by Bute, in his first year of office, cost an enormous sum of money, and Lord Holland opened a regular office for the purchase of votes. Many an M.P., thought by his constituents to be an independent member, we now find was in the receipt of a regular income from government. It was thus ministers managed to remain in office in the Duke of Newcastle's day. In some other things, besides length of official life, we find Lord Palmerston did resemble the duke. He was courteous, affable, accessible, humane, a warm friend, a placable enemy. He both wrote and spoke with ability and readiness. He was one of the, personally, most disinterested men of the day. The Earl of Albemarle thus describes him:—"He understood clearly our relation with foreign states. His views of civil and religious freedom were in advance of his age, and he acted on them whenever his fears, his jealousies, or his ambition—a most comprehensive exception, indeed—permitted his opinions to affect his conduct." But, as regards popular estimation, Lord Palmerston has been the more fortunate of

the two. "Forty-six years of public service," writes the Earl of Albemarle, "have procured for the Duke of Newcastle notoriety rather than reputation. Few portraits, indeed, have been sketched by so many unfriendly hands. Smollett, King, Glover, Chesterfield, Walpole, Waldegrave, Doddington, have each assailed him in turn. He was, in fact, the butt against which contemporary ridicule levelled all its shafts. That he was fretful, busy, interfering, unmethodical, and self-sufficient; that his demeanour lacked dignity, and that he mistook expedients for principles, cannot be denied. Indeed, his numerous unpublished letters, to which I have had access, rather corroborate than weaken the fidelity with which these traits have been delineated. But his contemporaries would see only the superficial and ridiculous points of Newcastle's career; they would not do justice to his many sterling good qualities." In this respect certainly Lord Palmerston had the advantage. No man was more flattered by his contemporaries. Of none were there fewer unkindly things said. It was in vain that Mr. Cobden said there were irreconcilable differences of opinion between himself and his lordship which would ever prevent his taking office under him. It was in vain that Mr. Bright denounced him as a sham, and considered the worship of his lordship by the middle class public as the most remarkable delusion of the age. It was in vain that Mr. Urquhart pointed to treaty after treaty, as an illustration of the complicity of Lord Palmerston with Russia, for the degradation of his native land. In parliament the confidence in his lordship was as great as ever; and, out of doors, his popularity was unchanged. Partly this may be explained by the open manner in which our public men live now. A hundred years ago it was very different. Men always suspect what they do not understand. They knew that there was plotting, and secret influence, and widespread corruption; that principles were bartered for place and power; that commoner and peer alike used their personal influence for private and personal ends. Hence there were always those ready to regard the minister of the day as the most loathsome creature of the age; as deficient in every virtue, as tainted with every crime. In our time there is more light let in on public affairs. Our newspapers extract knowledge from every quarter, and circulate it everywhere. The Reform Bill, in a great measure, put a stop to parliamentary corruption. The invective of a Junius now would but create a smile; nor would the satire of Churchill meet with a better fate. Old things have passed away; all things have become new; the situation is completely changed. It may be that a plausible speaker, or a clever tactician, gets more than his fair share of applause; but, at the same time, justice is done to persevering industry, and integrity, and talent; and unlimited devotion to the public service is sure to meet with its reward.

The reader must not entertain the idea that the possessor of the premiership is the greatest and wisest of mankind. We are sometimes told this is a great self-governed country. Our constitution is the growth of ages, and has attained a perfection of which Locke despaired, and of which Hobbes never dreamt. The franchise, we were told, is a trust, and is placed in the most trustworthy hands. Our elections are the envy of surrounding nations. The ablest men of the community, irrespective of their wealth, or want of it, are selected as candidates. On the day of nomination, in the plain garb of citizens, without music, or flags, or demonstrations of party feeling, they appear upon the hustings. Their speeches, in plain but lofty language, comment upon the men and movements of the day. They declare the principles upon which they act, and upon which they deem the government of Great Britain and its imperial dependencies should be carried on. To these speeches the utmost attention is paid by an attentive and discriminating audience. A show of hands then takes place. The best man has invariably the majority; the others immediately retire; and the constituents, satisfied that they have done their duty, return home. The representative, in his turn, becomes a unit in another assembly, where he meets some 600 gentlemen similarly elected, as the very flower of the intellect and patriotism of the nation. They select

from among themselves, to form a cabinet, the ablest and wisest; and their head is the wisest and ablest of the lot. If this be the true theory of the constitution, of course there never was such a man as Viscount Palmerston: but, alas! the case is different. Our parliaments are too often elected by intimidation or bribery, or by some little dirty clique, sitting in a bar-parlour, and choosing, not the best man, but the one who will spend the most money. And as to our statesmen, they are chiefly chosen from the aristocratic class, as Englishmen dearly love a lord. This system compels us to a kind of Hobson's choice. This was singularly illustrated during Lord Palmerston's career. When Lord John Russell was in one of his usual messes, and found that he could not carry on the government, and Lord Derby had been appealed to, and had given a similar reply—if Lord Palmerston had not condescended to be our saviour, the whole machinery of the state would have been thrown out of gear, and we should have been plunged into all the horrors of a parliamentary dead-lock. Hence Palmerston became Premier; and when, as a sexagenarian, he descended into the political arena, and exhibited all the ardour, and courage, and vivacity of youth, men were first astonished, then enraptured, and saw, in the old age of the wonderfully preserved nobleman, a guarantee for every grace and virtue under heaven. We read in Luther's *Table Talk*—"Maximilian one day burst into a great laugh. On being asked the cause—'Truly,' said he, 'I laughed to think that God should have trusted the spiritual government of the world to a drunken priest like Pope Julius, and the government of the empire to a chamois hunter like me.'" We have it in evidence, that an idea of this kind used to flash through Lord Althorp's honest brain. Lord Melbourne had some such idea; and surely, in his retirement at Broadlands, Lord Palmerston, when he found himself at the head of the state, must have laughed as heartily as Maximilian himself. However, as amongst the governing classes, promotion goes by seniority, Lord Palmerston's turn came at length, and he was not a man to lose it when he had a chance; and there were one or two reasons why, as Premier, he should attain a popularity such as few men had before, or may hope to have again.

We have already indicated, as one cause of his popularity, his wonderful age. This is a greater advantage in statesmanship than at first sight it appears to be. Anacreon sang—

"The women tell me every day
That all my bloom has passed away.
'Behold,' the pretty wantons cry,
'Behold this mirror with a sigh;
The locks upon thy brow are few,
And, like the rest, they're withering too.'"

But, in politics, age is not the disadvantage that it is in love. A man's wisdom ripens with his years, as his wine. We thought the late Marquis of Lansdowne a Nestor because he had reached the appointed threescore years and ten. A man a long time engaged in political affairs learns much; gets an insight into the state of men and parties; understands the personal likes and dislikes of all around him; quotes precedents; is listened to respectfully by younger and, it may be, better men; and, in fact, becomes an authority. On one occasion, in the old unreformed days, a Scotch member complained that they had a short man as a leader in the House of Commons; and this was a great disadvantage, as a tall man could be seen, and there could be no mistake as to following him into the lobby when a division took place. In a sense, an old statesman is a tall one, and is a guide to the many who need one.

Again, it was a great advantage to his lordship that, for the principal part of his career, he had been mixed up with foreign rather than with home politics; and had thus avoided shocking the prejudices, or coming into collision with the instincts of any powerful class of his own countrymen. Undeniably, John Bull is very vain—not of himself, like a Frenchman, but of his nation. The Chinese term

us barbarians; the Romans spoke of all not under the sway of the imperial eagle in a similar manner; and we use the same kind of language with regard to foreigners. "It is a grand country, this!" exclaims the enthusiastic but grumbling Briton; while he abuses its laws, its customs, its institutions, and its climate. Lord Palmerston spent half a century in repeating this cry for the edification of foreign Courts. England has been the model which he has asked France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy, Austria, Russia—to say nothing of countless smaller principalities and powers, no matter the difference of religion, of custom, and of race—to imitate and admire. Well, people liked this. We were glad to hear how our ships and men-of-war had carried matters with a high hand. We admired the spirit and audacity of the Palmerston despatches. It made us feel that we were a great people; and when we went up into the temple to pray, we did it ostentatiously, like the Pharisees, thanking God we were not publicans and sinners. It was flattering to our national vanity to have a finger in every pie. In sober truth, it does not seem that the cause of good government abroad was much aided by our independence; and the oppressed nationalities too often bitterly rued the day when they appealed to the sword, in the faith that, after all that the noble viscount had written, England's arms would uphold them in their attempt practically to apply England's principles. More than once, the good luck rather than the discretion of the Foreign Secretary, saved us from hostilities that might have been attended with unpleasant results, in consequence of his tendency to lecture and remonstrate. But people did not see this. All that they did see was—what they admired—a show of strength and vigour, as if the arbiter of Europe was England's pugnacious and vivacious Foreign Secretary. To most men, now, the great feature of the Palmerston foreign policy is its unintelligibility: but such was not the opinion entertained at the time by the intelligent but beery patriots of Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, or Marylebone. Foreign Secretaries must follow, not lead the course of events. We must leave people to fight their own battles. It is true now as ever, that those

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

The world will move on; its dark places will be made light; its crooked places straight; the wilderness shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose; the lion and the lamb shall lie down side by side; but we nowhere read that the millennium will be ushered in by diplomatic struggles, or by the protocols and despatches of the English Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Deeds are better than words; example is stronger than precept. England will better teach the nations how to live by raising herself, by looking at home, than by delivering lectures to statesmen abroad. Nevertheless, people did not think so when Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary: they admired his pluck, and his daring, and his success; and thus it came to pass, that as the advocate of British constitutionalism and British honour, the noble viscount reached the very pinnacle of popularity.

And yet people were much disappointed when they got a ticket for the strangers' gallery, and had a peep at Palmerston, the statesman. Was it possible, they exclaimed, that that old gentleman seated on the Treasury bench, with hat pulled down tightly over his eyes, arms across his breast, and one leg thrown over the other, was the man who had lectured, and browbeaten, and outmanœuvred all the crowned heads of Europe! Nor when he rose to speak was the stranger's regard increased. Mr. Windbag, the popular lecturer, felt that, as an orator, he could take the shine out of his lordship any day; and the last importation from the Little Pedlington Literary Institute, grew ambitious as he contrasted his lordship's oratory with his own. There were no fine sentiments; no beautiful figures; no impassioned appeal; none of the thunder and lightning of genius. Yet a skilful observer would have been amused with the briskness and pertness of his lordship's reply. Disraeli said Sir Robert Peel played on the House as an old fiddle. Palmerston did the same. His birth, his office, his experience, all made

him feel at home in it; and when he sat down there was generally a laugh, and the questioner, somehow or other, was made to feel that he had done something very foolish, though he scarcely knew what. It was seldom that his lordship was more than this; it was seldom that he soared into a higher strain. The House of Commons loves plain, clear, business-speaking; and Lord Palmerston was a master of the House of Commons' oratory. In all his speeches there was the same pertness and levity; the same eagerness to settle the question with a joke; the same skilful adaptation to the prejudice, or the knowledge, or the interests of the House. It was seldom that he rose above this level; very seldom that he became passionate and overpowering. As an orator, he was surpassed by many; as a worker, by none; and, after all, it is the man who works, rather than he who talks, who wins the day. The old schoolboy phrase is true—*Labor omnia vincit*.

Lord Palmerston's power of work was immense; and it was this which won for him his position. He devoted himself to the House of Commons, and the House repaid him with its confidence. He never trifled with the business of the House—never assumed the airs of a Lord Dundreary; or, like the late Lord Melbourne, assumed an epicurean indifference which he did not feel. Whatever he did, he did thoroughly. As War Secretary, as Foreign Secretary, as Home Minister, as Premier, he did his best on all occasions, whether the business in hand was the appointment of a tide-waiter, the fall of a dynasty, or the fate of a nation. "When Lord Grenville was in the height of his power," writes Horace Walpole, "I one day said to him, 'My lord, as you are going to the king, do ask him to make poor Clive one of the council.' He replied, 'What is it to me who is a judge or who a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe.'" Now, Lord Palmerston would never have made such a silly answer. Whatever was worth doing, he considered was worth doing well. In his home, as well as his foreign policy, he equally aimed at the national heart. An Englishman must be comfortable, or he cannot live. His favourite word is "comfort," and it represents an idea for which in vain you consult foreign dictionaries for a synonym. The two great evils of life are—if popular proverbs may be quoted as authorities—a smoky chimney and a scolding wife. By his active interference in the matter, Lord Palmerston got parliament to forbid the one, and to pass a measure to enable the wretched victim to free himself of the other. The Divorce Act will always remain a proof of the noble viscount's activity and perseverance. Night after night he and his Attorney-general, Sir Richard Bethell, had to fight the battle alone, in circumstances under the pressure of which a man of feeble will would have given way. When Lord Palmerston became Home Secretary there was another sore evil under the sun. In all our towns, population had planted itself most densely in the neighbourhood of the churchyard, and the result was, the living were poisoned by the dead. Some of the clergy, fearful of losing their vested interests, and deeming cash more precious than human life, opposed the removal of this fearful nuisance; but, in spite of them, Lord Palmerston persisted in shutting up the churchyards as burial-places, and humanity gained the day.

A jolly, good-tempered man can never be unpopular; there will always be people who believe in him to the last, as did the Irish in O'Connell, till disease and age had taken from him his beaming face, and his ready tongue. The Manchester weavers were to be forgiven their faith in Orator Hunt for a similar reason. In the same way, in the House of Commons, such men as Lord North, or Sir Robert Walpole, were so long able to hold their own; and we may remark here, in a parenthesis, for the same reason, Mr. Gladstone and Earl Russell have so signally failed as chiefs of parties. Lord Palmerston had not the hereditary claims of the one, nor the talents of the other; but they could neither of them maintain their ground without his aid. In the world a little civility goes a long way; the reserved genius always standing on his dignity, can never hope to have many friends.

Here, let it be observed, that in these days of public meetings, when, to

please their constituents, members of parliament often appear upon platforms, at which their private friends never expected to see them perform, and are tempted to express coincidence with opinions which they cannot be supposed very ardently to hold, it was greatly to the credit of Lord Palmerston that such a fault cannot be laid to his charge. His must be the merit of cheerful honesty. He never sought to appear other than he was; and, till the last few years of his life, was less than any man of his position before the public. He never went out of his way to seek their applause. He never held himself up to the world as a great and gifted exemplar, or as a paragon of wisdom and virtue. The *Record*, indeed, in its enthusiasm, and, it may be presumed, at the suggestion of Lord Shaftesbury, intimated that he was the man of God, because he made low churchmen bishops; but Lord Palmerston himself never laid claim to so sacred a character. On the whole he paid remarkably little deference to the particular whims and fancies of an enlightened British public, and especially was rather given to snub it, when, as regarded diplomatic mysteries, it wanted to know too much. Lord Palmerston never was what his democratic admirers thought him. Like Wilkes, he never was a Wilkesite. The lover must blame, not his mistress, but his own heated imagination, when he finds the idol of his fancy plain and commonplace. Beery and muddled readers of newspapers had no reason to complain when they saw their model statesman—their Magnus Apollo—their guide, philosopher, and friend—resign office rather than give them votes. The British public dearly love a lord who will take the chair at Exeter Hall: his lordship never did such a thing in his life. They love to believe children tainted with original sin: Lord Palmerston boldly denied the dogma. The Scotch clergy have great faith in prayer: Lord Palmerston candidly declared that cleanliness was a more effective means of keeping off the dreaded attacks of cholera. And yet he was popular. The last American traveller, who has published a book on us (Mr. Field), writes—"An American can hardly believe his senses when he sees the abasement of soul which seizes the middle classes in the presence of a lord. They look up to him as a superior being, with a reverence approaching to awe." There is some truth in this; and it was to the credit of Lord Palmerston that, on all occasions, as much as possible, he avoided trading on this feeling.

The good temper of his lordship had, perhaps, as much to do as anything with his long hold on parties inside the House and out. In this respect his lordship resembled the late Joseph Hume. It was rarely you could put him out. Thin-skinned men are never popular. Some men are very ready to give punishment, but very reluctant to receive it. For instance, there is Lord Derby, who, when in the Commons, was always in a mess—always quarrelling with some one or other—always jeopardising the existence of the cabinet. When, as Lord Stanley, he was a member of the first Whig cabinet, and in the House of Commons in 1839, a writer says—"Stanley hits very hard, but he does not inflict so much as he feels. See him when he has sat down, and some opponent is lashing him in turn. At the commencement he probably sits in a lounging position, with his feet cocked up on the table—an attitudinous elegance which he has probably learnt in America—and with an expression of mockery and supreme contempt upon his features. As his castigator proceeds, however, the feet are taken down, and forced under the seat—he tosses up his head—whispers to his neighbour—laughs—then seizes some parliamentary paper, and, bending his elbows on his knees, pretends to be deeply absorbed in it; but the smarting soon becomes intolerable, and he either springs forward, and, without the slightest reason, calls the speaker to order; or, after starting to his feet, suddenly restrains himself—throws himself back again, opens and shuts his knees, and affords proof that cannot be mistaken of the severity of his sufferings, and the agony of his impatience." Earl Russell also winces and betrays very uneasy sensations when attacked, in spite of his attempts, always aided by the broad brim of his hat, to exhibit a stoicism which he certainly does not feel. Lord Palmerston seemed to take the

hardest hitting as a matter of course; and latterly, we should fancy, slept through a great part of it. In the ease with which he bore attack, he is resembled by Mr. Disraeli; but the peer had the advantage of the commoner, in the fact that his was an expressive countenance, and that it could show what was passing within. The impenetrable countenance—calm as monumental marble, inscrutable as the Sphinx—of the author of *Coningsby*, would lead you to suppose that the possessor of it is insensible to the common feelings of humanity; that he heeds not censure; that he cares not for praise; that he is unmoved by that which excites the pain or joy of other and less-gifted men. Between two men there could not be a greater contrast; yet in this one thing they resembled each other. They could receive as well as give. On one occasion an indignant patriot was charging the minister of the day with the ruin of his country; and, said the excited orator, coming to the climax, “he sleeps now.” “Ah,” said Lord North—for it is of him we write—to a friend on the Treasury bench, “I wish I were.” It was the same spirit of *bonhomie* which gave the late Premier so much of his power. He was too wise a man, and of too kindly a disposition, to be quick to take offence, or to brood over imaginary wrong. A man of such a temperament is everywhere happy, and is everywhere a leader, more or less, of his fellows.

Voltaire says men succeed less by their talents than their character; and, as a case in point, he instances Mazarin and De Retz. In quoting the passage to the Bishop of Llandaff, the late Lord Dudley said—“Walpole and Bolingbroke make a similar pair in the next century; Castlereagh and Canning are remarkable examples of the truth of the maxim which our days have furnished.” When good, honest, heavy Lord Althorp led the House, a similar remark might have been made; and in Lord Palmerston’s career, again, the remark of Voltaire was illustrated. As an orator, how inferior he was to Mr. Gladstone; but the latter was only too happy when he was under his lordship’s protection. It is absurd to deny to Lord Palmerston the possession of talent of a high order; and, as an orator, some of his speeches were very famous in their day. He has made brilliant speeches; his pro-catholic orations were republished: the way in which he met and put down the chartist orator, Julian Harley, at Tiverton, set all England in a roar; and his celebrated vindication of himself was one of the most successful parliamentary efforts of modern times. Yet he never scaled the heights of oratory—he never became one to stand side by side with the

“Grand masters
Whose mighty footsteps echo down
The corridors of time.”

He never attained to the utterance of new and pregnant truths: genius never threw around him her dazzling robe of light. He was a dexterous debater at the best—skilful at fence—nothing more. He never could have done what his contemporaries—Brougham, Sheil, O’Connell—have done. He never, like Demosthenes, shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece. We shall never think of him as we do of Bolingbroke, or Chatham, or Burke, and Pitt, and Fox. He never shone as Canning or Macaulay did; and was certainly inferior, in parliamentary oratory, to Peel. We question whether Lord John Russell, in spite of his diminutive presence, and his stammering tongue, was not his superior; but, as a whole, Lord Palmerston was a match for all of them in readiness, in adroitness, in his power to put his case well before parliament and the public at large. To the living generation his lordship was scarcely known as an orator at all. What they perceived and admired in him was the fitness of his utterance. There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent; and of that wisdom Lord Palmerston was an admirable illustration. Another great thing about his lordship was, that he always said just what he ought to have said—neither more nor less; and it was for these things, for his tact and mastery of expression, rather than for his possession of the thoughts that breathe, and words that burn, that his lordship had become renowned.

Another thing is noticeable: we never hear of his lordship blundering or displaying ignorance. Of no other statesman who held office so long, and was so long in the public eye, can a similar remark be made. Ignorance is not very rare in our public men. There was the old Duke of Newcastle for instance. It is said, on one occasion, Lord Ligonier earnestly pressed upon him the importance of defending Annapolis. "Yes, to be sure, Annapolis ought to be protected," was the reply. "Oh, yes, Annapolis shall be defended. By-the-bye, where is Annapolis?" Then there was Sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer when Lord Bute became First Lord of the Treasury. Besides his notorious immorality and eccentricity, his capacity was of the meanest character. His knowledge of accounts, if we may believe his contemporaries, was confined to the reckoning of tavern bills; while, to him, a sum of five figures was an impenetrable secret. His budget was received with shouts of contemptuous laughter. We remember how, twice on one evening, Burke blundered in his quantities when quoting Latin. We have heard of the great Rigby, how, on one occasion, he exclaimed, in the midst of debate, "*Sine Scelere et Baccho Venus friget*;" and of his indignant reply to Mr. Alderman Beckford, when he suggested the correct quotation was *Sine Cerere*. Sir W. Wraxall tells us how the Earl of Hillsborough, when Secretary of State for the Southern Department, was much disconcerted and embarrassed in the session of 1781, when called on officially, in the House of Lords, to explain or to justify the measures adopted in Bengal—an embarrassment which arose from his ignorance of names, places, and circumstances in that quarter of the globe. The same authority describes how the House of Commons laughed when they first heard of Trincomalee. We all know the mistakes the present Earl Derby (then Lord Stanley) made, when, to the amazement of all sober people, he was asked to give up Shakespeare's historic plays, and the *Racing Calendar*, and to govern the most complicated colonial system in the world; but then, as his lordship frankly confessed not very long ago, he was born in the pre-scientific period, before education was thought of, or the schoolmaster was abroad. Lord Palmerston might have made a similar excuse, and with better grace, as he had the advantage of years; but he never had occasion for such an apology. It was seldom that he was caught talking about that which he did not understand. It was rarely, if ever, he was charged with a slip of the pen or the tongue. As he never soared into the heights of oratory, so he never descended to the depths of bathos. He spoke of that which he knew; and where he was ignorant he was silent. Born an Irish peer—certainly with Irish blood in his veins—he was remarkable in the possession, in an eminent degree of English propriety and tact, and common sense, and good nature. In this respect he resembled Lord North.

Another advantage possessed by the late Premier was luck. He was undoubtedly a lucky man. Cardinal Richelieu always put the question, of any individual in his service, "*Il est ne heureux?*" We have families who are always unlucky. Such were the Stuarts. We have men who are always unlucky, such as the late Duke of Newcastle. Most pre-eminently unlucky, in our day, is the House of Austria; and equally so, in its personal relationships, is the royal family of Italy. Even in the fact that his lordship has left no family behind him he is fortunate. To the end of the history of our land, he will remain the Viscount Palmerston. Nothing is more confusing to the student of English history than the similarity of names in the leading persons of the political dramas. There are two William Pitts; there are two Lord Stanleys; there are two Earl Russells. We have Dukes of Bedford and of Richmond without number, and the long list of Grenvilles is still more confusing. We are equally perplexed with the Lord Harveys, and Chesterfields, and the Walpoles, and the Keppels. We have had more than one Earl Albemarle, and Lord Howe; and people are always making mistakes about one or other of these celebrated personages, charging on the father the deeds, or language, or sentiments of the son, and *vice versa*. Even the simi-

larity of names in our queens of the House of Hanover, is too much for the critics of the *Saturday Review*; and they confuse the Carolines and the Charlottes in a manner quite unjustifiable, considering the character and pretensions of the journal in which such ludicrous blunders occur. It was the late Lord Palmerston who made his title famous; and there is no danger of its being confounded with that of a more brilliant or more fortunate successor in a coming age. In all time to come he will stand alone.

Already there seems opening up a gulf between us and the Palmerston epoch. The great question of reform of the constitution, which he postponed, is now being carried to a settlement on a wider basis than Lord Palmerston certainly would ever have advocated, and by the very men whom his lordship had learnt to reckon—and to reckon rightly—as the most persevering opponents of the measure. A marvellous change has come over the spirit of political society since Lord Palmerston's decease—a change which does not appear to have been the result of principle—under the influence of which a power has been given to the democracy of our country such as not even Mr. Bright could have expected to have seen become law. Possibly, as was the case with regard to the Reform Bill of 1832, the hopes and fears of the opponents or supporters of the measure will alike be disappointed: certainly the effect will be to give a more popular character than ever to parliamentary proceedings. The masses, now for the first time admitted to the possession of political power, will require of legislation that, for the future, it should be more in conformity with their interests. We may expect the aristocratic element in the House of Commons to be proportionably weaker, and the tribunes of the people—the Gracchi of the day—will wield more personal influence. Cabinets will be formed on a very different principle to what they are now. A revolution, wide and sweeping, has been effected.

In diplomacy especially, and in our foreign relationships, will this new spirit make itself manifest.

There is, says a contemporary, a common and growing impression that the importance of foreign ministers has decreased with the changing circumstances of our day. There is much truth in this. Now that the whole of the civilised world is connected together by the telegraphic wire, ambassadors have, to a great extent, lost the initiative of action which formerly belonged to them of necessity. We do not settle the affairs of Europe at the Hague, as we did when the first of the Temples won fame and fortune. The occasions must be very rare, indeed, when a diplomatist can be called upon to decide an important issue of foreign policy without reference to the home government; and what is a still more important consideration, is the fact, which cannot be questioned, that daily the latitude of action left to an administration is becoming less, as the power of the sovereign people is becoming more. Not only in England, but in France, Germany, Italy, and, to some degree, throughout the whole of Europe, the policy of our country towards foreign nations is mainly directed by the popular interest of the nation. Ambassadors are the deputies of ministers who themselves are, more or less, under the influence of public opinion; and the old days during which peace or war depended mainly on the caprice or will of an individual, have, with but very few exceptions, passed away. But this increased power of the people is a guarantee of peace rather than of war—of confidence, of friendship, rather than of suspicion and hate. We fear our foreign secretaries and ambassadors have often created the evils they affected to deplore, and have nourished the wars and rivalries it was their duty to put down. Henceforth they will have to play a humbler and less ambitious part.

We have said, with but few exceptions, such is the case. The one illustrious exception, of course, is France, where the elect of the nation seems to hold all power in the hollow of his hand. Under the circumstances of the case, we see, even in that fact, the prospect of a more powerful and lasting peace than would result merely from diplomatic considerations. No one seems to us to have more

faith in the coming age than Louis Napoleon ; in which respect, as in many others, he was a complete contrast to Lord Palmerston.

All Europe shuddered at an attempt, which, had it succeeded, might have involved it in a sanguinary struggle, of the extent or duration of which no one can adequately form an idea. Had the bullet intended for the czar terminated the career of Louis Napoleon, a blow would have been probably struck at peace and order, the influence of which would have penetrated to every quarter of the globe. Happily—we would say providentially, for there is a God in history—the attempt failed; the would-be assassin being loaded with the execrations of the civilised community. “What,” cries the press, “commit a crime in the name of Freedom! murder an emperor for the fault of his *régime*—how shocking and inhuman!” The press is finding its way to a dim perception of the truth. If I am a criminal because I take away the life of a man who deprives my country of her rights, and condemns my brother to exile, to slavery, or death, what must he be who rudely snaps asunder the ties which bind nations together—who robs Europe of its repose, and sends forth his armed legions to pillage and destroy—to revenge, it may be, a fancied slight, or to gratify a satanic pride?

On the continent, no one appears to us to have a clearer perception of this truth than the man in whose hands, humanly speaking, are placed the destinies of France. In spite of the troublous times in which he has lived, and of the warlike instincts of his people, he has not been slow to perceive how holier and nobler a thing peace is than war, and to shape his policy accordingly. No one has accepted the new era of peace and progress more willingly and loyally than himself. It was in Paris that the first European sanction was given to the doctrine of arbitration instead of war; it was in Paris, and whilst the *Times* was hurling its fiercest invectives against its emperor, that Mr. Cobden was able to negotiate that treaty which promises, in the course of years, to annihilate hereditary animosities, and to convert our “natural enemies” into our natural allies; and it was from Paris that Europe was appealed to on behalf of a general congress, which would have healed the bitter wounds which went on festering till Denmark was despoiled, and the honour of Austria was humiliated in the dust. Bitterly has many a potentate had to rue the day when, in an evil hour, he declined the offer of Louis Napoleon. Surely he foresaw the troubles about to arise, and raised a warning voice, in the hope that it would not be too late. And now, once more, it seems to us he has made an effort at a European understanding. Princes, and kings, and emperors are his guests. Nations have been bidden to the gay capital, which, under his imperial sway, has come to be the fairest and loveliest in the world. “Peace,” he says in reality, if not in words, “has beautified and adorned this city. The wealth and splendour we exhibit to the nations are the fruits of peace. It was because peace has prevailed that humanity has ripened under the teaching of religion, and science, and law.” There are those yet living who remember how the King of Prussia and the Russian Cæsar entered Paris at the head of a victorious army, and as the companions of a king who was forced upon his throne by foreign bayonets. But force is impotent against opinion. To how many settlements did Lord Palmerston put his seal, which, before his death, were not worth the parchment on which they were written? Where is that treaty of Vienna which our Wellington and Castlereagh laboured so hard to achieve? Where is that Bourbon dynasty on whose behalf were squandered such millions of money, and such hundreds of thousands of precious lives? That settlement was weak as water, for it was the work of the sword. Of course, we know not what is in the imperial brain. Louis Napoleon is no chatterbox, and is certainly one of the most silent, as he is one of the most remarkable, men of the day. But we can fancy, if he permitted himself to speak, it would be somewhat in this fashion:—“War is a thing of the past. The soldier belongs to an age of ignorance and jealousy, conspiracy and mistrust. It is not for the happiness or interest of peoples that great standing armies should be maintained. Peace has her victories greater than those of war.

What the soldier plants the soldier can uproot. It is only as nations cultivate peace that they have leisure to grow rich and wise; and it is only as a nation becomes such that a ruler may expect to hand down his sceptre to princes yet unborn." Dull, indeed, must be the Bismarcks and Gortschakoffs of Europe, and their royal masters, if they do not learn some such lesson as this from the French Exhibition, and from the few but pregnant utterances of the French emperor. If they have, their visit cannot have been altogether in vain. In spite of the splendid festivities of which Paris has been the scene, some hours must have been devoted to business—some time must have been made for mutual explanations and understandings—some sort of kindly feeling must have been awakened, and some plans of future action, some outline of a common policy, must have been hinted at and agreed to: and, in proportion as this has been the case, has war been averted or postponed. The more profound is the peace, the more averse is the public instinct to war. It is a great gain to Europe, when, from the gilded *salons* of the Tuileries, comes the cry that the empire is peace.

Now let us look at home. Is it not time that our statesmen and diplomatists cordially second the efforts of the French emperor? On the continent, the public lifts up its voice on behalf of peace. From Geneva, from Lyons, from Paris and Berlin, the working classes send to each other addresses on behalf of peace. Can it be that the workmen of the continent are wiser, and better able to read the signs of the times, than our M.P.'s and leading statesmen? If we are to judge from the reports in parliament, and from the action of our governing classes, we are on the eve of war. Our army and navy cost us more than ever; there is every chance now of our volunteers receiving annually a larger sum from the national purse; and our manufacture of the implements of destruction is on the most gigantic scale. The burden and the annoyance, and, we may add, the reproach and danger of this state of things, is beyond expression. The impolicy is equally clear; for if we are thus burdening ourselves in time of peace, how can we meet the exigencies of actual war? He who has the courage to say this state of things must be terminated, will be the first to gain for himself the gratitude of Europe. The French emperor has done much in this direction. We, of late, also have done somewhat. The peaceful diplomacy of Lord Stanley saved France and Prussia from a fearful war. The lesson is nearly learnt: national arbitration, and mutual disarming, is the logical sequence to the London conference, and the imperial policy of France. Our old statesmen have much to unlearn; our new men can better understand the spirit of the age. When a Palmerston dies, the nation, while it mourns, despairs not; for a democracy is ever young, ever renewing its strength, ever girding itself up for the work it has got to do. Therefore do we not fear or despair, though the last of the Palmerstons sleeps in his splendid grave in Westminster Abbey, and history already, with its impartial pen, has begun to trace his *Life and Times*.

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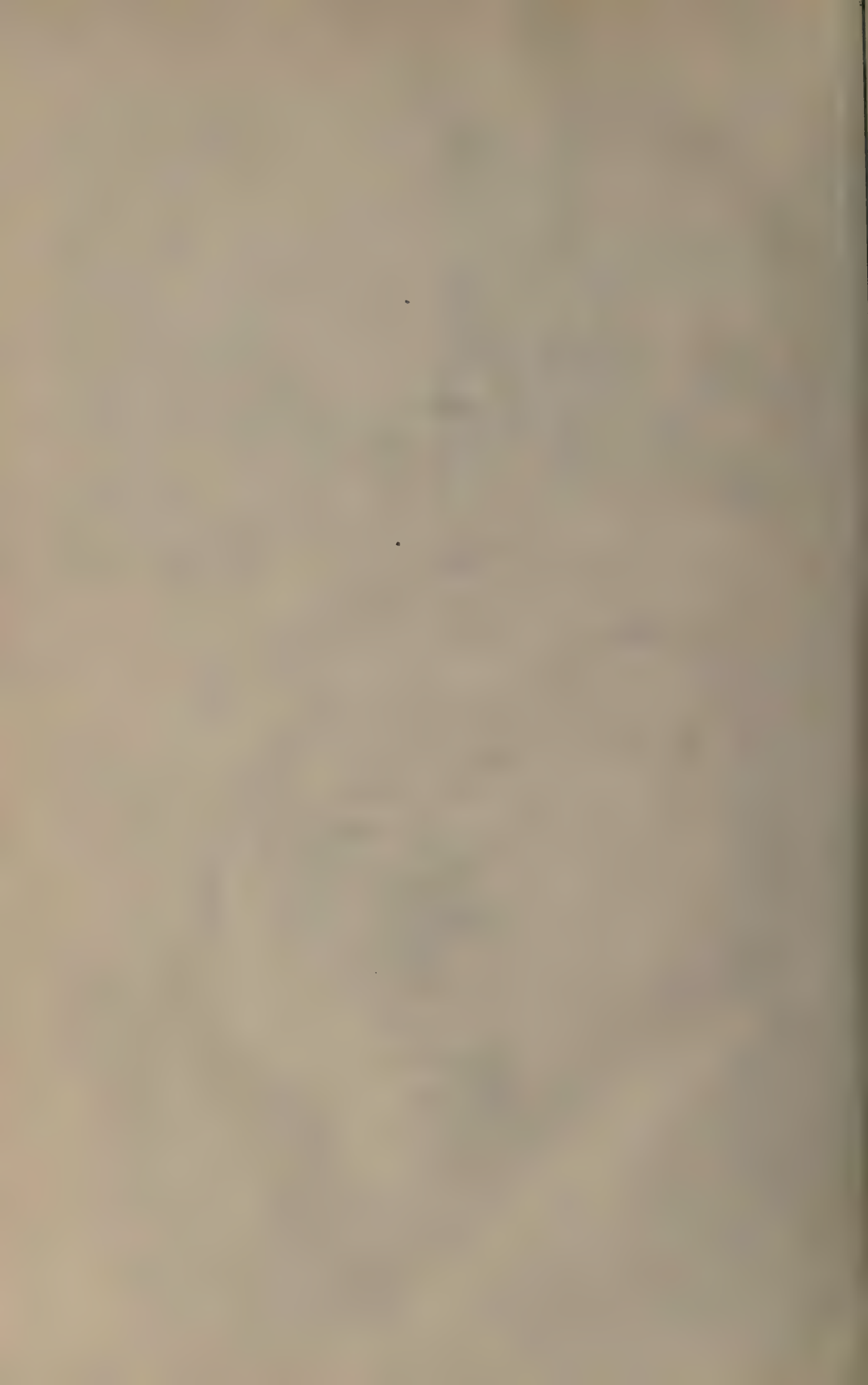
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 „ 29, „ 26, *for* be, *read* lie.
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